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GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT
AND APOCRYPHA :—

A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.
DEAN OF ELY

THE
BOOK OF EXODUS

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THE
BOOK OF EXODUS

In the Revised Version
With Introduction and Notes
by

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PREFACE

BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

the ancient limits of the Isthmus of Suez, the characteristics of the Sinaitic Peninsula,—and on frequent details in the exegesis, there were naturally many other authorities whom I had to consult: the note, for instance, on one word, *stacte*, in Ex. xxx., involved a correspondence with Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer, in addition to much independent research. The researches and discoveries of recent years have shewn that the customs and institutions of the Hebrews present many analogies with those of other nations; and references have in consequence had frequently to be made both to ancient original documents, such as the Code of Ḥammurabi, and also to modern works dealing with archaeology, travel in the East, and anthropology. In preparing my notes, I found it a great help to be able to refer the reader for fuller information to one or other of the two valuable repertories of Biblical learning which we now possess, the large *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Dr Hastings, and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. The greater part of my notes were in type when the excellent commentary of Mr (now Dr) McNeile in the 'Westminster Commentaries' appeared, marked by a felicitous combination of critical insight with the religious feelings and belief of an English Churchman. It was a satisfaction to me to find how often he had reached independently the same conclusions as those which I had reached myself; and I was glad sometimes to be able to refer to his work. To the General Editor I am indebted for a most careful reading of the proofs, as well as for numerous suggestions, to most of which I have gladly given effect. And I have to thank Mr F. Ll. Griffith, Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford, for much valuable help on points connected with Egyptology.

Exodus is a striking and fascinating book. It sets before us, as the Hebrews of later ages told it, and in the vivid, picturesque style which their best historians could always command, the story of the deliverance from Egypt: it exhibits some of their most characteristic laws and institutions, ceremonial observances, and religious ideals, in different stages of their growth; the writers in it, one and all, are manifestly men filled and moved by the Spirit of God; and it possesses a deep and abiding spiritual value. It has been my privilege and my endeavour to do the best that I could, consistently with the limits at my disposal, to explain and illustrate, and to help the reader to appreciate, the varied contents of the book. Some of the conclusions which I have adopted may be novel to some readers, and appear to them to be ill-founded: but while there are undoubtedly *details* which are, and from the nature of the case must probably always remain, uncertain, these conclusions, I am persuaded, rest in their broader outlines upon secure foundations, which neither have been, nor are likely to be, overthrown. I say this with full knowledge of what has been said by various writers on the other side. Assiduous and painstaking as the labours of some of these writers have been, it does not appear to me that they have been successful either in shaking the great cumulative argument which shews that the traditional position is untenable, or in finding a better explanation of the facts presented by the Old Testament itself than, substantially, —I expressly do not say, in every particular,—that which is commonly associated with the name of Wellhausen[1]. True religion will not suffer in consequence. There was a time when the belief that the earth moved round the sun was universally believed to be subversive of the Christian faith: that belief is now held universally by all civilized races; and the Christian faith remains as secure as ever. It is not the object of criticism either to weaken or to overthrow the Christian faith, but, the Old Testament being admittedly the record of a *progressive revelation*, it is the object of criticism to ascertain, so far as the best means at our disposal enable us to do so, the stages and the means by which this revelation was given, and the record of it was written. From a study with such aims the cause of Christian truth has surely much to gain, and nothing to fear[1].

---

[1] To preclude misunderstanding, I may add that with regard, for instance, to the pre-prophetic religion of Israel, and the historical value of the narratives relating to the earlier history of Israel, I agree with Kittel (see his, unfortunately, poorly translated *Scientific Study of the*

S. R. D.

5 *February* 1911

OT., 1910) rather than with Wellhausen. But Kittel, though he opposes Wellhausen on some points, can appreciate his merits; and remarks justly (p. 57) that 'the science [not 'criticism,' as in the translation, p. 75] of the OT., on this and other fields, owes more to' him 'than to any other living man.' Nor do I assign Deuteronomy to the reign of Josiah; and I believe, of course, that large elements of pre-exilic usage are codified in P (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* pp. 366, 404).

[1] See further, on the subject of the last paragraph, a *brochure* entitled *The Higher Criticism*; *Three Papers by* S. R. Driver, D.D., and A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. (1905); being a reprint of a paper by the present Dean of Ely on 'The Claims of Criticism upon the Clergy and the Laity,' read originally at the Church Congress at Northampton in 1902; and of two papers by the present writer, one on 'The Old Testament in the Light of To-day,' from the *Expositor*, Jan. 1901, pp. 27 ff., and the other on 'The permanent religious value of the Old Testament,' from *The Interpreter*, Jan. 1905, pp. 10 ff.

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The Eastern part of the Delta, with the Isthmus of Suez ... ... ,, ,,
The North-West part of the Peninsula of Sinai ... ,, ,,

List of principal abbreviations employed, and of authorities mentioned sometimes without further specification

Abu'l-Walid	Jewish Grammarian and Lexicographer, *c.* A.D. 985—1040.
AJSL.	*American Journal of Semitic Languages.*
al.	*alii* (others), or *aliter* (elsewhere).
ATLAO.	Alfred Jeremias, *Das AT. im Lichte des alten Orients*, 1904, ed. 2 (much enlarged), 1906.
Auth. & Arch.	*Authority and Archaeology*, edited by D. G. Hogarth, 1899 (pp. 1—152, on archaeological illustrations of the Old Testament, by S. R. Driver).
Bä.	B. Bäntsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri übersetzt und erklärt* (1903). In Nowack's *Handkommentar zum AT.*
Benz. *Arch.* (or Benz.)	I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, 1894, ed. 2 (enlarged), 1907.
Breasted	J. H. Breasted (American Egyptologist). Name often cited alone as authority for dates; see his *History of Ancient Egypt* (1906), pp. 21 ff., 597 ff., or his smaller *History of the Ancient Egyptians* (1908), pp. 23 ff., 419 ff.
C.-H.	J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, 1900, vol. I (reprinted as a separate vol. under the title *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902) describing the grounds of the analysis, and characteristics of the different sources; vol. II containing the text in the RV., with the sources distinguished typographically, and critical notes.
CIS.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Parisiis 1881 ff.).
D	Deuteronomy, Deuteronomic: see pp. xi—xiii.
D^2	Deuteronomic passages in Josh., Jud., Kings.

DB.	*A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, D.D. (4 vols. 1898–1902, a fifth, supplementary vol., 1904).
Delitzsch	Franz Delitzsch (d. 1890), author of Commentaries on Genesis, Job, Proverbs, &c.
Del. *HWB.*	Friedrich Delitzsch (son of the preceding), *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1896.
Di., Dillm.	Aug. Dillmann, *Exodus und Leviticus erklärt*, 1880. Appeared as the 2nd edition of Knobel's Commentary (1857), many excerpts from which, distinguished by inverted commas, are incorporated in it.
Di.-Ryss.	Dillmann's *Exodus und Leviticus*, edited by V. Ryssel, 1897. (Dillmann's Commentary, revised and brought up to date. Ryssel's additions can be distinguished only by a comparison of Dillmann's own Commentary of 1880. In the present volume 'Di.' or 'Dillm.' always gives Dillmann's own opinion.)
E	Hexateuchal source: see p. xi.
EB.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. by Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., D.Litt., and J. S. Black, LL.D. (4 vols. 1899—1903).
Ebers	G. Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872, ed. 2, 1881.
EHH.	A. H. Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews*, 1897.
Erman	A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894.
EVV.	English Versions (used in cases where AV. and RV. agree).
G.-K.	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch.* Translated from the 28th German edition by A. E. Cowley, 1910.
Gl.	Gloss.
Griffith (F. Ll.)	English Egyptologist.
H	See p. xiii.
HCM.	A. H. Sayce, *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 1894.
Holz.	H. Holzinger, *Genesis erklärt*, 1898. In Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT.*
J	See p. xi.
JBL.	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
KAT.^{3}	*Die Keilinschriften und das AT.*, 1903, by H. Zimmern (pp. 345—653) and H. Winckler (pp. 1—342).

KB.	E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (transliterations and translations of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, by various scholars). 6 vols., 1889—1900.
Ke.	C. F. Keil, *Genesis und Exodus*, ed. 3, 1878.
Kimchi	David Kimchi, of Narbonne, Jewish Grammarian, Lexicographer, and Commentator, A.D. 1160—1235.
Kn., Knob.	Aug. Knobel, *Exodus und Leviticus erklärt*, 1857. Cited from the extracts incorporated in Dillmann's Commentary.
L. and B.	W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book; or Biblical illustrations drawn from the manners and customs, the scenes and scenery of the Holy Land.* Three large volumes, of which *Southern Palestine and Jerusalem* (1881) is cited as *L. and B.* i, *Central Palestine and Phoenicia* (1883) as *L. and B.* ii, and *Lebanon, Damascus, and Beyond Jordan* (1886) as *L. and B.* iii.
LOT.	S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the OT.*, 1891, ed. 8, 1909 (this work was re-set for the 6th edition, 1897; but the pagination of edd. 1—5 is indicated in the text of edd. 6—8).
Maimonides	Mosheh Maimuni, of Cordova, great Jewish Legalist, A.D. 1135—1204.
Masp. i., ii.	G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. 4, 1901; and *The Struggle of the Nations*, ed. 2, 1910.
Mass. Text	The Heb. Text of the OT., as 'handed down' by the 'Massoretic' scholars (*c.* 6—10 cent. A.D.).
McNeile	A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus, with Introduction and Notes*, 1908. In the 'Westminster Commentaries.'
NHB.	H. B. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible*, ed. 2, 1868.
NHWB.	J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1876—89.
Nowack, *Arch.*	W. Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894.
Onk.	Onkelos, author (or redactor) of the principal Aramaic Targum on the Pentateuch.

O.S.	*Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, 1869.
OTJC.^{2}	W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, ed. 2, 1892.
P	The priestly narrative (or priestly writer) of the Hexateuch (see p. xi).
P_2, P_3	Secondary strata of P (see p. xii *top*; pp. 328 f., 378).
Pesh.	Peshiṭto (the Syriac version of the Bible).
Petrie	Flinders Petrie, English Egyptologist. Name often cited alone as authority for dates: see his *History of Egypt*, vols. I (to the 16th Dyn.), II (17—18 Dyn.), III (19—30 Dyn.).
PRE.^{3}	*Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. 3, edited by A. Hauck, 1896–1909.
P.S.	Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus.*
Ps.-Jon.	Targum on the Pentateuch (later than that of Onkelos), formerly attributed falsely to Jonathan, the author (or redactor) of the Targum on the prophets.
R	Redactor or compiler.
R^{JE}, R^{D}, R^{P}	See pp. xi, xii.
Rashi	Rabbinical abbreviation of R(abbi) Sh(ĕlōmōh) (Solomon) Y(iẓḥāḳi) (i.e. son of I(saac)), of Troyes, Jewish Commentator, A.D. 1040—1105.
Rel. Sem.^{2}	W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, ed. 2, 1894.
Riehm, *HWB.*	Ed. Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums*, ed. 2, 1893.
Rob.	Edw. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions: a Journal of Travels in the years* 1838 *and* 1852, in three volumes, ed. 2, 1856.
RVm.	Margin of the Revised Version.
Saadiah	Jewish philosopher, and translator of the OT. into Arabic. Born in Egypt. Died A.D. 942.
Sam.	Samaritan Text of the Pentateuch.
S. and P.	A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connexion with their history* (ed. 1864). A shilling edition appeared in 1910; but, though the text is unabridged, it does not contain the numerous footnotes, or the vocabulary of topographical words (pp. 481—534), in the larger edition.

SBAk.	*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner* (*Königlich Preussischen*) *Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBOT.	*Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by P. Haupt.
We., Wellh.	J. Wellhausen.
Wilk.-B.	*The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson. A new edition, revised and corrected by Sam. Birch. Three vols., 1878.
ZATW.	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV.	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.*

The *spaces*, sometimes left in the text (as Ex. xxix. after *vv.* 3, 4, 6, &c.), indicate a break, before the introduction of a new subject, but not sufficiently marked to call for a new paragraph.

The letters on the margin (J, E, P, &c.) indicate the *sources*, of which the text appears to be composed.

A small 'superior' figure attached to the title of a book (as *KAT.*^{3}), or to its author's name (as Dillm.^{2}), indicates the *edition* of the work referred to.

In citations, the letters ^{a} and ^{b} (or, sometimes, ^{c} and ^{d}) denote respectively the first and second (or third and fourth) parts of the verse cited.

A dagger (†), appended to a list of references, indicates that it includes all instances of the word or phrase referred to, occurring in the OT.

In the transliteration of Semitic words or proper names, certain letters, commonly confused in English, but distinct in the original, are sometimes (but not uniformly) distinguished. Where distinctions have been made, ' = א; ' = ע, ع; *gh* = غ; *ḥ* = ח, ح; *ch* (in Arabic words) = خ; *dh* = ذ; *ḳ* = ק, ق; *ṣ* or *ẓ* = צ, ص; *ṭ* = ט, ط.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

		B.C.
First dynasty of Babylon		(Ungnad's date) 2232–1933
Hammurabi (6th king of the First Dynasty)		2130–2088
Abraham (if Amraphel = Ḥammurabi)		*c.* 2100
The Kasshite Dynasty		1757–1182
Rule of the Hyksos in Egypt		(Petrie) 2098[1]–1587
		(Breasted) 1680[1]–1580
Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty		(Petrie) 1587–1327
Thothmes III		1503–1449
Biblical date of the Exodus		1491
Amenhôtep III	Age of the Tell el-Amarna Letters. Canaan an Egyptian province.	1414–1383
Amenhôtep IV (Khun-aten)	Abdi-ḥiba, Egyptian governor of Jerusalem, threatened by the Ḥabiri.	1383–1365
Nineteenth Dynasty		1328–1202
Seti I		1326–1300
Rameses II		1300–1234
Merenptah		1234–1214
Probable real date of the Exodus		*c.* 1230
Seti II		1214–1209
Twentieth Dynasty		1202-1102
Rameses III		1202-1171
Rameses IV		1171–1165
David (Biblical date)		1058–1017
David (date as corrected by Assyrian *data*[2])		*c.* 1010–970

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[1] For the grounds of this great divergence between Petrie and Breasted, see the *Addenda* to the 7th and 8th editions of the present writer's *Genesis*, pp. XVIII, XIX (obtainable separately). From the 18th Dynasty onwards, Breasted's dates are mostly a few years lower than Petrie's (which are followed elsewhere in this Table), but never more than 8 or 9 years, and usually less.

[2] See the writer's *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (in the 'Men of the Bible' series), p. 13; or *DB*. i. 401.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. NAME AND CONTENTS.

THE Book of Exodus derives its name through the Vulg. *Exodus* from the LXX. Ἔξοδος, i.e. the *Outgoing* or *Departure* (cf. Heb. xi. 22), viz. of the children of Israel from Egypt. By the Jews, in accordance with their practice of calling the books of the Pentateuch after one or more of their opening words, it is known as וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת (Origen, Ουελεσμωθ), 'And these are the names...,' or, more commonly, simply as שְׁמוֹת, *Sh^{e}mōth*, 'names.' The Book carries on the history of the Israelites from the death of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. l.) to the erection of the Tabernacle by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai on the 1st day of the 2nd year of the Exodus (Ex. xl. 1, 17).

Outline of contents:—

I. Chs. i—xi. Events leading to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt.

Chs. i—ii. The increase of the Hebrews in Egypt. The birth and education of Moses, and his flight to Midian.

Chs. iii. 1—vii. 13. Moses commissioned by Jehovah to be the deliverer of his people. His unsuccessful endeavour to obtain their release from the Pharaoh.

Chs. vii. 14—xi. The first nine Plagues.

II. Chs. xii—xviii. The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and their journey as far as Rephidim.

Chs. xii—xiii. The last Plague. Institution of the Passover, and the Feast of Unleavened Cakes. The death of the firstborn of the

Egyptians. The departure from Egypt. Law for the consecration of the firstborn. The journey to Etham.

Chs. xiv—xv. The passage of the Red Sea (ch. xiv). Moses' song of triumph (xv. 1—18). The journey from the Red Sea to Elim (xv. 22—27).

Ch. xvi. The journey from Elim to the wilderness of Sin. Manna and quails given.

Ch. xvii. The Israelites reach Rephidim. Water given to them at Massah. The victory over Amalek.

Ch. xviii. The visit of Jethro to Moses. Appointment of judges to assist Moses in the administration of justice.

III. Chs. xix—xl. Israel at Sinai.

Ch. xix. Arrival at Sinai. The theophany on the mount.

Ch. xx. 1—21. The Decalogue (*vv.* 1—17). Introduction to the Book of the Covenant (*vv.* 18—21).

Chs. xx. 22—xxiii. 33. The Book of the Covenant.

Ch. xxiv. The ratification of the covenant. Moses ascends the mount to receive the tables of stone, and directions for the construction of a sanctuary.

Chs. xxv—xxxi. 18^a. The directions given to Moses for the construction and equipment of a sanctuary, and for the vestments and consecration of the priests.

Chs. xxxi. 18^b—xxxiv. The Episode of the Golden Calf, and incidents arising out of it or mentioned in connexion with it.

Chs. xxxv—xl. Execution of the directions given to Moses in chs. xxv—xxxi. 18^a.

For a more detailed summary, exhibiting the distribution of the narrative between the different sources, see p. xviii ff.

§ 2. SOURCES AND LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

The Book of Exodus, like the other books of the Hexateuch, is of composite origin, and reached its present form by a series of stages, being built up gradually on the basis of excerpts from pre-existing documents or sources. The principal grounds on which this conclusion of modern criticism respecting the sources and structure of the Hexateuch rests, are stated in the *General Introduction to the Pentateuch* in the present series: here, therefore, the conclusion will be taken for granted; and all that will be attempted will be to explain, as far as may be necessary or possible, the details of the composition of the book, and to give an outline of the narrative contained in each of the sources. The two oldest sources of which Exodus is composed are those now commonly known as 'J' and 'E'—the former, called 'J' on account of its author's almost exclusive use of the sacred name *Jehovah*, written probably in Judah in the 9th cent. B.C., and the latter, called 'E' on account of the preference, frequently shewn in Genesis and Numbers not less than in Exodus, for *Elohim* ('God'), written probably a little later in the Northern Kingdom. The principal materials out of which these two narratives were constructed were partly *oral tradition*, and partly (esp. in chs. xx.—xxiii., xxxiv. 10—28) *written laws*. Excerpts from these two sources were combined together, so as to form a single continuous narrative (JE), by a compiler, or redactor (R^{JE}), who sometimes at the same time made slight additions of his own, usually of a hortatory or didactic character[1], and who lived probably in the early part of the 7th cent. B.C. The parts derived from J and E are in tone and point of view (as in the other books of the Hexateuch) akin to the writings of the great prophets: the additions which seem to be due to the compiler approximate in both style and character to Deuteronomy (7th cent. B.C.). The other source used in Exodus is the one which, from the priestly interests conspicuous in it, is commonly denoted by 'P': this is evidently the work of a priestly school, whose chief interest it was to trace to their origin, and embrace in a framework of history, the ceremonial institutions of the people. Ex. i.—xxiv. contains only a few fragmentary excerpts from P; but the fact that chs. xxv.—xxxi. 18^a and xxxv.—xl. belong to it—to say nothing of nearly the whole of Leviticus—is sufficient to substantiate what has been just said. There are reasons for thinking (pp. 328 f., 378) that what has here been denoted by P, though it all bears the same priestly stamp, is not throughout the work of the same hand, but that parts of it (e.g. most of chs. xxx.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.) are of later origin than the rest. It is probable that P was written, partly during the Babylonian exile, partly during the century that followed the return to Judah. The materials upon which it was based were partly, it seems, historical traditions current in priestly circles, partly the knowledge of pre-exilic Temple usage possessed at the time, the whole of the latter being arranged, developed, and systematised so as to form an *ideal picture* of the theocracy, as it was supposed to have existed in the Mosaic age. A second compiler or redactor (R^P), living in the 5th or 4th cent. B.C., taking P as the framework of his narrative, inserted into it large portions of JE, and so, except perhaps for a very few still later additions (e.g. xxxviii. 21—31), produced Exodus—not of course as an isolated book, but as a part of the Hexateuch—in its present shape.

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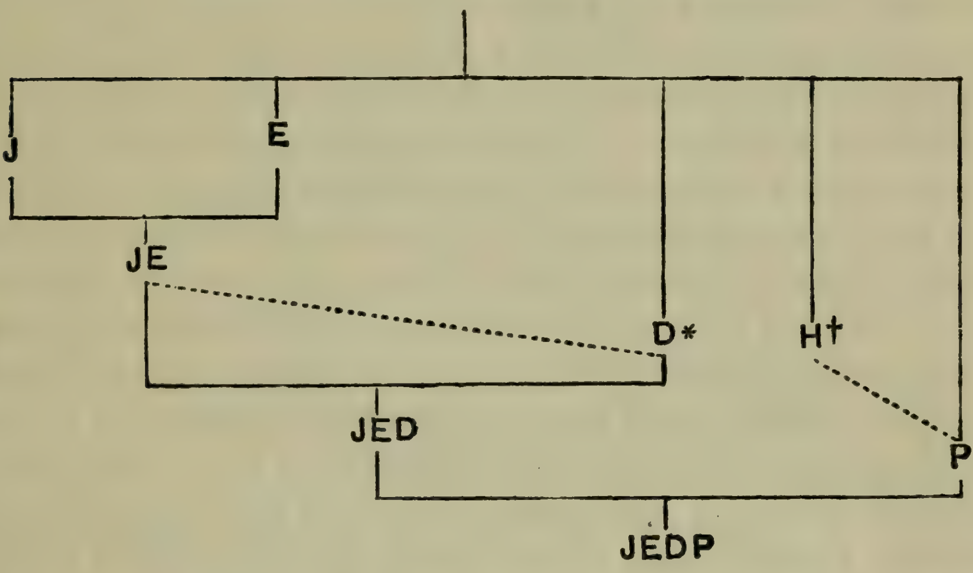
[1] See p. xvii.

The discourses of Deuteronomy must have been united to JE, before the latter was combined with P. The compilation of the entire Hexateuch will thus have been effected in three main stages: first, J and E were combined by a compiler, R^{JE}; secondly, the discourses of Deuteronomy were combined with the whole thus formed by a second compiler, R^D; and thirdly, P was combined with JED, or the whole formed by JE and D, by a third compiler, R^P. The sources, and gradual formation, of the Hexateuch may be exhibited approximately by the diagram on p. xiii (cf. Bennett, *Exodus*, in the *Century Bible*, p. 18).

The reader who desires to view the Hexateuch in its *historical perspective*, should thus think of it as a series of *strata*: the oldest and lowest stratum consisting of JE—for J and E, as they are very similar in character and tone, may, for many practical purposes, be grouped together as a single stratum—expanded here and there by additions made by R^{JE}; the second stratum consisting of the discourses of Deuteronomy, written in the 7th cent. B.C., and combined with JE not long afterwards; and the third and latest stratum consisting of P. And when a verse or passage of the Hexateuch is quoted or referred to, he should cultivate and strengthen his historical sense by thinking of it not as a part of the Hexateuch generally, but as a part of the *particular* stratum to which it belongs.

There were, it has been said, three *main* stages by which the compilation of the Hexateuch was effected: for in all probability the new form presented by the Hexateuch at each of these stages was itself not the work of a single hand, but the result of a more or less gradual literary process. As has been just remarked, there seem clearly to be in P some strata of later origin than others: but it is in JE's account of the legislation at Sinai (Ex. xix. 2^b—xxiv. 15^a, xxxi. 18^b—xxxiv. 28) that the

Customs, Laws, and Oral Traditions.



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* I.e. the *discourses* of Deuteronomy (excluding the few verses excerpted from JE, or added afterwards from P: see *LOT.* p. 72). The discourses of Dt. themselves, also, embody many passages dependent directly upon JE (see *LOT.* pp. 75 f., 80—82; Chapman, *General Introd. to the Pentateuch*, 1911, pp. 90—95): this is indicated in the diagram by the dotted line connecting Deuteronomy with JE. The historical parts of P are not entirely independent of JE; but they are not *based* upon JE, in the manner in which the discourses of Dt. are.

† The 'Law of Holiness,' i.e. the laws, partly moral and partly ceremonial, excerpted from some older source, and found now in Lev. xvii.—xxvi., and probably in a few other parts of Ex.—Numb., embedded in a framework of P. See *LOT.* p. 47 ff., Chapman, pp. 111 f., 240 ff.

process by which parallel narratives and collections of laws were combined together and, at times, amplified by hortatory additions, seems to have been more than usually protracted and complicated. As a natural consequence of this complication, the skein is correspondingly difficult to unravel. The marks of composition are indeed unambiguous: but the phenomena calling for explanation are varied and involved; and when we seek to fix the details of the process by which these sections of the Pent. reached their present form, it is difficult to be sure that we have found the right clues, and so more than one hypothesis can be framed which will, at least in appearance, account for the facts. It lies beyond the scope of the present Commentary to consider in detail different hypotheses; and all that has been attempted is to indicate what seems on the whole to be the most probable view of the structure, and mode of composition, of these narratives, but with the frank recognition that there are details which are uncertain, and on which, probably, certainty will never be attained. Indeed, as regards JE in general, it is to be remembered that the criteria distinguishing J and E from each other are less numerous and strongly marked than those distinguishing P from JE as a whole; so that, while there is hardly ever any doubt as to the limits of P, there are passages of JE in which, from the insufficiency or ambiguity of the criteria, the analysis is uncertain, and different critics may arrive at different conclusions[1].

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[1] A full discussion of the grounds of the analysis is impossible within the limits of the present Commentary; the principal grounds are, however, generally pointed out, as occasion arises, in the notes; comp. also McNeile's *Exodus*, pp. xii—xxxiii.

Readers to whom the methods of compilation described above may seem improbable may be reminded that there are many cases,—in other parts of the OT., in the Synoptic Gospels, in Arabic historians, and in mediaeval English Chronicles,—in which they can be seen in actual operation: see the examples quoted by Chapman, *Introd.* Appendix VII.

The *literary* characteristics of the sources are most strongly marked in the case of P. The following is a list of the principal expressions, phrases, and usages characteristic of P, occurring in Exodus, with the passages in which notes upon them will be found, and other occurrences cited[1]. An expression, phrase, or usage of a word is the more characteristic of a particular writer, the more rarely it occurs elsewhere; and most of those here quoted are confined to P, or to P and the other principal priestly writers, Ezekiel[2], Ezra and the Chronicler, only a few occurring sporadically elsewhere. The sign * marks expressions occurring noticeably, once or oftener, in Ezek.; † marks those found also in Chr. or Ezr.—Neh. (in parts the work of the Chronicler).

soul (=person) i. 5; **exceedingly* (unusual Heb.) i. 7; **with rigour* i. 13; **remembered his* (*my*) *covenant* ii. 24, vi. 5; *El Shaddai* vi. 2; *to *establish a covenant* vi. 4; **land of their sojournings* vi. 4; **judgements* (unusual word) vi. 6; **and ye* (or *they*) *shall know that I am Jehovah* vi. 7, vii. 5 (some 50 times in Ezek.); *to be to you* (*thee*, *them*) *a God* vi. 7; *I am Jehovah* vi. 8; *These are*... (as both superscription and subscription) vi. 14; †*fathers' house* (=clan or family) vi. 14; *according to their generations* vi. 16 (cf. *LOT.* p. 131, No. 7); *heads of the fathers* vi. 25; *hosts* (of Israel at the Exodus) vi. 26; *magicians* vii. 11; to *harden* or *be hardened* (of the heart) vii. 13 (also in E); *months denoted by their *number* xii. 2 (see the note: other late writers besides Ez. do the same); *the congregation* (of Israel) xii. 3; *for a keeping* xii. 6, xvi. 23; *between the two evenings* xii. 6; *plague* (lit. *blow*=Heb. *négeph*) xii. 13; *throughout your generations* xii. 14; *an ordinance* (or *statute*: Heb. *ḥuḳḳāh*) *for ever* xii. 14, xxvii. 21; *that soul shall be cut off from Israel* xii. 15; *holy convocation* xii. 16; **this selfsame day* xii. 17; **in all your habitations* (also rendered *dwellings*) xii. 20; *settler* xii. 45; **homeborn* (or *native*) xii. 48; to *come* (or *draw*) *near* (for a sacred rite) xii. 48, xxxvi. 2; *to *get me glory* xiv. 4; *before Jehovah* xvi. 9; **the glory of Jehovah* (meaning a *fiery glow*: see the note) xvi. 10; *This is the thing which Jehovah hath commanded* xvi. 16; *a head* (lit. *skull*), in enumerations xvi. 16; to *remain over* or (Hiph.) *have over* (*ʽādaph*—only in P) xvi. 18; *rulers of the congregation* or **rulers* alone (in Nu. ii., vii., xvii. 2, 6 *al.*, and in Ez., rendered *princes*) xvi. 22 (*LOT.* p. 134; McNeile, p. v); *solemn rest* (*shabbāthōn*) and *sabbath of solemn rest* (*shabbath shabbāthōn*) xvi. 23, xxxi. 15; *the testimony* (the Decalogue) xvi. 34, and p. 193; *according to the commandment* (mouth) *of Jehovah* xvii. 1; *to dwell* (of Jehovah, the cloud, or the glory) xxiv. 16 (cf. the 'Dwelling' xxv. 9); **contribution* (*tĕrūmāh*) xxv. 2 (see the note); †*the Dwelling* xxv. 9; *the ark of the testimony* xxv. 16; †*the mercy-seat* (or *propitiatory*) xxv. 17; *work of the designer* (or *pattern-weaver*) xxvi. 1; *work of the embroiderer* xxvi. 36; *work of the weaver* xxviii. 32 (see on these three terms p. 281); *to *bring near* (for a sacred purpose) xxviii. 1 (cf. to *come* or *draw near*, above, xii. 48); Aaron's '*sons*' (representing the ordinary priests) xxviii. 1, 40 (cf. on xxx. 30); *with thee* (*him*, &c.) appended to an enumeration xxviii. 1; to *bear the iniquity of* (=to be responsible for) xxviii. 38; to *fill the hands of* a priest (=to install) xxviii. 41; *to *minister in the holy place* (or *sanctuary*) xxviii. 43; *a statute* (Heb. *ḥōḳ*) *for ever* xxviii. 43 (cf. above, xii. 14); *his* (*thy*, &c.) *seed after him* (*thee*, &c.) xxviii. 43; the *appendix* (of the liver) xxix. 13; to *toss* or *throw* (blood) xxix. 16; *a *soothing odour* ('sweet savour') and an *offering made by fire* (Heb. a *firing*) xxix. 18; *fillings* (viz. of hands, i.e. instalment of a priest) xxix. 22; to *wave* and *wave-offering* xxix. 24, 27 (cf. on xxxv. 22); *†to '*heave*' (i.e. to *lift off* from a larger mass, and appropriate to some sacred purpose) xxix. 27 (cf. on xxv. 2); *stranger* (=non-priest) xxix. 33; *to '*un-sin*' xxix. 36; *†to *make atonement* xxix. 36 (for the altar), xxx. 10; *†*most holy* xxix. 37; to *become holy* (i.e. to be forfeited to the sanctuary, or given over to the Deity) xxix. 37; *ʽissārōn* ('tenth part,'—only in P) xxix. 40; *†*continual* (of standing ceremonial institutions or observances) xxix. 42; †*half* (unusual word) xxx. 13; the *sacred shekel* xxx. 13; to be *cut off from one's father's kin* xxx. 33; a *perpetual* (or *everlasting*) *covenant* xxxi. 16; *the tables of the testimony* xxxi. 18^{a} (cf. on xxiv. 12)[1]. See also p. 46 (genealogies); pp. 55, 57 (in P's narrative of the Plagues); p. 113 (on ch. xiv.). For instances of repetition, and diffuseness of style, see on vi. 27, xii. 17—20, xiv. 29, xxxi. 16 f.; and for recurring types of sentence, on vii. 6, xiii. 20, xix. 1—2^{a}.

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[1] Limits of space preclude these being given here. Comp. the lists, with full citation of occurrences, in McNeile, pp. iii—v; *LOT.* p. 131 ff. (also p. 156 *n.*); and Chapman, Appendix II (p. 207 ff.).

[2] On the resemblances of P, and esp. of H, to Ezekiel, comp. *LOT.* pp. 49 f., 130—135, 145—9; Chapman, p. 240 ff.

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[1] Add also to the points of contact between P in Exodus and Ezek. *to lift up the hand* (i.e. *to swear*) vi. 8 (twice in P), and *inheritance* (*môrāshāh*) vi. 8 (once in P),—both unusual expressions, but both occurring several times in Ezek.

Expressions occurring in secondary strata of P (see pp. 328, 378):—*the altar of incense* (see p. 328 f.) xxx. 27, xxxi. 8, xxxv. 15, xxxvii. 25; *the altar of burnt offering* xxx. 28 (see p. 329); *plaited* (?) *garments* xxxi. 10; *the veil of the screen* xxxv. 12; *the brazen* (*bronze*) *altar* xxxviii. 30 (see p. 329); *as Jehovah commanded* xxxix. 1; *the Dwelling of the tent of meeting* xxxix. 32; *the golden altar* xxxix. 38 (see on xxx. 3); *the arrangement* (of the Presence-bread) xl. 4; also to *do warfare* (of serving women and Levites) xxxviii. 8^{b} (see the note).

Expressions characteristic of H (the 'Law of Holiness,' Lev. xvii.—xxvi.):—*I am Jehovah* vi. 8; **my sabbaths* xxxi. 13; **I am Jehovah which sanctifieth you* xxxi. 13; *to *profane* xxxi. 14; *shall surely be put to death* (also in Ex. xxi.—xxiii.) xxxi. 14. Comp. *LOT.* p. 49 f.

Recurring expressions in J are noted on iii. 18 (twice), iv. 22, vii. 13 (to *be* or *make heavy*, of Pharaoh's heart) pp. 56, 57 (in J's narrative of the plagues), and on xxiv. 12. See also McNeile, p. vii f.

For recurring expressions in E, see on iii. 1 (*Horeb*, not 'Sinai'); iv. 22, vii. 13 (to *harden* or *be hardened*, of Pharaoh's heart); pp. 56, 57; and on xxiv. 12. See also McNeile, p. viii f.

On the more general characteristics of J, E, and P reference may be made to *LOT.* pp. 117—130, or to the writer's *Genesis*, pp. xvii—xxv.

The following passages, mostly of a didactic or parenetic (hortatory) character, are generally regarded as expansions of the original narrative, due to the compiler of JE (R^{JE}), or, in some cases, esp. those in xx. 2^{b}, 4^{b}, 5^{a}, 10^{b}, 12, to a subsequent Deuteronomic redactor (R^{D}):—Ex. ix. 14—16, x. 1^{b}—2 (to which some would add vii. 17^{a} (to *that I am Jehovah*), viii. 10^{b}, 22^{b} (*to the end*, &c.), ix. 29^{b} (*that thou*, &c.), xi. 7^{b},—all resembling ix. 14^{b}, x. 2 *end*), xii. 25—27^{a}, the *setting* of the laws in ch. xiii. (see p. 106), viz. xiii. 3 (from *Remember*), 5, 8—9, 11, 14—16, xv. 26 (see the note), xviii. 1^{b}—4, xix. 5—6 (expansion of an older nucleus), the explanatory additions in the Decalogue (see p. 192), viz. xx. 2^{b}, 4^{b}—6, 7^{b}, 9—10 (*v.* 11 R^{P}), 12^{b}, 17 (after *house*), xxii. 21^{b}—22, 24, xxiii. 9^{b}, 12^{b} (see p. 372), 15 (from *seven*: from xxxiv. 18, 20), 17 (from xxxiv. 23), 23—25^{a}, 31^{b}—33, xxxii. 9—14, xxxiv. 10^{b}—13^{a}, 15—16, 18^{b}, 21^{b} (p. 372), 24. Many of these (see e.g. on xv. 26) *approximate* in style and tone to Deuteronomy; these are, no doubt, pre-Deuteronomic; but those with a *strong* Deuteronomic colouring (as xx.

2^b, 4^b, 5^a, 10^b, 12) will have been written under the influence of Dt., and be post-Deuteronomic. See the notes on the passages cited.

A list of Deuteronomic expressions[1] in Exodus—sometimes, probably, original in JE or R^{JE}, and adopted thence by the writer of Deuteronomy, sometimes (esp. in ch. xx.) occurring in passages introduced into Ex. by a writer influenced by Deuteronomy (see the notes):—*a mighty hand* iii. 19, vi. 1, xiii. 9, xxxii. 11 (cf. *might of hand* xiii. 3, 14, 16†); *a stretched out arm* vi. 6 (adopted by P from Dt.); *house of bondage* (lit. *of slaves*) xiii. 3, 14, xx. 2; *which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee* xiii. 5; Jehovah's 'servant' (of Moses) xiv. 31; *hearken to the voice* xv. 26 (see note), *Jehovah thy God* xv. 26 (cf. on xx. 2), *that which is right in his eyes*, *give ear*, *commandments...and statutes*, and *keep*, all in xv. 26; *special possession* xix. 5 (cf. *a holy nation* ibid., in Dt. *a holy people*); *which brought thee out of the land of Egypt* xx. 2; *other gods* xx. 3, xxiii. 31, cf. *other god* xxxiv. 14; *heaven above...earth beneath* xx. 4; *bow down...serve* xx. 5; to *love* God xx. 6; *thy gates* xx. 10; to *be long* (of days) xx. 12; *upon the land which Jehovah thy God is giving thee* xx. 12; *the two tables of stone*s xxxiv. 1, 4 (see on xxiv. 12); *which I am commanding thee this day* xxxiv. 11; *take heed to thyself* xxxiv. 12; *dispossess* xxxiv. 24; *the ten words* (the Decalogue), only in a gloss, xxxiv. 28 *end*.

§ 3. THE CONTENTS OF EXODUS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES.

Chs. i—ii. Growth of the people in Egypt, and the measures taken to check it. The birth and early years of Moses.

J (i. 6, 8—12, 20^b, ii. 11—23^a). Growth of the Israelites into a numerous people. To check their further increase, the Pharaoh compels them to build Pithom and Ra'amses. Moses twice interposes chivalrously on behalf of a wronged compatriot. On account of his slaughter of the Egyptian, he flees to Midian.

E (i. 15—20^a, 21—22, ii. 1—10). The two midwives of the Hebrews are commanded to destroy all male infants. The command being disregarded, the Egyptians themselves are commanded to drown all the male infants of the Hebrews in the Nile. The birth and education of Moses.

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[1] Comp. *LOT.* p. 99 ff.; Chapman, App. IV, p. 232 ff.

P (i. 1—5, 13—14, ii. 23^{b}—25). The names of Jacob's sons who came down into Egypt. Their increase; and the hard service imposed upon them by the Egyptians. God hears their cry, and remembers the covenant made by Him with the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 7 f.).

Chs. iii. 1—vii. 13. Moses commissioned by Jehovah to be his people's deliverer, and to demand their release from the Pharaoh.

J (iii. 2—4^{a}, 5, 7—8, 16—18, iv. 1—16, 19—20^{a}, 22—26, 29—31, v. 3, 5—vi. 1). Jehovah appears to Moses in the burning bush, and bids him return to Egypt, and announce to his people their approaching deliverance. He is to ask of the Pharaoh permission for them to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Jehovah (iii. 2—4^{a}, 5, 7—8, 16—18). Moses objects that the people will not listen to him; and is given three signs to work before them (iv. 1—9). He objects further that he is 'heavy in mouth and tongue' (i.e. not fluent): but Jehovah promises that He will be with him, to give him words; and afterwards, as he still demurs, that Aaron, the 'Levite' (iv. 14), shall be his spokesman with the people (iv. 10—16). He returns to Egypt. The people believe him gladly (iv. 29—31); but the Pharaoh peremptorily refuses to let them go for the three days into the wilderness. The tasks of the Israelites are increased. Moses, reproached for this, appeals to Jehovah, who tells him in reply that *He* will effect His people's deliverance (v. 3, v. 5—vi. 1).

E (iii. 1, 4^{b}, 6, 9—15, 19—22, iv. 17—18, 20^{b}—21, 27—28, v. 1—2, 4). God appears to Moses on Horeb, and tells him that he is to be his people's deliverer. He objects that he is unsuited either to treat with Pharaoh, or to become his people's leader; but God promises to be with him and assist him. He objects further that he does not know what to give as the *name* of the God who has sent him; and in reply the name *I WILL BE* is revealed to him (iii. 1, 4^{b}, 6, 9—15). God gives Moses a wonder-working rod, with which he is to do the 'signs' (which must have been described in a preceding part of E, no longer preserved) before Pharaoh (iv. 17). Returning to Egypt, with Aaron, he goes with him to ask Pharaoh to allow the people to hold 'Jehovah's feast' in the wilderness. Pharaoh refuses. The sequel is told in the words of J (v. 5—vi. 1).

P (vi. 2—vii. 13). God tells Moses that He was known to the patriarchs as *El Shaddai* ('God Almighty'), but that He now reveals Himself to Moses as YAHWEH. He remembers His covenant with the patriarchs, and will deliver the Israelites, their descendants. Moses tells the people this; but they refuse to listen to him (contrast iv. 31 in J). Jehovah bids Moses demand of Pharaoh Israel's unconditional release (contrast the 'three days' of J, iii. 18; and v. 1 in E): he objects that if his own people will not listen to him, Pharaoh is much less likely to do so, especially as he is 'uncircumcised of lips' (not fluent); Aaron is therefore appointed to be his spokesman before Pharaoh (and not as in J, iv. 16, before the *people*). Jehovah will 'harden' Pharaoh's heart, that He may multiply His signs and portents in Egypt, and bring forth His people with 'great judgements.' Aaron, at Moses' direction (cf. vii. 19, viii. 5, 16 P), turns his rod into a *tannin*, to satisfy Pharaoh of his and his brother's mission (contrast in J, iv. 1—5, 30, where *Moses* turns his rod into a *naḥash*, to satisfy the *Israelites*); but the portent is imitated by the Egyptian magicians, and the Pharaoh's heart becomes 'hard' (vii. 8—13). A genealogy of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Moses and Aaron (vi. 13—30).

Chs. vii. 14—xi. The first nine Plagues.

In the narrative of the Plagues, the accounts of J, E, and P are distinguished remarkably from each other by a number of *recurring* differences, both of representation and expression (see, for particulars, pp. 55—57). The summary which here follows is too condensed to exhibit all these differences, though a few may be noticed by the attentive reader; for instance, the formal announcement to Pharaoh, with which the account of a plague always opens in J, the rod in Moses' hand in E, but in Aaron's hand in P, and the different terms used to denote the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

The *first* plague (vii. 14—25). The waters of Egypt smitten. From J, E, and P.

J (vii. 14—15^{a}, 16—17^{a}, 17^{c}—18, 20^{c}—21^{a}, 23—25). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, Jehovah smites the Nile, and its waters are turned into blood; the fish die, and the river becomes fetid.

E (vii. 15^{b}, 17^{b}, 20^{b}). *Moses*, at Jehovah's direction, smites the Nile with his rod; and its waters are turned into blood.

P (vii. 19—20^{a}, 21^{b}—22). *Aaron*, at Moses' direction, stretches out his rod over—not the Nile only, but—*all* the waters in Egypt, and they become blood. The magicians do likewise; and Pharaoh's heart remains 'hard,' and he 'hearkens not' to Moses and Aaron.

The *second* plague (viii. 1—15). The frogs. From J and P.

J (viii. 1—4, 8—15[a]). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, frogs come up out of the Nile, and swarm over the whole land. Pharaoh begs Moses and Aaron to intercede for him; if the frogs are removed, he will let the people go to sacrifice to Jehovah: they are removed; but Pharaoh nevertheless makes his heart 'heavy.'

P (viii. 5—7, 15[b]). *Aaron*, at Moses' direction, stretches out his rod over the streams, Nile-canals, and pools of Egypt; frogs come up, and cover the land. The magicians do similarly; and Pharaoh 'hearkens not' to Moses and Aaron.

The *third* plague (viii. 16—19). The gnats (mosquitoes). P only.

P (viii. 16—19). *Aaron*, at Moses' direction, stretches out his rod, and smites the dust of the earth, and it becomes gnats throughout the land. The magicians cannot imitate this plague, and acknowledge in it the 'finger of God.' Pharaoh's heart, however, remains 'hard.'

The *fourth* plague (viii. 20—32). The dog-flies. From J only.

J (viii. 20—32). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, dog-flies are sent through the whole of Egypt, except the land of Goshen. Pharaoh grants the Israelites permission to sacrifice to Jehovah in Egypt. Moses declines this offer, lest they should offend the Egyptians; and repeats the demand for a three days' journey into the wilderness. Pharaoh agrees to this: and only again begs Moses to intercede for a removal of the plague. Moses does this; but Pharaoh's heart remains 'heavy.'

The *fifth* plague (ix. 1—7). The murrain on cattle. From J only.

J (ix. 1—7). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, a fatal murrain is sent upon all the cattle of Egypt, except that belonging to the Israelites. Pharaoh sends to ascertain the facts about the cattle of the Israelites: but his heart nevertheless remains 'heavy.'

The *sixth* plague (ix. 8—12). The boils. From P only.

P (ix. 8—12). *Moses*, at Jehovah's direction, takes two handfuls of soot from a kiln, and tosses it towards heaven; it thereupon becomes a boil breaking out upon man and beast. The magicians are not only unable to imitate this plague, but are themselves attacked by it. Jehovah, however, 'hardens' Pharaoh's heart; and he 'hearkens not' to Moses and Aaron.

The *seventh* plague (ix. 13—35). The hail. From J and E.

J (ix. 1—7, 13—21, 23^b—34). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, Jehovah rains a destructive hail upon all the land of Egypt, except Goshen. Pharaoh this time admits that he has sinned, and a third time begs Moses to intercede for him: when the hail ceases, he will let the people go. Moses does entreat for him: the hail ceases; but Pharaoh sins yet more, and makes his heart 'heavy.'

E (ix. 22—23^a, 31—32?, 35^a). *Moses*, at Jehovah's direction, stretches out his rod toward heaven; and thunder, hail, and lightning are sent upon the land of Egypt. All vegetation is smitten, except wheat and spelt, which were not yet up. But Pharaoh's heart is 'hardened'; and he will not let Israel go.

The *eighth* plague (x. 1—20). The locusts. From J and E.

J (x. 1—11, 13^b, 14^b—15^a, 15^c—19). After notice given by Moses to Pharaoh, that, if he will not let the people go, his land will be smitten with a plague of locusts, he offers, at the suggestion of his servants, to let the men go alone. Moses declines this offer: the whole people must go, with their families and their cattle: for they have to keep Jehovah's feast. Pharaoh refuses these terms; and an east wind then brings the locusts, which devour all the herbage which the hail had left. Pharaoh a second time confesses that he has sinned, and a fourth time begs Moses to intercede for a removal of the plague. Moses does this; and a west wind drives the locusts into the Red Sea.

E (x. 12—13^a, 14^a, 15^b, 20). *Moses*, at Jehovah's direction, stretches out his rod over the land of Egypt, and locusts come up, and devour all the vegetation which the hail had left. Jehovah, however, 'hardens' Pharaoh's heart; and he will not let the people go.

The *ninth* plague (x. 21—29). The darkness. From J and E. Followed closely (ch. xi.) by the announcement of the tenth plague.

J (x. 24—26, 28—29: J's announcement and description of the plague itself are not preserved). Pharaoh offers to let the people go with their families, but without their flocks and herds. Moses declines this offer: the cattle are required for sacrifices. Pharaoh declares that he will see Moses' face no more. Moses replies (xi. 4—8) that at midnight Jehovah will destroy all the firstborn of the Egyptians; and leaves his presence in 'hot anger.'

E (x. 21—23, 27). *Moses*, at Jehovah's direction, stretches out his hand toward heaven; and there is darkness in Egypt for three days, only the children of Israel having light in their dwellings. Jehovah 'hardens' Pharaoh's heart; and he will not let the people go. He tells Moses (xi. 1) that He will bring one more plague upon Pharaoh, which will secure the release of the people.

xi. 9—10 (P). How the portents wrought before Pharaoh had produced no effect upon him.

The plagues are thus distributed between the sources, so far as they are at present extant, as follows:—

	J	E	P
1.	Nile-water turned to blood	Nile-water turned to blood	*All* water in Egypt turned to blood
2.	Frogs		Frogs
3.			Gnats
4.	Dog-flies		
5.	Murrain on cattle		
6.			Boils
7.	Hail	Hail	
8.	Locusts	Locusts	
9.	Darkness	Darkness	
10.	Death of firstborn	Death of firstborn (only announced)	Death of firstborn

Apart from merely literary features, the following are the principal characteristic differences between the three sources. In J, the earliest source, the plague is announced by Moses, but brought, and afterwards removed, by Jehovah, without further human intervention; in E it is brought, without any previous announcement, by Moses with his rod, or once (x. 22, the darkness) by his hand; in P, except in the case of the boils (ix. 10), it is brought by *Aaron* stretching out his rod at Moses' direction. The difference with regard to the rod recurs in other parts of Exodus: the rod is in *Moses'* hand in E in iv. 17, 20^b, xiv. 16^a, xvii. 5, 9, and in *Aaron's* hand in P in vii. 9. In J, again, except in the ninth plague (x. 21—29), where the introduction to the plague is taken from E, there is regularly an interview with Pharaoh, and a formal demand is made for the release of the people; the plagues also gradually increase in both impressiveness and severity[1], the later

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[1] Notice the statement in regard to the hail and the locusts that nothing similar had ever been seen before in Egypt (ix. 10, 24; x. 6, 14).

J

ones thus produce a proportionately greater effect upon the Pharaoh, and he gives way more and more[1]. In P there is no interview with the Pharaoh, no demand is made of him, and, till the tenth plague comes, there is no difference in the Pharaoh's attitude. Thus in J the plagues have the practical object of gradually making the Pharaoh yield; in P they are little more than marvels, or signs of power ('I will multiply *my signs and my portents*,' vii. 3; cf. xi. 9), wrought by Aaron with his rod, and designed to accredit Moses and Aaron as Jehovah's representatives: only the tenth plague has a different character, and is also differently described. In P, too, both the introductory sign (vii. 8—13) and also the first two plagues are imitated by the Egyptian magicians; it is a contest between Moses and Aaron and the magicians, in which (Di.) the superiority of God and His agents gradually comes clearly out, till in the end the magicians cannot even protect themselves against the plague (vii. 11 f., 22, viii. 7, 18 f., ix. 11). Finally, J represents the Israelites as confined to Goshen (see on viii. 22), while E pictures them as living side by side with the Egyptians (iii. 22).

Chs. xii—xiii. Institution of the Passover, and Feast of Unleavened Cakes. The last plague. The departure from Rameses. Law for the sanctity of the firstborn. Journey to Etham.

J (xii. 21—24, 27^{b}, 29—34, 37^{b}—39, 42 (?), xiii. 3^{d}, 4, 6—7, 10, 12—13, 21—22). Moses gives the elders of Israel instructions for the observance of the Passover (xii. 21—24). [R^{JE}. Its meaning to be explained to the children of future generations, xii. 25—27^{a}.] At midnight the firstborn of the Egyptians are smitten; and Pharaoh now lets the whole people go unconditionally, with their families and their cattle. Numbering 600,000 adult males, they journey from Rameses

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[1] Observe how, after first breaking his promise to let the people go (viii. 8, 15^{a}), Pharaoh agrees afterwards, however reluctantly, to one point after another in Moses' demands (viii. 25, 28^{b}; x. 7, 10, 11, 24; xii. 31 f.); notice also, in J's accounts of the later plagues, his confession that he has sinned in ix 27, x 16, the impression made upon his courtiers and ministers in ix. 20, x. 7, and the anger with which, after the ninth plague, he declares that he will see Moses' face no more (x. 28).

to Succoth; and having no time to leaven their doug
into unleavened cakes, xii. 34, 37—39, 42^a? [an explanatio
of Unleavened Cakes]. Laws for the annual observance of
Maẓẓoth (Unleavened Cakes), and for the sanctity of the firs
man and beast, xiii. 3—16,—in a *setting* due probably to R^{JE}. Je
precedes the people, in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of
by night, to guide them in the way (xiii. 21—22).

E (xii. 35—36, xiii. 17—19). The Israelites are to proceed to Canaan not by the direct route through the land of the Philistines (where they might be forcibly opposed), but by way of the Red Sea. They take the bones of Joseph (Gen. l. 25 E) with them.

P (xii. 1—20, 28, 37^a, 43—51, xiii. 1—2, 20). Regulations for the observance of the Passover (xii. 1—13), and of the feast of *Maẓẓoth* (Unleavened Cakes), xii. 14—20. Supplementary regulations relating to the Passover, intended chiefly to define who might partake of it (xii. 43—51). The firstborn of man and beast to be sacred to Jehovah (xiii. 1—2). The Israelites journey from Succoth to Etham.

Ch. xiv. The passage of the Red Sea.

J (xiv. 5—7, 10^a, 19^b, 20^b, 21^b, 24—25, 27^b, 30—31). Pharaoh finding that the Israelites have 'fled,' i.e. left the land not for three days merely, but without any intention of returning, starts in pursuit of them. They complain to Moses, who promises them deliverance. The pillar of cloud removes from before them, and stands behind them. An east wind drives back the water, and they cross on dry land. The Egyptians attempt to retreat, but are cut off by the returning waters.

E (fragmentary: xiv. 10^b, 16^a [to *rod*], 19^a, 20^a). The Israelites, when they see the Egyptians overtaking them, cry out to Jehovah. Moses is commanded to lift up his rod. The angel of God, which went before the Israelites, removes, and comes behind them....

P (xiv. 1—4, 8—9^a, 16^b [from *and stretch*]—18, $21^{a, c}$, 22—23, 26—27^a, 28—29). Israel is to encamp by the Red Sea: Pharaoh will then think they are in his power; Jehovah will 'harden' his heart, and he will pursue after them: by his overthrow Jehovah will get Himself glory. Pharaoh overtakes them: Moses stretches out his hand over the sea: the waters divide, forming a 'wall' on each side, and the Israelites pass through. Moses again stretches out his hand; and the waters close over the pursuing Egyptians.

served that in P the miracle is much greater than in J, ividing and reuniting at a signal given by Moses, and the r on each side, while in J the only agency is the wind.

xv. Moses' Song of triumph. The journey from the Sea to Elim.

J (xv. 1—18). Moses' Song of triumph.

E (xv. 20—27). Miriam and the other women praise Jehovah for the overthrow of the foe. The people journey to Marah, where Moses sweetens the bitter water. [R^{JE}. Promise that if Israel is obedient to Jehovah, He will keep it free from the diseases which He has brought upon the Egyptians, xv. 26.] The people move on to Elim.

Ch. xvi. The people journey to the wilderness of Sin. Manna and quails given.

J (xvi. 4—5, 13^b—15^a, 27—30). [The people complaining of want of food,] Jehovah promises to provide them daily with manna from heaven; and on the sixth day with manna sufficient for two days.

P (xvi. 1—3, 6—13^a, 15^b—26, 31—36). The people arrive at the wilderness of Sin. They complain of want of food: Jehovah promises to give them quails in the evening and manna in the morning.

Ch. xvii. The Israelites move on to Rephidim. Water given to them at Massah (J), or at Meribah (E). The victory over Amalek.

P (xvii. 1^a). Arrival of the Israelites at Rephidim.

J (xvii. 2 *end*, 3, $7^{a, c}$).... The people thirst for water, and complain to Moses. For having thus put Jehovah to the proof, by doubting His presence to help, the place is called 'Massah' (i.e. *Proving*).

E (xvii. 1^b, 2^a, 4—6, 7 [middle clause], 8—16). The people, having no water to drink, 'strive' (i.e. expostulate) with Moses. He smites the rock with his rod, and brings forth water from it. The place is called 'Meribah' (i.e. *Striving*). Defeat of the Amalekites by Joshua.

Ch. xviii. (E). The visit of Jethro to Moses. At Jethro's suggestion Moses appoints subordinate judges to assist him in the administration of justice.

Chs. xix—xxiv. The arrival of Israel at Sinai. The theophany on the mountain. The Decalogue; and the Book of the Covenant. The ratification of the Covenant.

J (xix. 3^{b}—9, 11^{b}—13, 18, 20—25, xxiv. 1—2, 9—11). Jehovah calls Moses to the foot of the mount, and announces to him His covenant. Three days afterwards He descends upon Sinai in fire and smoke; and having called Moses up to Him, directs him to prevent the too curious people from trespassing upon the mountain. The narrative breaks off in the middle of a sentence (xix. 25; see the note). [Originally, perhaps, there followed here the nucleus of xxxiv. 1—4, 10—28, containing J's account of the establishment of the covenant at this time (see p. 364). E's account follows immediately, *vv.* 3—8.] Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders, go up into the mount, where they have a vision of God (xxiv. 1—2, 9—11).

E (xix. 2^{b}—3^{a}, 10—11^{a}, 14—17, 19; xx. 1—xxiii. 33; xxiv. 3—8, 12—15^{a}). Moses goes up the mountain to God, and receives instructions to sanctify the people for a theophany on the third day (xix. 2^{b}—3^{a}, 10—11^{a}). He goes down and does this; and on the third day the theophany takes place. The people are led to the foot of the mount; Moses takes part in a dialogue with God (xix. 19; see the note), God answering him in trumpet-tones. The Decalogue is proclaimed (xx. 1—17). After this, Moses enters into the thick darkness where God was, and receives from Him a collection of laws (xx. 22—xxiii. 33), on the basis of which Jehovah establishes a covenant with Israel (xxiv. 3—8). Moses re-ascends the mount to receive certain 'tables of stone' which God had written, and remains there forty days (xxiv. 12—15^{a}).

P (xix. 2^{a}, 1, xxiv. 15^{b}—18^{a}). The people arrive at the wilderness of Sinai (xix. 2^{a}, 1). The cloud covers the mount for six days; on the seventh day Moses is summoned up into the mount (xxiv. 15^{b}—18^{a}) to receive directions for the construction of a sanctuary (ch. xxv. ff.).

Chs. xxv—xxxi. 18^{a} (P). The directions given to Moses for the construction and equipment of a sanctuary, and for the vestments and consecration of the priests.

a. The Ark, Table of Presence-bread, and Candlestick (ch. xxv.).

b. The curtains forming the 'Dwelling,' and the wooden framework supporting them, the veil, and the screen (ch. xxvi.).

c. The court round the sanctuary, and the Altar of Burnt-offering (ch. xxvii.).
d. The vestments (ch. xxviii.), and ritual for the consecration (ch. xxix.) of the priests.
e. The Altar of incense, provision for the maintenance of public service, the Bronze Laver, the holy anointing oil, and the Incense (ch. xxx.).
f. The nomination of Beẓal'el and Oholiab; and the observance of the Sabbath (ch. xxxi.).

Chs. xxxi. 18^{b}—xxxiv. The Episode of the Golden Calf and incidents arising out of it, or mentioned in connexion with it.

J (xxxii. 25—34, xxxiii. 1, 3, 4, 12—13, 17—23, xxxiv. 6—9 [see p. 367], xxxiii. 14—16, xxxiv. 1^{a}, 2, 3, 4 [except 'like unto the first'], 5, 10—28).... (*a*) The people having rebelled against Jehovah, the Levites, responding to Moses' summons, slay 3000 of them They are rewarded for their zeal with the priesthood. Moses magnanimously offers his life for the people. Jehovah replies that he may lead the people on to Canaan, but refuses to go with them Himself. They strip themselves of their ornaments (xxxiii. 1—4). Moses entreats Jehovah to let him know whom He will send with him on the way to Canaan, and craves of Him a vision of His glory (xxxiii. 12—13, 17—23). Jehovah proclaims His (moral) glory in a theophany (xxxiv. 6—8). Moses entreats Him to forgive His people, and Himself to go with them to Canaan; and receives the promise that His 'presence' will go with them (xxxiv. 9, xxxiii. 14—16). (*b*) Moses is commanded to hew two tables of stone, and to take them up the mount to Jehovah (xxxiv. 1^{a}, 2—5). Jehovah establishes a covenant with Israel on the basis of a *corpus* of laws on worship (xxxiv. 10—28,—expanded in parts by R^{JE}). These laws are a different recension of those on the same subject, contained in the 'Book of the Covenant,' viz. xxiii. 12, 14, 15^{a}, 16, 18—19, and in xiii. 12, 13. On their probable original place in the lacuna after xix. 25, see pp. 252, 364.

E (xxxi. 18^{b}, xxxii. 1—8 [R^{JE} *vv.* 9—14], 15—24, 35, xxxiii. $5^{a,c}$, 6, 7—11, xxxiv. 1 [from *like*], 4 [the words *like unto the first*]). Moses receives from God the two tables of stone (xxxi. 18^{b}: see xxiv. 13). Aaron, instigated by the people, who are disheartened by Moses' long absence (xxiv. 18^{b}), makes a molten calf, and they worship before it.

(Probably R^{JE}: Jehovah declares to Moses that He will exterminate the people, and make him the ancestor of a great nation; but is diverted from His purpose by Moses' intercession, xxxii. 9—14.) Moses, returning to the camp with the tables of stone in his hand, sees the calf and the dancing, throws down the tables in anger, and breaks them. He then grinds the calf to powder; and makes the people drink it. Aaron, rebuked by Moses for what he has done, makes excuses (xxxii. 15—24). The people are told to remove their ornaments (xxxiii. 5$^{a, c}$, 6). How Moses used to take a tent, and pitch it outside the camp, and call it the Tent of Meeting: Moses used to go out to it from the camp to commune with Jehovah, who, when Moses entered the Tent, would descend in a pillar of cloud, and speak with him. Joshua was the custodian of the Tent (xxxiii. 7—11).

P (xxxiv. 29—35). How Moses' face used to shine, when he came down from communing with Jehovah on mount Sinai (the original sequel of xxv. 1—xxxi. 18^{a}).

Chs. xxxv—xl. (P_3). Execution of the directions given in chs. xxv—xxxi. for the construction of a sanctuary and the consecration of a priesthood: viz.

a. The observance of the Sabbath; presentation of contributions for the work by the people; appointment of Beẓal'el and Oholiab (xxxv. 1—xxxvi. 7).

b. The curtains, and wooden framework, of the 'Dwelling,' the veil, and the screen (xxxvi. 8—38).

c. The Ark, Table of Presence-bread, Candlestick, Altar of incense, Anointing Oil, and Incense (ch. xxxvii.).

d. The Altar of burnt-offering, the Bronze Laver, the Court round the Tabernacle, and the account of the amount of metal used in the work (ch. xxxviii.).

e. The vestments for the priests, and the delivery to Moses of the completed work of the Tabernacle (ch. xxxix.). The account of the *consecration* of the priests follows in Lev. viii.

f. Erection of the Tabernacle on the first day of the second year of the Exodus (ch. xl.).

§ 4. HISTORY OF EGYPT DURING THE ISRAELITES' SOJOURN IN IT.

If the tradition recorded in Ex. i. 11 be correct,—and the fact is not of a nature likely to be falsified by tradition,—that the Israelites built Raamses and Pithom, the Pharaoh of the oppression must have been Rameses II (1300—1234 B.C.[1]); for M. Naville has already shewn that Pithom was founded by Rameses II; and it follows from this that the Rameses from whom Raamses derived its name will have been the same king. And Ex. ii. 23, iv. 19, naturally imply that, in the view of the narrator (J), the Pharaoh from whom in the end Moses delivered his people was the immediate successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression, i.e. the successor of Rameses II, Merenptah (1234—1214 B.C.).

Accepting, then, this date, let us survey very briefly the history and condition of Egypt during the time that the Israelites must have been resident in it. If the Exodus took place under Merenptah, and *if* the Israelites were really 430 years in Egypt (Ex. xii. 40),—which, however, is very uncertain (see p. xlv),—the migration of Jacob and his family must have taken place *c.* 1660—40 B.C., while the foreign kings, called the Hyksos, were ruling in Egypt, and not long before their expulsion in B.C. 1587[2]. Their rule was followed by that of the Eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1587—1328). The Eighteenth dynasty had its seat at Thebes; its rule marked the most brilliant period of Egyptian history. Syene (now Aṣṣuān), at the first Cataract, marked the S. limit of Egypt proper (Ez. xxix. 10, xxx. 6, RVm.); but the third ruler of this Dynasty, Thothmes I (1541—1516), conquered Kush (Ethiopia) to above the third Cataract (19° 50′ N.), marched his army through Palestine as far as Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and set up there two pillars to mark the limits of Egyptian territory in Asia. Thothmes III (1503—1449) made a series of expeditions into Asia. In his twenty-third year he advanced as far as Megiddo, where he defeated the combined forces of the peoples of Syria, who had united against him: the names of the 360 places which fell in consequence into his hands are inscribed upon the walls of the great temple of Ammon at Karnak. The first 119 of these places are within, or near, the border of Canaan: some of the identifications are uncertain: but those which are clear include, for instance, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam (Josh. xvii. 11), Acco, Joppa, Gezer, and Beth-anath (Jud. i. 33). See the 119 names in Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 323 ff. Other expeditions followed into the same regions. No other Egyptian king penetrated so far into Asia, or caused the name of Egypt to be so widely feared.

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[1] So Petrie: the dates of other recent authorities do not materially differ (1310—1244, Meyer; 1292—1225, Breasted). See the *Addenda* to the writer's *Genesis*, ed. 7 (1909), pp. XVII—XIX, XLVI. In the sequel Petrie's dates are followed.

[2] The singular theory of Eerdmans (*Expositor*, Sept. 1908, p. 193 ff.) that the 'Hebrews' were distinct from the 'Israelites,' that the former were in Egypt from *c.* 1500 B.C. (for '400 years,' Gen. xv. 13), and the latter (including *Joseph*!) only from *c.* 1205 B.C. (for 'four generations,' Gen. xv. 16), and that the Exodus took place *c.* 1125 B.C. under Rameses XII, is too improbable to need serious discussion. Cf. Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), pp. xv, 502.

Some inscriptions from this reign contain interesting references to brick-making in Egypt. Thus the illustration given on p. 39 is accompanied by these inscriptions:

> For the new building of the store-house of the god Amon, of Apt (Thebes).
>
> Captives whom his Majesty carried away, building the temple of his father Amon.
>
> The taskmaster says to his labourers, 'The stick is in my hand, be not idle.'

And another inscription, evidently part of a foreman's report, reads thus:

Number of builders, 12, besides men for moulding the bricks in their own towns (?), brought to work on the house. They are making the due number of bricks every day: they are not remiss in their labours for the new house. I have thus obeyed the command given by my master.

Under Amenhotep (Amenophis) III (1414—1383) the power of Egypt was at its height. The Tell el-Amarna letters (many of which belong to this reign) reveal to us the sovereigns of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, and other nations eager to secure the friendship of Egypt. Vast temples were built by the king at Thebes; sculpture and other arts flourished as they had never done before. Amenophis IV (1383—1365) is remarkable as having effected a religious revolution in Egypt, and introduced a species of monotheism. He broke with the existing polytheism, dispossessed the various priesthoods, excised the name 'gods' wherever it appeared in the temples, and proclaimed as the sole god of Egypt the sun-god, whom Amenophis revered as the source of all life, power, and force in the universe[1]. This monotheism did not indeed long survive Amenophis himself; but it was a noteworthy phenomenon at the time. At a spot about 100 miles S. of Cairo, now called Tell el-Amarna, Amenophis IV built for himself a new capital, as a centre for this sun-worship; and it is the large collection of cuneiform tablets found there in 1887, belonging partly to the reign of Amenophis III, and partly to that of Amenophis IV, which has shed such a surprising light on the political condition of Syria and Palestine at the time. Both countries were provinces of Egypt, administered by Egyptian governors stationed in their principal fortresses. Under Amenophis IV, however, the authority of Egypt was considerably weakened: its supremacy was threatened partly by the Hittites, partly by formidable invading hordes called in the letters of Abdi-ḥiba, the governor of Jerusalem, *Ḥabiri*[1], partly by the native population, and partly by intrigues and rivalries between the Egyptian governors themselves. In these letters to the Egyptian king, these governors frequently dilate upon the dangers to which they are exposed, and beg earnestly for military help: if it is not forthcoming, the country is lost to Egypt. Under the last few rulers of the Eighteenth dynasty (1365—1328) the power and prestige of Egypt diminished yet more; and the nations whom Thothmes III had made tributary recognized its supremacy no more. With the Nineteenth dynasty (1328—1202) however,—the seat of which was also at Thebes,—the position of Egypt improved. Seti I (1326—1300), its third ruler, in an expedition of his first year, recovered most of Palestine for Egypt. The Shasu (plundering Bedawi tribes from the desert on the S. of Canaan) were raiding and gaining a foothold in Southern Palestine[2]; Seti I, starting from the frontier-fortress of Zaru or Selle (see on Ex. xiii. 20), on the N.E. of the Delta (see the map), marched as far as the town of Pa-Kanana (probably somewhere on the S. frontier of Canaan), routing them in all directions[1]; he then pushed on northwards, capturing Megiddo, Tyre, and other towns on the way, as far as Tunip, 12 miles N. of Aleppo; after which he returned in triumph to Egypt. Scenes of this campaign are depicted on the north wall of the great hypostyle hall built by him at Karnak[2]; and a monument of Seti I's rule over Palestine is still preserved in the pillar, inscribed with his cartouche, discovered by G. A. Smith at Tell esh-Shihāb, 22 miles east of the Sea of Galilee[3]. His son, Rameses II, followed in his steps; and alike by his conquests and the number and magnificence of his buildings, proved himself, during his 67 years' reign (B.C. 1300—1234), one of the greatest monarchs who ever ruled over Egypt. Rameses II, in his second, fourth, fifth, and eighth years led a series of expeditions into Syria; in his fifth year he gained the famous victory over the Hittites at Kedesh on the Orontes, which was celebrated by the court-poet Pentaur; in his twenty-first year he concluded a treaty with the Hittites, the earliest treaty at present known to history, and, historically, a most important document. He moreover gained many successes in Libya, Nubia, and elsewhere. Monuments bearing his name have been found from the Nahr el-Kalb, near Beirut, in Syria, and Sheikh Sa'ad[4], on the E. of the Sea of Galilee, 11 miles N. of Tell esh-Shihāb, to Napata in Ethiopia (about 18° 30′ N.); his victories are represented, or described, on the walls of the great temples at Luxor, Abu-Simbel, and other places. Rameses II also built or renovated numerous temples—for instance, at Memphis, Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, and Abu-Simbel: he also in particular erected temples and other buildings in the Delta, especially in its eastern part, including the great temple at Tanis (Zoan), which he rebuilt, and decorated with numerous obelisks, &c, and the store-city of Pithom (Ex. i. 11)[1].

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[1] See in Petrie, ii. 211 ff., or Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.*, p. 371 ff., the striking hymn to Aten, celebrating him as the source of life in men and animals, as watering the earth, causing the seasons, &c.

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[1] In the other letters the people who play the same part are denoted by an ideogram, which, read phonetically, would be read SA-GAS. The true pronunciation is uncertain: Winckler thinks that it was *Ḥabiri*: Knudzton allows this to be possible; but even those who doubt whether the SA-GAS were *called* 'Ḥabiri' do not deny that they were substantially the same people. There *may* be some connexion between these Ḥabiri and the Hebrews: they cannot indeed, for chronological and other reasons, be identical with the Hebrews who invaded Canaan under Joshua: but they may, for instance, have been a branch of the same tribal stock (Paton), or have included the ancestors of the later 'Hebrews' (Winckler, Spiegelberg, Skinner). See further Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* i. (1895), 14—21, *KAT.*^{3} (1902), 196—203; Petrie, *Syr. and Eg. from the Tell el-Am. letters* (1898), 64 f.; Paton, *Early Hist. of Syr. and Pal.* (1902), 111, 113 f.; Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aeg.* (1904), 32—34, 50; Knudzton, *El-Amarna Tafeln* (1907), 46—52; Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), 218.

[2] Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906—7), iii. p. 52; cf. *Hist. of Eg.* 409 f.

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[1] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iii. 43—47; *Hist.* 410.

[2] See the description in Petrie, iii. 11—16.

[3] *Quarterly Statement of the Palest. Explor. Fund*, 1901, pp. 347—9.

[4] The so-called 'Job's Stone,' found here, bears the official title of Rameses II: see *DB.* i. 166^{b}.

The reign of Rameses II was remarkable also for the influence exerted at the time by Canaan and Syria upon Egypt. Even before this reign slaves from Charu and Canaan are frequently mentioned; and some of these had attained—like Joseph—positions of high honour in Egypt. Under Rameses II the number of such slaves had greatly increased: trade with Asia had also considerably developed, with the result that Asiatic luxuries, manufactures, and works of art were imported in great numbers into Egypt; and the latter even strongly influenced Egyptian art itself at the time. Many Canaanite,—i.e. virtually Hebrew—words also found their way at the same time into Egyptian literature[2]. The military expeditions into Asia had made the Egyptians acquainted with Canaan and Syria; and the knowledge of Canaan in particular possessed by Egyptians is well illustrated by the *Travels of a Mohar*, written under Rameses II, in which many places in Canaan are mentioned[3].

With the death of Rameses II, the decline of Egypt began. Merenptah, who succeeded him, was his thirteenth son; he was born probably in the eighth year of his father's reign, so that at his accession he would be about 58 years of age[4]. Dated documents from his first to his eighth year are extant: Manetho, as reported by Josephus, and Africanus, assigned him 19—20 years[5]. Petrie, following Manetho, dates his reign 1234—1214 B.C.; Breasted, not going substantially beyond the documents,

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[1] For full particulars of Rameses II's reign, see Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.*², iii. 28—103 (his buildings, 72—81); Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* (1906), 418—463, or, more briefly, in his smaller *History of the Anc. Egyptians* (1908), 301—326.

[2] See Erman, pp. 514—518; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 447—9, *Hist. of Anc. Egyptians*, 317 f.; Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, 216, 244—6.

[3] Sayce, *HCM.* 341 ff., or *Patr. Pal.* 204 f., 301—326.

[4] Petrie, iii. 107.

[5] *Ib.* 106.

1225—1215 B.C. Even before the close of Rameses' reign, the Teḥenu (Libyans), and other N. African tribes, had begun to plunder the western parts of the Delta and form settlements in it; in Merenptah's fifth year, in conjunction with hordes from the Mediterranean coasts,—the 'peoples of the sea,' as the Egyptians termed them,—they organised a great invasion of Egypt; and Merenptah's defeat of these invaders at *Pr-yr*[1] (probably in Middle Egypt), with the capture of a large amount of spoil, was his chief military success[2]. The victory, which delivered Egypt from a pressing danger, was celebrated with great rejoicings; an inscription, grandiloquently describing it, will be referred to immediately. The rest of Merenptah's reign was uneventful.

The death of Merenptah was the beginning of a conflict for the throne, which lasted for some years. Seti II was the successor of Merenptah. his reign was short (1214—1209), and marked by no event of importance. A period of anarchy followed, until Setnakht, perhaps a descendant of Rameses II, succeeded in exterminating the pretenders and restoring order (1203—1202 B.C.). His son began the 20th dynasty (1202—1102), consisting entirely of rulers bearing the name of Rameses, Rameses III to XII. Rameses III (1202—1171) was a vigorous and successful ruler: under him Egypt recovered much of its former prosperity. He repulsed successfully another combination of Libyans and the 'peoples of the sea'—a combination remarkable for including the *Purasati*, the 'Philistines' of Hebrew history, here for the first time mentioned in the Egyptian records, whose original home was Crete (Am. ix. 7), but who shortly afterwards founded a permanent settlement in the S.W. corner of Palestine, where they maintained themselves for many centuries. After this, the Egyptian possessions in Phoenicia and Canaan were threatened by an invading horde of peoples from the North: to repel them, Rameses III found it necessary twice to march his forces through Canaan; on each occasion he defeated the invaders somewhere in the territory of Amurri (the Amorites) on the N. of Canaan. Rameses III possessed immense wealth which enabled him to erect many public buildings, including in particular a magnificent temple at Medinet Abu, on the walls of which the record of his achievements was inscribed: he also, as the Papyrus Harris, written during the reign of his successor, informs us, gave offerings of fabulous value to the temples[1]. The reigns of Rameses IV—XII do not call here for special notice.

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[1] *Anc. Rec.* iii. 243, 248, 255.

[2] Petrie, iii. 108—114; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 466—470; *Hist. of Anc. Egyptians*, 328—330.

Some inscriptions belonging to Merenptah's reign must now be noticed. From the time of the 12th dynasty onwards the N.E. frontier of Egypt, from the N. end of the Gulf of Suez —which was then perhaps at L. Timsāḥ[2]—to the Mediterranean Sea, was protected by a line of forts, guarded by troops[3]; and, at least under Merenptah, no one was allowed to pass any of these forts in either direction without giving the officer in command his name, his position, and the object of his journey, and producing the letters he bore. By a happy chance, fragments of the frontier diary kept at this time by Paembesa, a scribe, stationed, it seems, in the fortress Zaru (p. 112), have been preserved[4]; and here are two of the entries in it:

> Third year, 15th of Pachon. There went up the servant of Baʻal, Roy, son of Zeper, of Gaza, who had with him for Syria two letters, as follows: (for) the captain of infantry, Chay, one letter; (for) the chief of Tyre, Baalat-Remeg, one letter.

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[1] Petrie, iii. 142—165; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 477—501, 505; *Hist. of Anc. Egyptians*, 333—344, 347.

[2] Below, pp. 126—8; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 447: cf. the map in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 75.

[3] Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* p. 351 *n.* 3, 469 *n.* 1: cf. on xv. 22; and see SHUR in *DB.*

[4] See Erman, *Anc. Egypt*, p. 538, or Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 271 f. (with improved readings, followed in the two quoted here).

> Third year, 17th of Pachon. There arrived the captains of the archers of the Well of Merenptah, which is (on) the highland, to report (?) in the castle (*khetem*) which is in Zaru.

There are also three other similar entries, the whole shewing that 'in ten days there were eight important people passing the frontier and seven official despatches, implying much intercourse across the long and forbidding desert journey[1].'

From Merenptah's eighth year, we have the following report of an Egyptian officer, stating that permission had been given to certain Bedawi tribes to pass the southern frontier-fort, at Thukke, in order to pasture their cattle near Pithom:

> Another matter for the satisfaction of my master's heart. We have allowed the tribes of the Shasu (Bedawin) of Atuma to pass the castle (*khetem*) of King Merenptah which is in Thukke, to the lakes of Pithom, of King Merenptah in Thukke, in order to find sustenance for themselves and their cattle in the domain of Pharaoh, who is the beneficent sun in every land. In the year 8...[2].

This inscription is of extreme interest. Pithom is only a few miles E. of Goshen; and the permission given to these Bedawi tribes to settle about it, for the sake of their flocks and herds, forms a close parallel to the permission given to Jacob and his sons to settle in Goshen for the same purpose[3].

From the reign of Merenptah's successor, Seti II (1214—1209), we have the report of a scribe, who had been sent out to overtake two fugitive slaves of the Egyptian king:

> I started from the court of the palace (at Tanis or Memphis?) on the 9th of Epiphi (July), in the evening, in pursuit of two slaves. Now I arrived at the fortified enclosure of Thukke on the 10th of Epiphi, and was told that they had spoken of the south (i.e. spoken of taking the southern route?), and that they had passed on on the 9th of Epiphi. I went to the castle (*khetem*),—viz. of Thukke,—and was told, 'The

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[1] Petrie, iii. 107.

[2] Breasted, *l.c.*, p. 273.

[3] For a similar instance from the reign of Harmhab (*c.* 1330 B.C.), see *Anc. Rec.* iii. 6, 7.

horseman (or groom), who comes from abroad [says] that they passed the northern wall of the watch-tower (*mektol*=Heb. *migdol*) of Seti Merenptah (Seti II).'

This 'mektol' *may* be the 'Migdol' of Ex. xiv. 2: as there must have been other 'towers' to protect the N.E. frontier, more cannot be said; still, as Thukke will have been Succoth (see on Ex. xii. 37), the fugitives will have followed *approximately* the route taken before them by the Israelites.

We come now to the famous stelè, discovered in 1896, in the Theban necropolis at Ḳurnah, in the funeral temple of Merenptah, on which mention is made of 'Israel.' The inscription, which is dated on the day of the battle, is a song of triumph, describing, in grandiloquent language, the great defeat of Libyans in the king's fifth year, mentioned above; and the peace, unruffled by the signs or sound of war, which afterwards prevailed in the land. The writer continues:

> No longer is there the lament of sighing man. The villages are again settled. He who has tilled his crop will eat it. Ra has turned himself to Egypt. King Merenptah is born for the purpose of avenging it. Chiefs are prostrate, saying 'Salām' (i.e. supplicating for mercy). Not one among the Nine Bows (the Barbarians) raises his head. Vanquished are the Teḥenu (Libyans); the Khita (Hittites) are pacified. Canaan is seized with every evil; Ashkelon is carried away; Gezer is taken; Yenoam is annihilated; *Ysiraal is desolated, its seed* (or *fruit*) *is not.* Charu (perhaps the Ḥorites, the old population of Edom) has become as widows for Egypt (i.e. is helpless before the attacks of Egypt); all lands together are at peace.

The tenor of the inscription seems to imply that at the beginning of Merenptah's reign there had been a revolt among the subjects of Egypt in Palestine, and that the Pharaoh had made a successful expedition into Canaan, and reduced them[1].

While the other places or peoples mentioned in the inscription have the determinative for 'country,' the name 'Israel' has the determinative for 'men': the reference is consequently to 'Israel' as a tribe or people; and from the context in which it is mentioned, among various conquered towns or districts in Palestine, it is plain that it is represented as resident in Canaan itself, though scarcely as occupying the whole of the country, but rather a district of it (by the side of Gezer, Charu, &c.). How is the notice to be accommodated to what we learn from other sources of the history of Israel at the time? As Petrie remarks, the notice is a very surprising one. From the Old Testament we should infer that there were no Israelites in Palestine between the migration into Egypt, and the entry at Jericho under Joshua, whereas here are Israelites mentioned in the midst of various districts and places in Canaan. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that there were Israelites settled in Canaan before the entry into it of the Israelite tribes who came out of Egypt with Moses[1]. Petrie (p. 114) is of opinion that there were Israelites left behind, or immediately returning, after the famine of Joseph, and that they kept up the family traditions about the sites in Canaan which were known in later times. The Egyptologist, Spiegelberg[2], supposes that they were descendants of the Ḥabiri, or 'Hebrews' (p. xxxiii), who are mentioned in Abdi-ḥiba's letters (*c.* 1400 B.C.) as making incursions into Palestine[3]. The Biblical accounts of the Exodus are not contemporary: the traditions embodied in them relate solely to the Hebrews who escaped from Egypt. It is possible that these were in reality only a section of the entire nation, and that the representation which we have in Genesis and Exodus of *all* the house of Jacob migrating into Egypt to join Joseph there, or of *all* Jacob's descendants leaving it at the Exodus, may have arisen only afterwards, when the nation had become consolidated, and it was natural to think of their ancestors as having all had a common experience in Egypt.

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[1] Breasted, p. 465 f.

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[1] Cf. Burney, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1908, p. 334.

[2] *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten* (1904), p. 40.

[3] The mention in the *Travels of a Mohar*, written under Rameses II, of a 'mountain of User' in the North of Canaan has been supposed to indicate that the tribe of Asher was settled in Canaan before the Exodus (Sayce, *Patriarchal Pal.*, 1895, p. 219; cf. Hogarth's *Auth. and Arch.* p. 70). Comp. also the 'Asaru' of Seti I (below, p. 416).

Are the 'Hebrews' mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions? The eminent French Egyptologist, M. Chabas, argued forcibly in his *Mélanges Égyptologiques*[1] that a foreign people called *Āperu* or *'Apriu*, mentioned in inscriptions from the reign of Thothmes III (1503—1449 B.C.) to Rameses IV (1171—1165), as doing either forced labour or other service for the Pharaoh, were the Hebrews: his conclusion, though accepted by Ebers, was controverted by Brugsch and other authorities[2], and has met generally with little favour. Recently, however, it has been revived, and supported by arguments of considerable weight[3]. The following are the texts in which the Āperu are mentioned:

1. In a tale (not a contemporary document) respecting the taking of Joppa by Tahutia, a general of Thothmes III, it is said that, having by a ruse obtained admission into the city, he sent a message to the troops outside by 'one of the *Āperu*[4].'

2. In a report addressed to an official of the reign of Rameses II there occur the words: 'To rejoice the heart of my lord. I have obeyed the message of my lord, in which he said, Give corn to the native soldiers, and also to the Āpuriu, who are bringing up stones for the great tower of Pa-Ramessu.... I have given them their corn every month, according to the instructions of my lord.'

3. In another report of the same age we read: I have hearkened to my lord's message, 'Give provisions to the soldiers and to the Āperu, who bring up stones for Rā (the sun-god), viz. for Rā of Rameses Meri Amen in the S. quarter of Memphis' (i.e. for the temple of Ra which Rameses II had built there).

4. Under Rameses III, the first king of the 20th dynasty (1202—1171 B.C.), there are mentioned, among the people attached to the great temple of Tum at Heliopolis (in the Delta, about 7 miles N.E. of Cairo).

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[1] i. (1862), p. 42 ff., ii. (1864), pp. 108—165.

[2] See particulars in Maspero, ii. 443*n*.

[3] See esp. H. J. Heyes, *Bibel und Aegypten*, i. (1904), p. 146 ff.

[4] Petrie, *Egypt. Tales*, ii. 3; cf. p. 7.

'Orderlies, children of chiefs, nobles, Āperu, and people of the settlement in this place, 2,093[1].'

5. In a rock-inscription, in one of the barren valleys of the Hammâmât mountains (a little N. of Thebes), it is stated that Rameses IV sent an expedition to the quarries in these mountains. The number of people that were sent down was 8368: among them were '800 Āperu of the bow-troops (barbarian auxiliaries[2]) of Anu[3].

There were thus Āperu described as acting under Thothmes III as attendants on the king; and under the other kings mentioned, as settled in colonies in Egypt, and engaged in the work of quarrying or carrying stone for various public buildings. The name is each time followed by the determinative sign indicating a foreign population[4]. It agrees, according to the laws of Egyptian transcription, with the name עברים ('Hebrews'); and the occupations of the Āperu were similar to those of the Hebrews. There certainly seems to be a reasonable probability that the two names are identical; and that the Āperu of the Egyptian inscriptions were detachments of the 'Hebrews' mentioned in Exodus, employed in various capacities by the Pharaohs. If this conclusion is correct, and the Exodus took place under Merenptah, we must suppose that the Āperu mentioned under Rameses III and IV were bodies, or the descendants of bodies, which were perhaps separated from the Hebrews of Goshen and employed in other parts of Egypt, under Rameses II and Merenptah, and who might thus have been left behind at the time of the Exodus[5].

[1] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 150 (where, however, the identification with the Hebrews is spoken of as 'exploded').

[2] See Erman, *Anc. Eg.*, p. 543.

[3] I.e. Aian?, on the E. border of lower Egypt? (Griffith).

[4] This is not the case with the 'āperu' mentioned under Nefer ḥetep of the 13th dynasty: the word in this case denotes the *crew of a royal ship* (from *āper*, to *equip*), not a people at all.

[5] For Manetho's account of the expulsion of the Hyksos, reported by Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 14),—in which, as they are stated to have 'built a city in what is now called Judaea, and called it Jerusalem,' there

§ 5. HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF EXODUS.

If the conclusions of criticism are correct, and, to quote the words of such a cautious and circumspect scholar as the late Professor Davidson[1], 'we have no literature from the period of the Exodus itself,' but only 'the view of this period taken in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.,' in what light are we to view the narratives of the Exodus? It is a primary canon of historical criticism that a first-class historical authority must be *contemporary* (or nearly so) *with the events which it purports to relate*: if, therefore, the narratives of Exodus were not committed to writing till several centuries after the Exodus took place, what value is to be attached to them? The two earliest narratives are undoubtedly those denoted by J and E: these are based upon the oral traditions current in the 9th or 8th centuries B.C., upon customs and institutions in force at the time, and upon collections of—in all probability—written laws. P dates from a later age, and exhibits the form which historical tradition and

must be some confusion with the Israelites,—see Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* i. 387 ff.; Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* i. 233—5, ii. 21 f.; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 216 f. The Hyksos retired in fact to a place generally identified with Sharuḥen in Simeon (Josh. xix. 6), where they were besieged by the Egyptians for six years (Petrie, ii. 22; Breasted, p. 218); and this, no doubt, led to their confusion with the Israelites: but the account throws no real light upon the Exodus.

It is remarkable what little impress the residence of the Israelites in Egypt left upon either their language or their institutions. On the former, see *LOT.* p. 125 f., *DB.* ii. 775,—adding here, the proper names Moses, Puṭiel and Phineḥas (see on ii. 10, vi. 25); of the latter, the ark *may* have been suggested by Egyptian analogies (*EB.* i. 307; cf. below, p. 269),—*possibly*, also, the high priest's ephod (*DB.* i. 725^b *n.*, and below, p. 312), and the jewelled front of the pouch of judgement (*EHH.* 199; cf. Erman, 298); but the two latter, whether of Egyptian origin or not, will have been of later introduction.

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[1] *Theology of the O.T.* (1904), p. 16.

ritual institutions had assumed in priestly circles at this later time[1]. J and E, being earlier than P, though the *form* in which many of their narratives are cast owes much to the literary power of the narrators, contain far more genuine historical reminiscences than P does. And it will be noticed that these two narratives, while differing more or less in *details*, are often in *substance* very similar: the differences are not greater than might easily arise, if the same materials were handed down orally by different channels through several generations, and thrown finally into a literary form by different hands. We cannot press details: but it is hypercritical to doubt that the *outline* of the narratives which have thus come down to us by two channels, is historical. The narratives of J and E cannot be mere fictions: those wonderful pictures of life, and character, and ever-varying incident, though, as we know them, they may owe something of their charm to their painters' skill, cannot but embody substantial elements of fact. That the ancestors—or (p. xl) *some* of the ancestors—of the later Israelites were for long settled in Egypt, and, in the end, subjected there to hard bondage; that Moses was the leader who, after much opposition on the part of the Pharaoh, rescued them from their thraldom at a time when Egypt was paralysed by an unprecedented succession of national calamities, and led them through a part of the Red Sea usually covered with water beyond reach of their recent oppressors; that he brought them afterwards to a mountain where Israel received through him a revelation which was a new departure in the national religion, and became the foundation both of the later religion of Israel, and of Christianity; that he originated, or, more probably, adapted, customs and institutions from which the later civil and religious organization of the nation was developed; and that thus Israel owed to Moses both its national existence and, ultimately, its religious character,—these, and other facts such as these, cannot be called in question by a reasonable criticism[1]. Moses, in particular, bulks too largely in the Pentateuchal narratives to be anything but a historical person, of whose life and character many trustworthy traditions were preserved.

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[1] Naturally the *institutions* include many ancient and even archaic elements.

How long the Israelites had been sojourners in Egypt cannot be determined with certainty. There is nothing in the Book of Genesis to indicate what king, or even what dynasty, was ruling when Jacob and his sons joined Joseph in Egypt[2]. In the Old Testament 400 (Gen. xv. 13 J) or 430 years (Ex. xii. 40 P), and also four generations (Gen. xv. 16 J; cf. Ex. ii. 1 E, vi. 16, 18, 20 P, with the notes on ii. 1 and vi. 27), are assigned as the period of their sojourn there. The two statements may have been harmonized by the supposition that a 'generation' at the period in question consisted of 100 years: but naturally it cannot have done so in reality. The length of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt must thus be left an open question: *if* (p. xlii) the Āperu are the Hebrews, there were *some* Hebrews in the service of Thothmes III, 220 years before the Exodus.

Of the condition of the Israelites in Egypt, practically nothing is known, beyond what can be inferred by conjecture from analogy. We must picture them as a body of settlers numbering (Petrie[3]) some 5—6000 souls, settled in 'Goshen,' i.e. (Naville; see on viii. 22) the fertile district at the W. end of Wady Ṭumîlat (see the Map) within 'the triangle lying between Ṣafṭ, Belbeis, and Tel el-Kebir,' covering an area of about 70 square miles. These settlers will have had the same simple habits of life, with elementary institutions for the maintenance of justice and order—tribal leaders, Sheikhs acting as judges, councils of elders, simple rules for the punishment of offenders, rudimentary religious observances—which are still in operation among nomad Arab tribes. In all probability they were of little importance in the eyes of the Egyptians. 'In the eyes of their Egyptian contemporaries,' writes Prof. Sayce[1], 'the Israelites were but one of many Shasu or Bedawin tribes who had settled in the pasture lands of the Eastern Delta. Their numbers were comparatively insignificant, their social standing obscure. They were doubtless as much despised and avoided by the Egyptians of their day as similar Bedawin tribes are by the Egyptians of the present day. They lived apart from the natives of the country, and the occupation they pursued was regarded as fit only for the outcasts of mankind.' Their growing numbers made them dangerous, because, 'in case of invasion, they might assist the enemy and expose Egypt to another Asiatic conquest. Hence came the determination to transform them into public serfs, and even to destroy them altogether. The free Bedawin-like settlers in Goshen, who had kept apart from their Egyptian neighbours, and had been unwilling to perform even agricultural work, were made the slaves of the State. They were taken from their herds and sheep, from their independent life on the outskirts of the Delta, and compelled'

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[1] Comp. W. H. Bennett, *DB.* iii. 444 f.; and G. A. Cooke, *The Progress of Revelation* (sermons chiefly on the O.T.), 1910, p. 7 f. See also Kittel, *The Scientific Study of the O.T.* (1910), pp. 164—176; and the forthcoming first volume of his *Hist. of the Hebrews* (ed. 2).

[2] *DB.* ii. 770^b, with note §; cf. the writer's *Genesis*, p. 347. Petrie's argument (*Egypt and Isr.*, 1911, p. 27), based on the purely *conjectural* explanation of 'Abrek' (Gen. xli. 43) from the Babylonian, has not the cogency which he appears to attach to it.

[3] *Researches in Sinai* (1906), p. 207 f. The present entire population of the Peninsula of Sinai is 5—7000; and the 60—80 square miles of Goshen would support, on an agricultural basis, about 20,000 people, but a much smaller *pastoral* population, such as the Hebrews were (*ibid.*). 'Thus we may put the case in brief by saying that not more

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than about 5000 people could be taken out of Goshen or into Sinai.' To the same effect, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 41 f. The number implied by the statements in the Pentateuch is at least 2,000,000 souls; and a number such as this could have been supported neither in Goshen nor in the barely clad and scantily watered wādys and plains around Sinai (p. 178). Petrie's own explanation of the high numbers (*ibid.* p. 43 ff) is, however, not probable: see below, p. 101.

[1] *HCM.* p. 248, and *EHH.* 152 f.

to do field-labour, to make bricks, and build for the Pharaoh his store-cities of Pithom and Raamses.

The measures taken subsequently by the Pharaoh to check the still increasing numbers of the Israelites, need not here be recounted in detail. How Moses escaped a watery death in the Nile is told in Ex. ii. 1—10: here it need only be remarked that the common opinion, based on Acts vii. 22, that he was instructed in 'all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' has no support in the OT. itself, and is simply (see p. 11 f.) an imaginative development, which elsewhere we first find in Philo, of the Biblical statement that he 'became a son' to Pharaoh's daughter. Moses' abortive attempt to help his brethren resulted in his flight into the land of Midian (ii. 15), where he became son-in-law to the priest of Midian. In the solitudes of 'Horeb' Moses had those mysterious communings with God, in which he first felt the inward call to become his people's deliverer, and, by a series of Divine monitions, overcame, one after another, the difficulties which his diffidence suggested to him—his unfitness either to treat with the Pharaoh, or to become the leader of his people, his uncertainty as to the *name* of the God who had sent him, his apprehensions that the Israelites would not listen to him or believe in his Divine commission, and his lack of fluency to convince or persuade them (iii. 11—iv. 17). To meet the special difficulty that he will not be listened to, he is endowed with thaumaturgic powers, and instructed to do signs to satisfy (J) the Israelites (iv. 1—9, 30^b), and (E) the Pharaoh (iv. 17, 21^a, 28), of his Divine commission. That Moses may have felt such difficulties is, psychologically, extremely probable, though the details of the manner in which he experienced and overcame them may be largely due to the narrators.

A difficulty is sometimes felt as to what is meant when God is described as 'speaking' to a man. As Delitzsch has remarked (on Gen. xii. 1), His voice in such cases 'is to be thought of, not as something external, but as heard within his inmost soul.' And so, when a prophet says, 'And God said,' 'Thus saith the LORD,' &c., what he means is that he is conscious of an impulse or direction, not his own, being given to his thoughts, the result of which, as he describes it, he puts into his own words, and expresses in the style peculiar to himself. And this is why the Divine thought assumes different forms in different writers: it is in each case coloured by the human medium through which it has passed. Thus in the Pentateuch the words said to have been spoken to Moses, or the laws given to him, must not be thought of as if they were spoken or given exactly as they stand: the impulse, or superintending influence, moved the hearts and minds of those concerned—whether Moses, or some later lawgiver, or the narrator, as the case may be—in the required direction: but the words in which the result of this Divine operation is expressed, are supplied by the human individuality of the speaker or writer: hence both here and elsewhere in the OT. the Divine thought and the human expression of it are inseparably combined. Comp. the writer's sermons on the Voice of God in the OT., and on Inspiration, in his *Sermons on the OT.* pp. 135 f., 148 ff.

The *origin* of the name Yahweh is still uncertain. Whether the explanation of it, as meaning *He will be*, suggested in Ex. iii. 14 (see the note), gives its real etymology is doubtful: more probably this verse gives the deeper theological sense in which the name was understood, when the writer (E) lived. E, at least by implication (iii. 13—15), and P expressly (vi. 3), regard it as originating in the Mosaic age; J, on the other hand, represents it as having been in use from the very beginning of the history (Gen. ii. 4^b, 5, &c.). There may be elements of truth in each of these representations, though neither may be true entirely. It is not likely that Moses would come to his people in the name of an entirely unknown deity—indeed, in E it is expressly stated that it is the God of their fathers whom he is to introduce to the people (iii. 6): on the other hand, it is not likely that the name was known from the very beginning of history. It is remarkable that, while proper names compounded with Yahweh (Yāhū, Yāh, Yĕhō-) are abundant during the monarchy and later, the only names so compounded occurring in the whole of the Hexateuch are Jochébed (the mother of Moses), and Joshua. In the Book of Judges, the only names so formed (besides Joshua) are Joash, Jotham, Jonathan (Moses' grandson, xviii. 30), and Micaiah (Jud. xvii. 1, 4 Heb.). Proper names compounded with a Divine name are so very common in Heb., that these facts tend to shew that the name Yahweh was of recent introduction even in the time of the Judges. Yahweh is closely associated with *Sinai*: Sinai is called a 'mountain of God' before Moses visited it (see on iii. 1); thither Moses led his people after the Exodus; there Jehovah manifested Himself in the storm-clouds that gathered, and in the lightnings which played, about its mountain summit[1]; there He revealed His will to Moses, and gave His covenant to Israel (Ex. xix.—xxiv.); thence He marched forth, in thunderstorm and cloud[2], to lead Israel into Canaan (Dt. xxxiii. 2)—

Jehovah came from Sinai,
  And beamed forth from Seir [Edom] unto them;
He shined forth from mount Paran[3],
  And came from holy myriads [read probably, with a very slight change in the Heb., *from Meribath-Kadesh*];

and thither also Elijah repaired (1 K. xix. 8 ff.), to find Divine encouragement in his despair. Yahweh must thus have been a God who, in some very special sense, had His home on Sinai; and whose worship, in some fuller and more formal sense than had previously been the case, was there accepted by the Israelites. From the connexion of Moses with the Kenite (Jud. iv. 11) Jethro (Ex. ii., xviii.), and the friendliness which subsisted afterwards between Israel and the Kenites (Jud. i. 16; 1 S. xv. 6), it has been supposed that Yahweh was the God of the

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[1] Wade, *OT. Hist.*, p. 103.

[2] Notice 'beamed,' and 'shined forth,' in Dt. xxxiii. 2; and the thunderstorms described in the verses immediately following Jud. v. 4 and Hab. iii. 3, cited in the next note. For the Hebrew idea that Jehovah was actually present in the thunder-cloud, see also Ps. xviii. 10—13, xxix. 3—9, and the note on Ex. ix. 23[a].

[3] Comp. Jud. v. 4, where, though Sinai itself is not mentioned, Jehovah is represented as coming in a storm from 'Seir' and 'Edom' to discomfit His people's foes; and Hab. iii. 3, where, in the description of the theophany, He comes similarly from 'Teman' [in Edom] and 'Paran'; and see p. 190.

Kenites, and that Israel at Sinai adopted His worship from them. But this view would imply that there was no connexion between Yahweh and Israel before Moses became the son-in-law of Jethro, which is not probable: a new and foreign deity would hardly have been so rapidly accepted by the Israelites. We are in the region of conjectures: but there are reasons for believing (pp. xl, 416) that 'the whole of the tribes of Israel did not undergo serfdom in Egypt, but that part of them led the life of nomads in the neighbourhood of Sinai, and had for long worshipped the god that was established there' (Kautzsch, *DB.* v. 627^{a}). Another conjecture (*ibid.* 627^{b}) is that Yahweh was the God who was recognised by Moses' own tribe; cf. iii. 6 'the God of thy father,' xv. 2 'my father's God.' In either of these cases Yahweh would not have been an entirely new and strange God: and Moses' work would have consisted in proclaiming as the God of the whole body of Israel the God whom part of them already worshipped, and in binding their various branches into a closer unity by the worship of a single deity (cf. McNeile, pp. cxiii, 21).

The name, 'Yahweh,' it now seems, was not confined to Israel. It occurs, to all appearance, in Babylonian texts dating long before the age of Moses. Some of the instances that have been adduced are questioned by some Assyriologists[1]: but, disregarding these, we have[2], from the Ḥammurabi period, the proper names *Ya-u-um-ilu*, 'Ya-u is God' (=the Heb. 'Jo'el,' at least as usually explained), and *Ya-ma-e-ra-aḥ*, 'Yama (*or* Yawa) is the moon[3],' and, from *c.* 15—1400, during the Cassite period, *Ya-u-ba-ni* ('Yau is creator'), *Ya-u-a* [also = 'Jehu' on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser], *Ya-ai-u*, *Ya-a-u*, and *Ya-a-u-tum*

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[1] On *Ya-'-ve-ilu* and *Ya-ve-ilu*, see Zimmern, *KAT.*^{3} (1903), p. 468 *n.*, and Sayce, *Exp. Times*, Oct. 1910, p. 41^{a}; and on the lexical tablet often cited as containing the name *Ya-u*, Langdon, *Exp. Times*, Dec. 1910, p. 139 f.

[2] See Rogers, *The Relig. of Bab. and Ass., esp. in its relations to Israel* (1908), pp. 89—95; and esp. Langdon, *Expositor*, Aug. 1910, p. 137 f.

[3] Johns, *Exp. Times*, xv. (1903–4), 560^{b}.

(with the caritative affix *-tum*[1]). We have also, from Taanach, in Canaan itself, *c.* 1350 B.C., the name *Aḫi-yami*, i.e., apparently, 'Yah is a brother (or, my brother),' corresponding to the Heb. Aḥijah ('Aḥi-yahu'). There is, however, no evidence whatever that 'Ya-u' belonged to the Babylonian pantheon; and Assyriologists agree that the Bab. names, in which 'Ya-u' appears, are those of West-Semitic, or 'Amorite,' settlers. The names are at present [Dec. 1910] isolated; but they seem sufficiently to shew that a West-Semitic deity, Ya-u, was known as early as *c.* 2100 B.C. Nothing, however, is at present known about the character or attributes associated with Ya-u. But even though we should in the future learn more about Ya-u than we know at present, and even though it should be shewn that the Heb. name 'Yahweh' was really derived from Ya-u, the fact, though of high interest historically, would be of no importance theologically. The *source* from which either this or any other divine name was ultimately derived by the Hebrews, matters little or nothing: the question which is of importance is, What did the name *come to mean* to them? What, to them, was its theological content? What are the character and attributes of the Being whom it is actually used in the O.T. to denote? The name, it *may* be,—we cannot at present say more,—came to Israel from the outside. 'But into that vessel a long line of prophets from Moses onward, poured such a flood of attributes as never a priest in all Western Asia, from Babylonia to the Sea, ever dreamed of in his highest moments of spiritual insight. In this name, and through Israel's history, God chose to reveal Himself to the world. Therein lies the supreme and lonesome superiority of Israel over Babylonia[2].' Whatever the name may have been in its *origin*, it *came to be* the name of the One and only God; and hence we can await in perfect calmness whatever the future may have to disclose to us with regard to its ultimate origin, or its pre-Israelitic use.

Moses' doubts being satisfied, he returns, with Aaron, to Egypt. The people listen to him gladly (iv. 29—31)[3]: but the negotiations with the Pharaoh, which now follow, are fruitless. The Pharaoh—whatever Merenptah was in actual history—wears in Hebrew tradition the character of a self-willed, obstinate despot, who persistently hardens himself against God, and resists all warnings. The request that the Israelites may go for three days into the wilderness to sacrifice to Jehovah is peremptorily refused by him, and the Israelites' tasks are increased (ch. v.).

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[1] Daiches, *Z.f. Ass.* xxii. (1908), p. 134 (against Sayce's view that *-tum* is a feminine termination); and Langdon (verbally).

[2] Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 97.

[3] In the parallel, but later, narrative of P the Israelites are too disheartened to pay any attention to Moses (vi. 9).

The account of the plagues follows. There is no occasion to repeat here either the details of the narrative, or particulars respecting the differences of representation in the different narratives: some general remarks on the whole will suffice. As is shewn in detail in the notes, the plagues all stand in close connexion with the natural conditions of Egypt, and, as represented in the narrative, are in fact just miraculously intensified forms of the diseases or other natural occurrences to which the country is still more or less liable. Every June, when the annual inundation begins, the Nile assumes a reddish colour, due to the red marl brought down from the Abyssinian mountains. Frogs, gnats, flies, and locusts are common pests of the country. Destructive murrains or cattle plagues have occurred in Egypt during the last century. Cutaneous eruptions ('boils') are common there. Hailstones, accompanied by lightning, though unusual, are not unknown. The darkness was probably the result of the hot wind called the *Ḥamsin*, which blows at intervals for nearly two months every year, frequently fills the air with thick clouds of dust and sand, and obliges people, while it lasts, to remain indoors. Malignant epidemics, accompanied sometimes by great mortality, are frequently mentioned by historians and travellers. It is highly improbable that the narrative of the plagues rests upon no basis of fact. No doubt, Egypt was visited at the time by an unusual combination of natural calamities, which materially facilitated the Israelite exodus. If, however, it is true that the narratives are all of much later date than the events themselves, it must be left an open question how far their miraculous character can be insisted on.

The hand of God, it must be remembered, is as really and as fully present in the ordinary course of nature as in the most amazing miracle; and the ordinary course of nature is in reality infinitely more marvellous and astounding than any miracle can be. It may thus have been, as Dr McNeile says (p. 43 f.), that 'the divine power of God worked in Egypt by means of a wonderful series of natural phenomena; and the religious instinct of the Hebrew narrators seized upon these as signs of God's favour to the Israelites and of punishment to their oppressors. This religious conviction led, as time went on, to accretions and amplifications; and the stories, in the course of frequent and triumphant repetitions, acquired more and more of what is popularly called "miracle"[1].' The earliest mention of the plagues is in the narrative of J. In such remains of E as have been preserved the wonders are greater than in J,—their arrival being, for instance, brought about by Moses' rod or hand; and in P they are still greater than in E.

With the tenth Plague, and the Exodus immediately following it, are connected in J and P alike—nothing of E bearing on the same subjects has been preserved—the institution of the Passover (xii. 1—13, 43—50 P; xii. 21—27 J), and of the Feast of Unleavened Cakes (xii. 14—20 P; xiii. 3—10 J), and the law dedicating the first-born to Jehovah (xiii. 1—2 P; xiii. 11—16 J). As in other cases (cf. *DB.* iii. 70 f.), the earlier forms of the regulations on these subjects are those given by J: P gives them in the form which they had assumed in the later period of the history. The Passover, there are reasons for supposing, was, at least in its primitive form, a pre-Mosaic institution. It was originally, it has thus been supposed, a pre-Mosaic spring-offering of propitiation, and of communion with the Deity, offered annually for the purpose of protecting tents and flocks from pestilence or other misfortune during the coming year, and of renewing by a common sacred meal a sense of communion with the Deity. The Feast of Unleavened Cakes—like those of Weeks and Ingathering—was clearly intended originally to mark a stage in the agricultural operations of the year (see on xxiii. 14—17): it was a feast of thanksgiving to Jehovah observed at the beginning of barley harvest. Why this feast was observed in particular by eating unleavened cakes is uncertain: for conjectures, see p. 242.

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[1] Comp. the quotation from Dillm., below, p. 57 f.

Both the primitive 'Passover,' and the Feast of Unleavened Cakes, were, however, celebrated in spring; and so, not unnaturally, they were united. The spring was also the time of year at which the Israelites left Egypt: a great plague was in reality the immediate occasion of the Exodus; and thus these two feasts came to be interpreted as memorials of the event (see pp. 407—412). The statement (xii. 39, cf. 34) that the people in their trepidation were able only to take unleavened cakes, appears indeed to shew that already when J wrote the Feast of Unleavened Cakes was associated with the Exodus. The dedication of the firstborn was doubtless an ancient custom, the real origin of which can only be conjectured. It may be that the firstborn were dedicated to Jehovah, as the first gift of God after marriage; but as it certainly was a Canaanite practice (see Mic. vi. 7), at least upon occasion, to sacrifice the firstborn, the Hebrew custom may have stood in some relation to this: the firstborn of the Hebrews, like those of their neighbours, were still sacred to the national deity; they were, however, not given over to Him as a sacrifice, but *redeemed* at a money-valuation (xiii. 13): the dedication of the firstborn to the Deity was thus rendered morally harmless. The custom was, however, one of which the real origin was unknown, or forgotten: and so a theological explanation was found in the thought that it was because Jehovah had smitten the firstborn of the Egyptians (xiii. 15)[1]. See further p. 409 f.

'The exact line of march pursued by the people after leaving

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[1] The Feast of Booths, also, acquired later (Lev. xxiii. 43 H) a commemorative significance, and, in post-Biblical times, the Feast of Weeks as well: see p. 244.

Goshen cannot now be traced[1].' Of the 40 stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii. (P) as passed by the Israelites between Rameses and the steppes of Moab, the names of most have entirely disappeared; and the only stations of which the sites can be said to be certain are ʻEẓion-geber, Kadesh, Dibon, and Nebo. Even the site of Sinai is not beyond question (see p. 189 f.); and the other places mentioned can only be located conjecturally. The Israelites started (Ex. xii. 37) from Rameses, not improbably (see on i. 11) *er-Reṭâbeh*, 10 miles W. of Pithom, passed Succoth (xii. 37), which is almost certainly the Egyptian *Thukke*,—either the district round Pithom, or a city very near it; and then (xiii. 20) encamped at Etham, on the 'edge of the wilderness.' The site of Etham is quite uncertain; but it was presumably some place 4—5 miles N. of L. Timsāḥ, on the W. 'edge' of the wilderness E. of the isthmus. Instead, however, of going on from Etham, by the direct route to Canaan, through the later 'land of the Philistines,' they made a sharp turn back, towards the (Egyptian) wilderness to the (west side of) the 'Sea of reeds' (the Red Sea),—i.e. either as far as the west side of the present Gulf of Suez, or if, as is very probable (see p. 126), this gulf, at the time of the Exodus, extended northwards as far as L. Timsāḥ, to some point on the W. of this northern extension, the position of which, as the sites of Pi-haḥiroth, Migdol, and Baʻal-ẓĕphon (Ex. xiv. 2) are all entirely unknown (p. 122 f.), cannot be fixed with certainty, but where, no doubt,—as even Naville and Dawson suppose,—the water was shallow. M. Naville thinks that the passage took place between L. Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes, a little N. of the 'Serapeum' (see the map); Sir J. W. Dawson considers that the best place would have been near the S. end of the great Bitter Lake, between the present railway stations Fâyid and Geneffa (cf. p. 126). Wherever the point which the Israelites reached was, the Egyptian wilderness seemed to have 'shut them in' (xiv. 3): the sea was in front of them; and to the Egyptians it appeared that they had but to follow them in order to have them in their power. But the waters were shallow: a high wind arose in the night, and, aided perhaps by a low tide, drove the waters aside, leaving a relatively dry passage (xiv. 21), by which the Israelites were able to cross. The Egyptians pursued after them: but the storm increased in violence (cf. Ps. lxxvii. 17—19); they were terrified (if Ex. xiv. 24 is rightly interpreted) by the lightnings that burst from a heavy cloud near; the wheels of their chariots became clogged in the wet sand; they saw that further advance was impossible, and beat a speedy retreat. But meanwhile the wind had suddenly veered; and in the early morning the waters returned, sweeping the Egyptians away before they could regain secure ground (xiv. 27^b, xv. 10). The Exodus was thus accomplished; and the Israelites were safe on the E. side of the 'Sea of reeds.' The deliverance was a great one, and it was fraught with momentous consequences for the future: but either tradition, or poetic imagination, or both, magnified it into one of altogether incredible dimensions: a pathway cut through the sea, with a wall of water standing up on each side (xiv. 22, 29 P; cf. xv. 8), and 2,000,000 persons (p. 101), with tents, baggage, and cattle, passing through it in a single night!

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[1] Wade, *OT. Hist.* p. 108.

'Egypt is the most conservative of countries, and the children of Israel still have their representatives in it. The Bedawin still feed their flocks, and enjoy an independent existence on the outskirts of the cultivated land. Even when they adopt a settled agricultural life, they still claim immunity from the burdens of their *fellaḥin* neighbours on the ground of their Bedawin descent. They are exempt from the conscription and the *corvée*, the modern equivalents of the forced brickmaking of the Mosaic age. The attempt to interfere with these privileges has actually led to an exodus in our own time. Yakub Artin Pasha has told me that his father, the famous Hekekyan Bey, always maintained that he had seen with his own eyes the Israelites departing from Egypt. The Wady Ṭumîlat, the Goshen of old days, was colonised with Arabs from the Nejd and Babylonia by Mohammed Ali, who wished to employ them in the culture of the silkworm. Here they lived with their flocks and cattle, protected by the Government, and exempt from taxation, from military service, and the *corvée*. Mohammed Ali died, however; and an attempt was made to force them into the army, and lay upon them the ordinary burdens of taxation. Thereupon, in a single night, the whole population silently departed with all their possessions, leaving behind them nothing but the hearths of their deserted homes. They made their way back to their kinsfolk eastward of Egypt, and the Wady Ṭumîlat fell into the state of desolation in which it was found by M. Lesseps when he excavated the Freshwater Canal[1].'

The passage of the Red Sea was ever afterwards remembered in Israel with feelings of gratitude and triumph, as a signal deliverance, completing the Exodus, and securing the nation's independence (see the passages cited on p. 131 f.). The couplet Ex. xv. 1^b (comp. *v.* 21) may have been sung on the occasion itself; but the hymn which follows (*vv.* 2—18), there are reasons for thinking, is the development by a later poet, in fine and striking imagery, of thoughts suggested, partly by *v.* 1^b, partly by the successful advance of Israel afterwards through the territory of hostile nations, till they were planted securely in their home in Canaan (see pp. 129, 130 f.).

The Israelites, after their passage through the sea, 'went out into the wilderness of Shur' (Ex. xv. 22), i.e. into the desert region on the E. of the present Isthmus of Suez. They journeyed in this wilderness for three days,—i.e. for some forty miles,—but found no water. At last they came to Marah (xv. 23), where the bitter waters were sweetened by Moses. After Marah, the stations mentioned are Elim (xv. 27), the 'Sea of reeds,' or the Red Sea (Nu. xxxiii. 10), the wilderness of Sin (Ex. xvi. 1), Dophkah (Nu. xxxiii. 12), Alush (*ib. v.* 13), Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 1), and the wilderness of Sinai (xix. 1, 2).

The great uncertainty attaching to most of these sites has been alluded to already. Upon the old assumption that the Red Sea was crossed near Suez, and that the first halting-place on the other side was

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[1] Sayce, *EHH.* 153; cf. *HCM.* 249 f.

'Ayūn Mūsā, 9 miles below Suez (see on xv. 22), and that Jebel Mūsā is Sinai, Marah is commonly placed at *Hawwárah*, 47 miles S.E. of 'Ayūn Mūsā (see the map), and Elim in *Wādy Gharandel*, 7 miles beyond Hawwárah. If, however, as is now generally supposed (p. 126), the passage was made some 25 (Dawson), or 40 (Naville), miles N. of the present Suez, 'Ayūn Mūsā would be much too distant to be at least the *first* stopping-place (pp. 141, 142); and both this and all the subsequent halting-places will have to be readjusted. The Israelites, if they went to J. Mūsā, may have passed *en route* some of the places here mentioned: but to affirm definitely that Marah is Hawwárah, and Elim in W. Gharandel, &c., is to go far beyond what the *data* justify. Upon the same current assumption, however, the following are the further stages in the itinerary. The 'Red Sea' station is placed at the mouth of *W. Ṭaiyibeh*, or on the narrow littoral plain *el-Murkheiyeh*, just beyond: this point, as there is no passage along the coast beyond W. Gharandel, the Israelites, if Elim was in W. Gharandel, must (see on xvi. 1) have made a difficult inland circuit of 21 miles through the hills behind J. Ḥammām Far'un. The wilderness of Sin is identified with the broad and long flinty plain *el-Markhā*, on the coast, about 10 miles beyond W. Ṭaiyibeh; or, by some,—though less probably, if the 'Red Sea' station be at the mouth of W. Ṭaiyibeh,—with the long upland plain, reached by the ascent up W. Ḥamr, *Debbet er-Ramleh*. Of Dophkah and Alush all that can be said is that, according to the itinerary of P in Nu. xxxiii., they were between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim. Rephidim is placed in *Wādy Feiran*, 3—4 miles below *Feiran*, the site of the ancient episcopal town of Pharan, near which Rephidim was already located by Eusebius (see on xvii. 1ᵃ). Feiran could be reached from el-Markhā, either from the middle of the plain up Seiḥ Sidreh, or, 7 miles beyond the S. end of the plain, up W. Feiran itself: the distance from the N. end of el-Markhā would be in the former case about 42 miles, in the latter (which, though longer, is the easier route) 53 miles. At Feiran, Jebel Serbāl, towering up above the mountains in front of it, is visible three miles to the S. (p. 179). The 'wilderness of Sinai' (xix. 1),—if Sinai be Jebel Mūsā,—will be the plain of *er-Rāḥah*, about 1½ mile long, and ½ mile broad, fronting the height of Rās Ṣufṣāfeh on the N.W.: to reach this an ascent of 3000 ft., through mountain defiles, has to be made from Feiran; and the distance, according to the best route up W. Sheikh, and then round by the defile el-Waṭiyeh (see p. 182, and the map), is

37 miles. The entire distance to J. Mūsā, by the route described, will be, from 'Ayūn Mūsā 175 miles, from Suez 184 miles, from the S. end of the great Bitter Lake (see p. 126) about 205 miles, and from the Serapeum (*ibid.*) about 220 miles[1].

We may now return to the narrative following ch. xv. Ch. xvi. (E and P) relates the giving of manna and quails; ch. xvii. (mainly E) the water given to the people in Horeb (*v.* 6), and the defeat of the Amalekites, at Rephidim; and ch. xviii. (E) the visit of Jethro to Moses, and the appointment of judges, at Jethro's suggestion, to assist Moses in the administration of justice. For reasons stated in the notes (pp. 157, 162), it is probable that chs. xvii., xviii. stood originally at a later period of the narrative, and relate incidents which happened shortly before the departure of Israel from Sinai (Nu. x. 11, 12 in P; Nu. x. 33 in J)[2]. The quails (mentioned in ch. xvi. only in P) seem introduced here by an afterthought: their proper place appears to be in J's narrative in Nu. xi. On the manna, see p. 153 f., where it is pointed out (p. 154) that it forms a striking symbolical illustration of the great truth of the ever-sustaining providence by which God supplies the needs of His people. The attack made by the Amalekites—a predatory tribe, who no doubt resented the intrusion of Israel upon ground which they regarded as their own—is such as might be made to-day by the Bedawin of the Peninsula upon a body of strangers attempting to enter it. The principle expressed in xvii. 14—16, and afterwards both inculcated afresh (Deut. xxv. 17—19), and even acted upon (1 S. xv. 1 f.), viz. that on account of this attack Jehovah would for ever have war with 'Amalek'—i.e. not with the actual offenders, but with their innocent descendants, even to distant generations—breathes the spirit of the older Dispensation. Ch. xviii., describing the visit of Jethro to Moses, is of great historical interest. It gives us a picture of *Moses legislating*: cases calling for a legal decision arise among the people,—evidently on secular matters; they are brought before Moses: he adjudicates upon them; and his decisions are termed the 'statutes and directions of God.' The passage sets before us Hebrew law in its beginnings. The decisions thus given by Moses would naturally form precedents for future use; as new cases arose, the precedents would be augmented by the decisions of later priests or judges; and thus an increasing body of civil and criminal law, based upon a Mosaic nucleus, and perpetuating Mosaic principles, would gradually grow up. Collections of laws, or, as they are called 'judgements' (see on xxi. 1), arising, we may feel sure, in this way, and including a Mosaic nucleus, but dating, as we have them, from post-Mosaic times, are preserved in xxi. 2—xxii. 17, and in the Code embedded in the discourses of Deuteronomy. Of the subordinate judges appointed to assist Moses nothing further is known (for Dt. i. 9—15 is merely a slightly different version of what is stated here); nor is any instance of their action recorded. Their organization seems systematized (*vv.* 21, 25) to an improbable degree: but the fact that some such officials were appointed, at Jethro's suggestion, to assist Moses, may be taken as historical.

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[1] Prof. Sayce holds strongly (see p. 189 f.) that the Israelites never entered the 'Sinaitic' Peninsula at all, and that 'Sinai' was on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba. Of course, if this view is correct, the identifications mentioned above, one and all, fall through entirely.

[2] It will be remembered that before JE was combined with P, these chapters were separated from Nu. x. 33 only by the JE parts of chs. xix.—xxiv., and by xxxi. 18^b—xxxiv. 28.

Ch. xix. 1, 2 brings the Israelites to Sinai; and the rest of the book is occupied with the events stated to have taken place there till—according to the chronology of P—the erection of the Tabernacle on the first day of the second year of the Exodus. Chs. xix.—xxiv.,—with the exception of a few verses at the beginning and end, entirely JE,—describe the theophany on Sinai (chap. xix.), the promulgation of the Decalogue (ch. xx.), the giving by Jehovah to Moses of the collection of laws contained in the 'Book of the Covenant' (xx. 22—xxiii. 33), and the conclusion of the covenant based on these laws (ch. xxiv.). On the theophany,—represented as taking place upon the top of Sinai, as the dark storm-clouds gathered about it, and lightnings flashed, and thunder pealed, out of their midst,—and on the description of the Decalogue, as proclaimed by God, with a voice of thunder, out of the storm, enough has been said on pp. 176—7. The Decalogue itself is a terse and forcible summary of the fundamental duties of an Israelite towards God and his neighbour. The date is disputed: according to some, it really springs from the age of Moses; according to others it springs from a much later age, and exhibits the quintessence of the religious and moral teaching of the great prophets (see on this question p. 413 ff.).

The 'Book of the Covenant' is the oldest code of Hebrew law with which we are acquainted: it is older, it cannot be doubted, at least in its substance,—for in parts a later compiler has pretty clearly introduced parenetic additions,—than the narrative of E, in which it is incorporated. Apart from the hortatory epilogue (xxiii. 20—33), and the short additions of the compiler, it consists of two parts: (1) the 'judgements,' or *decisions*, i.e. the provisions of civil and criminal law, prescribing what is to be done when particular cases arise (xxi. 2—xxii. 17); and (2) the 'words,' i.e. the positive injunctions of moral, religious, and ceremonial law, introduced mostly by *Thou shalt* or *Thou shalt not* (xx. 23—6, xxii. 18—xxiii. 19). A detailed analysis of the laws, arranged under these two heads, and an account of the general aim and character of the Code, will be found on pp. 202—205. Here it may suffice to observe that the laws are designed to regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions of society, and chiefly occupied in *agriculture*: notice, for instance, the prominence in xxi. 28—xxii. 13 of the *ox*, *ass*, and *sheep*, and the allusions to fields, vineyards, and pits dug (for the storage of grain) in the open country. Slavery, murder and manslaughter, manstealing, injuries to life or limb, injuries caused by culpable neglect (as by permitting an unruly animal to be at large, or opening a pit negligently), theft, burglary, compensation for damage caused by fire spreading to a neighbour's field, for neglect in the case of deposits and loans, and for seduction, are, in brief, the subjects treated in the 'judgements': in the 'words,' the religious and ceremonial injunctions include the prohibition of images and worship of other gods, regulations for the construction of altars, the observance of the three annual Pilgrimages, of the seventh year as a fallow year, and of the seventh day as a day of rest, the sacredness of first-fruits and firstborn males to Jehovah, and laws prohibiting the eating of flesh torn by beasts, and offering a festal sacrifice with leavened bread; and the moral injunctions forbid the oppression of the 'sojourner,' or resident foreigner, the widow, and the orphan, and the taking of interest for a loan from the poor, inculcate veracity and impartiality, and the pure administration of justice, and lay it down that, if an *enemy's* ox or ass be found straying, or lying down under its burden, it is to be brought back to its owner, or assisted; a sorceress, also, is not to be permitted to live. Some of the penalties strike us as severe; but we must remember the customs of the age in which they were drawn up, and the stage of civilization of the people for whom they were designed. The laws were certainly on the whole calculated to impose restrictions upon abuse of authority, and upon violence, and to promote justice, honesty, and general well-being. Thus definite rights are secured to the slave; and an asylum is provided in the case of accidental homicide. The claims of humanity are also very decidedly recognized: no advantage is to be taken of the poor and helpless; and the object of both the sabbath and the sabbatical year, as here defined, is a philanthropic one. The only punishments prescribed are those sanctioned by the *jus talionis*, pecuniary compensation, and death: torture, and wanton mutilation, are unknown. It is interesting to compare the Laws of the XII Tables, or the Laws of Solon, which in many respects presuppose a similar condition of society. Some of the regulations of civil and criminal laws have remarkable parallels in the Code of Ḥammurabi (B.C. 2100), and may indeed have been ultimately derived from it: for a comparison of the corresponding laws, and a discussion of the questions which arise out of them, see Appendix III, p. 418 ff. Religious institutions are in a relatively primitive, undeveloped stage: and the laws relating to them contrast strongly with the minutely defined regulations of P. The legislation of the Covenant Code, speaking generally (for every individual law is not so treated), appears in expanded and developed forms in the later legislation of Deuteronomy, and (especially the ceremonial regulations) in that of P[1].

The code, as we have it, springs from the early years of the monarchy, and represents the laws which were then in force in Israel. Some of the laws—as those which mention houses, fields belonging to individual owners, agriculture, vineyards, and oliveyards—seem to indicate that the people for whom they are designed were already settled in Canaan; but the nucleus of the Code is no doubt Mosaic[2].

Chs. xxv.—xxxi. consist of a long section from P, containing minute directions, said to have been given by Jehovah to Moses on Sinai, for the construction of the Tent of Meeting, with its appurtenances, and for the vestments and consecration of a priesthood. The questions arising out of these chapters are considered on p. 426 ff. There are in the Pentateuch *two* representations of the 'Tent of Meeting.' In xxxiii. 7—11 (E) the 'Tent of Meeting' is the tent, which Moses 'used to take and pitch outside the camp': Moses used to 'go out' to it in order that Jehovah might speak with him, and other Israelites did the same when they had occasion to 'seek' Him. This tent is evidently far more simple in its structure and appointments than the 'Tent of Meeting' of P, described in chs. xxv.—xxvii.: its sole attendant is the Ephraimite Joshua, whereas the 'Levites,' numbering, according to Nu. iv. 48, 8580, are appointed in P (Nu. i. 49—53, iii.—iv.) to guard and tend it; and it is

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[1] For a comparison in detail of the laws in Ex. with those of the later codes, see McNeile, pp. xxxix—xlvi, li—lvi; and, on a more elaborate scale, in C. F. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents* (in 'The Student's Old Testament'), 1907.

[2] On the question whether xxi. 1—xxii. 17 stood originally where it now is, see on xxiv. 12; and cf. Chapman, *Introd.* p. 113 f.

outside the camp, at some distance from it, not in its centre, as in P (Nu. ii. 17). The *name* in both cases is the same: and it cannot be reasonably doubted that we have here two different representations of one and the same structure. The actual historical 'Tent of Meeting' is the tent mentioned in Ex. xxxiii. 7--11 and other passages of JE (Nu. xi. 16, 24, 26, xii. 4, 5, 10, Dt. xxxi. 14, 15): the elaborate and ornate 'Tent of Meeting' of P is an *ideal* construction,—an ideal, based indeed upon a historical reality, but far transcending it, and designed as the embodiment of certain spiritual ideas, which, it was considered, could be adequately expressed only in a *concrete material form.* As seems to follow from a careful comparison of statements made in the Pentateuch with each other and with the history, P's entire conception of the Israel of the Exodus,—the 'congregation,' the symmetrical arrangement of the camp, the order of the tribes on the march, &c.,—is an *ideal construction*, a picture constructed indeed upon a basis supplied by tradition, but so developed and elaborated as to present in a sensible form certain important religious truths, which it was conceived were visibly expressed in the Mosaic theocracy. The 'Tent of Meeting,' and its appointments, in the representation of P, form part of the same ideal conception[1]. The supreme idea of P is the realization of the great spiritual truth of the *presence of God* in the midst of His people: other ideas, closely connected with this, are the *unity* of God, which, as Deuteronomy had taught, required the unity and centralization of His worship, and the

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[1] No doubt, in their general plan and disposition, both the Temple, and the Tent of Meeting of P, represented a current type of Semitic temple (cf. p. 259); but it is impossible to agree with Sayce (*Exp. Times*, XVI. Dec. 1904, p. 139) that Nielsen (*Altarab. Mondreligion*, 1904, p. 169 ff.) has 'shewn in detail' that the 'pattern' of Ex. xxv. 9, 40, &c. was an actual Midianite temple on 'the mount' of 'Sinai.' And the resemblances of the Tent of Meeting to the Temple of Hat-hor, at Serābīṭ el-Khādim (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 72 ff.; *Egypt and Isr.* p. 47 ff.), are much too general to indicate dependence.

holiness of God, which required as its correlative the holiness of His people. The presence of God in the midst of His people is a truth more than once expressed in JE (Nu. xi. 20, xiv. 14, cf. Ex. xvii. 7): but in P the truth finds a significant *visible* expression in the 'Tent of Meeting' in the centre of the camp, with all the tribes encamped symmetrically around it. The 'Tent of Meeting,' with its ornamented fabric, its sacred vessels, arranged, one in the Holy of holies, others in the Holy Place, and others in the court outside, is a carefully planned and splendid structure, designed to honour worthily the God who is to make it His abode. Expression is given to the majesty and holiness of Jehovah by the significant gradations in the costliness and splendour of the materials used, an object being the costlier and the more beautiful, the nearer it is to the Presence of Jehovah in the Holy of holies. There are also many other spiritual ideas which find expression in the structure and appointments of the 'Tent of meeting,' as also in the ceremonial and sacrificial system of which, in the representation of P, it is the centre (see more fully pp. 259—262; and the Appendix, p. 430 ff.). In Ex. xxviii.—ix., xxxix., Lev. viii. (directions for the vestments and consecration of the priests, and their execution) it is probable that customs and rites, which had been gradually developed, and were actually observed under the later monarchy, or during the early post-exilic period, are ante-dated, and represented as having been already propounded and put in force in the Mosaic age. The ritual of ch. xxix. cannot have been really formulated, whether by Moses or by any one else, before the laws of Leviticus were drawn up: for it *presupposes* ceremonial usages and terms which are first explained in Lev. i. ff. A consideration of the origin and character of the Levitical ceremonial system belongs to a commentary on Leviticus rather than to one on Exodus: here it may suffice to observe that it exhibits—so far as the OT. is concerned, and disregarding the Mishnah—the final development and systematization of usages and ideas which in themselves were of great antiquity, and, in their original form, did not differ in principle from those current among Israel's Semitic neighbours[1]. As time went on, these common Semitic institutions received naturally, among the Hebrews, many developments and special adaptations. They were also, of course, assimilated to the religion of Israel; and so, the really *distinctive* character which they exhibited in Israel, consists in the new spirit with which they are infused, and in the higher principles of which they are made the exponent (cf. *DB.* iii. 71^b). The ceremonial institutions of Israel appear in their most primitive, undeveloped form in the legislations of J and E (Ex. xii. 21—2, xiii. 6—7, 12—13, xx. 23—6, xxii. 20, 29—31, xxiii. 14—19, xxxiv. 17—23, 25—6).

There follow (chs. xxxii.—xxxiv.) the episode of the Golden Calf, and incidents connected with it. The narrative is a remarkable one: the words put into the mouths of the various speakers are, no doubt, the narrators' words; but, as in other cases, the whole account must rest upon a genuine historical basis. Israel, during Moses' absence on the mount, falls into idolatry; Aaron, their weak and pliant ally, is severely rebuked for yielding so readily to the people's demand; and Jehovah threatens to destroy His stiffnecked nation, and make Moses the inheritor of His promises. A striking description follows not only of Moses' affection and noble self-devotion for his people, but also of the long intercession by which (cf. Gen. xviii.) he at last succeeds in winning from Jehovah Israel's forgiveness, His promise again to be with His people and lead them on to Canaan, and the vision of His moral glory for himself. Interspersed are historical incidents of great interest. The zeal for Jehovah displayed by the tribe, or (cf. on iv. 14) guild, of the 'Levites' in setting fealty to Jehovah above ties of blood, and inflicting upon their disloyal brethren summary punishment[2]—

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[1] See numerous illustrations from Babylonia in J. Jeremias' art. RITUAL in *EB.*, cf. *KAT.*^{3} 591—606: for analogies in Phoenicia, Moab, &c., see *Auth. and Arch.* 76—9, 89—92, 135 ff.; Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions* (1903), passim.

[2] The act, in so far as tradition has preserved the facts correctly—the number of the slain (3000) will in any case be exaggerated, if the

whether for their idolatry, or, as has also been supposed (see p. 354), for some other act of rebellion—leads to their being rewarded with the priesthood. Such at least was the origin which the earliest tradition that we possess, assigned to the privileges enjoyed by the priestly tribe: and there is little doubt that when J was complete, Ex. xxxii. 25—29 was followed by an account of the formal separation of the tribe for sacred functions (comp. esp. Dt. x. 8 'At that time [after Moses had come down from the mount the second time, and put the tables of stone in the ark which he had made, *v.* 5] Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark, to stand before Jehovah to minister unto him, and to bless in His name, unto this day').

The primitive 'Tent of Meeting,' described in xxxiii. 7—11, has been referred to in a different connexion before (p. lxiii): and what has been there said need not be repeated. Its simplicity is quite in accordance with the simple character of the other religious institutions attested by J and E (xx. 24—6, xxii. 29—31 &c.). It is probable that, when E was complete, xxxiii. 7—11 was preceded by some account of its construction; and though it will not have been as ornate as P's 'Tent of Meeting,' yet it may well have been more decorated than an ordinary tent: so it is at least a plausible conjecture that the ornaments taken off by the people (xxxiii. 4—6) were employed in its decoration. That the fact of Moses' making the ark, and putting into it the two tables of stone, was once mentioned in Ex. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4 is practically certain from Dt. x. 1—3, which agrees almost *verbatim* with Ex. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4, except in not having the three

whole number of Israelites at the time was not more than 5—6000 (p. xlv)—must be judged by the standards of the age, which admitted of hard measures being dealt out to those who were disloyal to the national God (cf. Ex. xxii. 20). Of course such severity, even on a larger scale, has been far from unknown even in the history of the Christian church; but it is not in accordance with the mind of Christ (Luke ix. 54, 55). It must, however, be remembered that in the present case we do not know the entire circumstances; and these may have justified such an act for reasons not now apparent.

clauses relating to the ark, viz. 'and make thee an ark of wood,' ...'and thou shalt put them in the ark,'...'and I made an ark of acacia wood' (see on xxxiv. 3): the compiler who united JE with P omitted them in Exodus, as he preferred the more detailed account of P (xxv. 10—22). The ark, which in the early historical books is identified in some very real sense with the presence of Jehovah, even if it is not regarded as His actual abode (see p. 278 ff.; and Kennedy, *DB.* i. 150[b]), must have been a very ancient element in Israel's religion. The ark of P (xxv. 10—22) is evidently something much more ornate than the simple chest of acacia wood made by Moses.

In answer (see p. xxviii) to Moses' entreaty (xxxiii. 12—13, 17—23) Jehovah grants him a vision,—or, at least (xxxiii. 23), an after-glow,—of His glory (xxxiv. 6—8); and he hears in spirit the wonderful declaration of Jehovah's moral nature, shewing mercy and justice balancing each other, reminiscences of which were so often on the lips of later writers (see note).

After the theophany—in the existing text, but originally, it is probable, as the sequel to xxxiv. 1[a], 2—5 (pp. xxviii, 367)—Jehovah announces His purpose to establish a covenant with Israel, on the basis of certain laws, which are in reality merely a different recension of the laws on worship and religious observances contained in xiii. 12, 13 (J), and in the Book of the Covenant (xxiii. 12, 14—19). In its present connexion, the covenant, with the laws upon which it is based, is represented as a *renewal* of the covenant of xxiv. 3—8 (E), which had been broken by the sin of the Golden Calf: but there are strong reasons for thinking (p. 364 f.) that the narrative of xxxiv. 1—5, 10—28, in its *original* form, contained J's account of the establishment of the *same* covenant, the conclusion of which, on the basis of the laws xx. 22—xxiii. 33, is described by E in xxiv. 3—8, and that it formed once the sequel in J to xix. 20—25 (being followed there by xxiv. 1—2, 9—10). However that may be, the laws on which the covenant is here based are of the same rudimentary character, and indeed substantially the same in fact, as those in xiii. 12, 13 and xxiii. 12, 14, 15[a], 16, 18—19 (see pp. 370—372).

Chs. xxxv.—xl. (P), describing the execution of the instructions given in chs. xxv.—xxxi. (except those for the consecration of the priests, ch. xxix.), and the erection of the 'Tent of Meeting,' do not call for further notice here.

The character of Moses is sketched, particularly in the earlier narratives of J and E, with peculiar vividness and force. He is represented not only as a man of deeply religious spirit, but also as endowed, in a pre-eminent degree, with singleness of aim, with nobility of mind, with dignity of demeanour, with unwearied and self-sacrificing devotion for the welfare of his people, and with that modesty of both word and demeanour which is observable in all the best characters of Old Testament history, and which was no doubt impressed upon them by the mellowing influences of the religion of Yahweh. Though the Heb. word for 'prophet' seems not to have been in use till long afterwards (1 S. ix. 9), yet Moses is to all intents and purposes a prophet. The prophet is a man who, for clearness of insight, and purity of purpose, and knowledge of God, stands above the mass of his compatriots: and so, if Moses were a prophet, this is what we should expect him to be. And in the representations which we have of him, these are the qualities which we find. The writers to whom we owe his biography pictured him as a prophet, and described him accordingly. He speaks in Jehovah's name to Pharaoh, he uses the prophetic expressions, *Thus saith Jehovah*, &c. (see on Ex. iv. 22, xxxii. 27); he leads Israel out of Egypt under a sense of God's directing hand; he hears inwardly God's words, and sees on Sinai manifestations of His presence; specifically prophetic teaching is communicated through him, or put into his mouth (Ex. iv. 22, vi. 7 (P), xv. 26, xix. 5—6, xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 6—7 and elsewhere: Dt. *passim*); Jehovah is even represented as holding converse with him not by a vision or a dream, as with an ordinary prophet, but with some special and distinctive clearness (Nu. xii. 6, 8), 'as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Ex. xxxiii. 11; cf. Dt. xxxiv. 10). Hosea, writing *c.* 740 B.C., expressly styles him a prophet (xii. 13); cf., later, Dt. xviii. 18, xxxiv. 10.

Whether everything that we read happened exactly as it is written, or whether the representation is more or less due to the narrators, the narrative, as a whole, possesses profound religious value, and conveys, directly or indirectly, supremely important teaching. And if Exodus is in parts a parable rather than a history, we must remember that we have no right to limit the power of God, and to say that He cannot teach by parable as well as by history, by ideals as well as by actual facts. The symbolical, and also the ideal, character of some of the Old Testament narratives must not be forgotten[1]. Whether, in a particular case, a narrative relates actual facts or not, is a question for historical criticism to decide: whatever its decision may be, the *religious* value of the narrative remains the same. Israel really was God's people, really did receive the blessings and privileges which, under the older dispensation, this position implied, was really led from Egypt to Canaan by a leader who was taught of God not only how to do all this, but also how to conclude a covenant with them on His behalf, and to give them laws and some knowledge of Himself, and who moreover was the first of a succession of teachers, who, with increasing clearness and power, communicated to His people further Divine truths, and held up before it high ideals of moral and spiritual life: but, if as much as this is granted,—and it lies upon the very surface of the Old Testament,—does it materially signify whether, in the Pentateuch, it is Moses who is speaking or writing, or whether it is some later prophet or priest, who describes the events of the Exodus and of the journey through the wilderness as they were told, some centuries afterwards, by tradition, and who besides this traces the way in which the hand of God was visible in them, brings out the spiritual lessons implicit in them, and puts into Moses' mouth thoughts, and feelings, and truths, about God and His relation to His people, in more explicit and articulate words than perhaps he himself would have used? There are cases, especially in the earlier books of the OT., in which we *cannot get behind the narratives*, in which, that is, we cannot say how far the narratives correspond exactly to what was said or done by the actors in them: in these cases, however, the narrative itself is that which has the religious value, and from which spiritual and moral teaching is to be deduced. The narratives are the work of God-inspired men: and in the actions which they describe, and in the thoughts and truths expressed in them, are 'profitable,' sometimes by way of warning, more often by way of example and precept, and always according to the stage of spiritual illumination which each narrative represents, 'for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness.' Naturally, every part of the Book is not equally 'profitable' for these purposes; but the narratives, especially those in which Jehovah and Moses are exhibited in converse together, abound in great and noble thoughts, and are rich in spiritual and devotional suggestiveness[1].

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[1] See pp. 58, 113, 176 f., 260 f., 376; 381, 384, 420 ff.

Partly in the preceding pages, partly in the notes on the various passages concerned, attention has generally been called to the moral and spiritual teaching of the book, so far as it falls within the scope of the Commentaries in the present series to draw it out. On the Plagues, for instance, see p. 57 f.; on the manna, p. 154; on the Decalogue, pp. xlvi, 191 ff.; on the Sabbath, p. 198 f.; on the Passover, pp. 93, 103 f., 412; on the religious significance of Israel's deliverance from Egypt, p. 131 f.; on the 'Book of the Covenant,' pp. xlviii f., 203—5; on the three annual Feasts, as expressions of thankfulness to Jehovah for the annual gifts of the soil, p. 241; on the Ark, p. 278 ff.; and on the spiritual ideas of which the Tabernacle and its appurtenances are the expression, pp. 259—62, 430 ff. As examples of outstanding texts or passages,—in most cases of high theological significance,—may be cited iii. 14 (explanation of the name 'Yahweh,' as understood by the Hebrews: see p. 40 f.); iv. 22 (Israel, Jehovah's 'son,' His 'first-born'); vi. 7 (Israel, God's 'people'); xiii. 21 f. (the pillar of cloud); xiv. 13 ('Stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah'); xv. 1^b, 2;

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[1] For examples, see McNeile, pp. cxix—cxxv. On the general subject of the Voice of God, as heard in the OT., see also the two sermons by the present writer, referred to above, p. xlviii.

xv. 26^{b} ('I am Jehovah, that healeth thee'); xvi. 10 (Jehovah's 'glory': see the note); xix. 4—6^{b} (Israel a 'special possession,' a 'kingdom of priests,' and a 'holy nation': see pp. 169—171); xxiii. 20f. (an angel, in whom God's 'name' is, to guide Israel to Canaan); xxiv. 10 (the vision of the God of Israel); xxv. 8 and xxix. 45 (God's 'dwelling,' in the Tabernacle, in the midst of His people); xxx. 10 (propitiation to be made annually on the altar of incense); xxxi. 13 (the Sabbath a 'sign' between Jehovah and His people); xxxii. 11—13, cf. *vv.* 30—34, xxxiii. 12—16, xxxiv. 9 (Moses' intercession for Israel); xxxii. 33 (Moses' offer of his life for his people's forgiveness); xxxiii. 11 (how Jehovah used to speak with Moses 'face to face' in the 'Tent of Meeting'); xxxiii. 14 ('My presence shall go (with thee), and I will give thee rest'); xxxiii. 19 ('I will be gracious to whom I am gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I shew mercy': see the note); xxxiv. 6—7 (the great declaration of Jehovah's ethical character); xxxiv. 29—35 (the shining of Moses' face); xl. 35 f. (Jehovah's 'glory,' cf. on xvi. 10, filling the Dwelling).

The principal references, or allusions, to Exodus in the later books of the OT., and in the NT., are cited in the notes: the subject is dealt with more comprehensively, with inclusion of references in the Apocrypha, and a tabulated list of citations or allusions, in McNeile, pp. cxxvi—cxxxvi.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES,

COMMONLY CALLED

EXODUS.

P NOW these are the names of the sons of Israel, which 1
came into Egypt; every man and his household
came with Jacob. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; 2
Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; Dan and Naphtali, Gad 3 4
and Asher. And all the souls that came out of the loins 5
of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in Egypt
J already. | And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all 6

CHAP. I.

The increase of the Hebrews in Egypt, and the measures taken by the Pharaoh to check it.

1—7. Growth of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, after Joseph's death, into a great people.

1—5. Recapitulation, as the introduction to a new section, of what had been stated before respecting the sons of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 23—26), and the numbers of his descendants who had gone down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 8, 26 f.).

1. *Now* (Heb. *And*) *these are the names of*...] As Gen. xxv. 13, xxxvi. 40, xlvi. 8; Ex. vi. 16, &c. (all P).

5. *all the souls that came out*, &c.] As Gen. xlvi. 26 (also P).

seventy souls] The number was traditional: cf. Dt. x. 22 (where 'with' should be **as**). This passage shews that P interpreted the tradition in the sense of 70 souls *without* Jacob: other writers interpreted it in the sense of Dt. x. 22, and made the number 70 souls *including* Jacob (cf. Gen. xlvi. 8, 27^b). See the writer's *Genesis* (in the 'Westminster Commentaries'), pp. 365, 368. *Soul* in the sense of 'person,' though found occasionally elsewhere (but never in the earlier historical books), is peculiarly frequent in P (nearly 100 times).

6. The continuation in J of Gen. l. 14, preparing partly for the notice, now preserved fragmentarily in *v.* 7, of the increase of the Israelites in Egypt, and partly for *v.* 8.

7 that generation. | And the children of Israel were fruit- *P*
ful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed
exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

8 Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not *J*
9 Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, the people
of the children of Israel are [1]more and mightier than we:
10 come, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and

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[1] Or, *too many and too mighty for us*

7. The continuation in P of *v.* 5.

[P] *were fruitful, and* **swarmed,** [J] *and multiplied, and waxed mighty,* [P] **exceedingly**] To 'be fruitful,' as Gen. i. 28, ix. 1, 7, &c., and in the promises to Abraham and Jacob of an abundant progeny, Gen. xvii. 6, xxxv. 11 (xlviii. 4), cf. xxviii. 3 (all P). 'Swarmed,' as Gen. i. 20, 21, vii. 21, viii. 17 (all P); used here of men, as Gen. ix. 7 (P). 'Multiplied and waxed mighty' (the last expression not elsewhere in P), as *v.* 20: cf. the corresponding adjectives in *v.* 9. 'Exceedingly,'—here, in the Heb., an expression peculiar to P and Ezek., lit. *with muchness, muchness,*—qualifies all the preceding verbs.

Hebrew tradition loved to tell of the wonderful increase of their ancestors in Egypt: cf., of an earlier stage of their residence there, Gen. xlvii. 27 (P) 'were fruitful, and multiplied greatly.'

the land] viz. of Rameses, Gen. xlvii. 11 (P), or of Goshen, Gen. xlvii. 4 (J).

8—14. The *first* measure taken to check the increase of the Israelites: they are set to do forced labour on public works in Egypt.

8. *there arose a new king*] Implying the rise of a king whose reign began a new policy. The king, to judge from *v.* 11 (see the notes on Pithom and Raʿamses), will have been Rameses II, the third ruler of the 19th dynasty (B.C. 1300—1234 Petrie; 1292—1225 Breasted): see further the Introduction, § 4. According to Gen. xli. 46 (P), 53 f., xlv. 6, l. 22 (E), and Ex. vii. 7, xii. 40 f. (P), the birth of Moses took place 430—(110—39)—80 = 279 years after Joseph's death. But there are many indications that the chronological statements of P are of slight value (cf. on ii. 23^{a}, xii. 40, and the writer's *Genesis*, pp. xxvi—xxxi).

knew not Joseph] Not only lit., was not acquainted with Joseph, but also, it is implied, did not remember his services to Egypt, and had no thought or care for his people. Comp. Jud. ii. 10^{b}.

9. *more and mightier*] In the Heb. the two adjectives corresponding to the two verbs 'increased,' and 'waxed mighty,' in *v.* 7. The marg. is merely an alternative rendering of the Heb., bringing out more distinctly the sense intended (cf. 1 K. xix. 7, where the Heb. is similar).

10. *deal wisely*] I.e., in a bad sense, craftily,—paraphrased by 'deal subtilly' in Ps. cv. 25. Such a people might be dangerous, especially on the frontiers: the Pharaoh does not, however, propose to it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set 11 over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses.

expel them from his territory: he will retain them as subjects, whose services might be profitable to him; but he will take measures to limit their freedom and check their increase.

falleth out] read, upon grammatical grounds, *when any war* **befalleth us** (תקראנו for תקראנה): so Sam. LXX. Pesh. Vulg. Onk. Di. &c.; cf. G.-K. § 47^{k}.

unto our enemies] Egypt was particularly liable to the incursions of Shasu (Bedawin), and other Asiatic tribes, across its N.E. frontier, which indeed, as early as the time of Usertesen I, of the 12th dynasty (B.C. 1980–35 Breasted), had been strengthened against them by a line of military posts, or fortresses (Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* pp. 351, 469*n.*, 471: cf. below, pp. 127, 141).

get them up (Heb. simply **go up**)] viz. from Egypt to the high ground of Canaan (which is at least in the narrator's mind). So Gen. xiii. 1, and frequently; and conversely *go down*, Gen. xii. 10, xlvi. 3, &c.

11. They were consequently brought into a condition of virtual slavery and compelled to do forced labour. The *corvée* was an institution common in the despotisms of antiquity, and resorted to whenever an Oriental monarch had stone to be quarried, palaces or temples to be built, &c. Aristotle (*Pol.* viii. (v.) 11, p. 1313 b 18 ff., cited by Knob.) mentions it as a measure adopted by tyrants to curb the spirit of their subjects, and cites as an example the Egyptian pyramids. Solomon introduced it into Judah for the purpose of carrying out his great buildings (1 K. v. 13, 14, ix. 15): how unpopular it was, may be judged from the fact that Adoniram, the superintendent of the *corvée*, was stoned to death by the people (1 K. xii. 18).

gang-*masters*] Lit. *captains* (i.e. *overseers*) *of labour-gangs*,—the word *mas* being the technical term for a body of men employed on forced labour: cf. 1 K. v. 13, 14, ix. 15 (where it is rendered 'levy').

burdens] The word regularly used of *heavy* burdens, carried under compulsion: see ii. 11, v. 4, 5, vi. 6, 7; and cf. cognate words in 1 K. v. 15, xi. 28 (RVm.), Ps. lxxxi. 6.

Pharaoh] The official, not the personal, designation of the Egyptian king. The word is the Egyptian *Per-'o*, which means properly the *Great House*, and in inscriptions of the 'Old Kingdom' (1—11 dynasties) denotes simply the royal house or estate; but afterwards (somewhat in the manner of the expression, 'Sublime Porte') it gradually became a title of the monarch himself, and finally (in the 22nd and following dynasties) it was prefixed to the king's personal name (see F. Ll. Griffith's luminous art. PHARAOH in *DB*.).

store cities] For provisions, materials for war, &c., perhaps also as trade emporia: cf. 1 K. ix. 19 (= 2 Ch. viii. 6); 2 Ch. viii. 4, xvi. 4, xvii. 12, xxxii. 38†.

Pithom] the Πάτουμος of Hdt. ii. 158, described by him as being on the canal made partially by Necho (B.C. 610—594) for the purpose of connecting the Nile with the Red Sea[1]. The site was discovered in 1883 by M. Naville. Excavating at a spot about 60 miles NE. of Cairo, called, from a red granite monolith of Rameses II, seated between the gods Ra and Etôm, which has long existed there, Tell el-Maskhuṭa, the 'Mound of the statue,' M. Naville soon met with inscriptions shewing that the ancient name of the place was *P-etôm*, the 'Abode of Etôm' (the sun-god of Heliopolis). Proceeding further he found that Pithom was a city forming a square of about 220 yds. each way, enclosed by enormous brick-walls, some 6 yds. thick, containing a Temple, and also a number of rectangular chambers, with walls 2 or 3 yds. thick, not communicating with one another, but, like the granaries depicted on the monuments, filled from above, shewing that they were store-chambers (see *DB.* iii. 887^{b}, *EB.* iii. 3784). Inscriptions found on the spot shewed moreover that it had been founded by Rameses II,—partly, it is probable, as a store-house for supplying provisions to Egyptian armies about to cross the desert, and partly as a fortress for the protection of the exposed Eastern frontier of Egypt. *P-etôm* was the civil name of the capital of the 8th 'nome,' or administrative district, of lower Egypt (Naville, *Pithom*, ed. 4, 1903, p. 6): and the ancient geographical lists describe it as being 'on the Eastern frontier of Egypt' (*EB.* s.v. PITHOM). No notice however was found of the Israelites as its builders.

Ra‘amses] in xii. 37 *Ra‘m*^{e}*ses* (the difference is only in the Mass. vocalization); LXX. Ραμεσση (cf. the Eg. *Ra‘me*ss*e*). Not certainly identified. P^{e}-Ramessu is a name often given in the Papyri to Zoan (Tanis), about 30 miles NNW. of Pithom, a city which, though built much earlier, was so greatly added to by Rameses (Ra‘messe) II that he is called by M. Naville its 'second founder'; and Brugsch, Ebers, and Budge (*Hist. of Eg.* v. 123—5) consider that Zoan is the place here meant. Zoan is, however, mentioned elsewhere in the OT. (e.g. Nu. xiii. 22) under its proper name; and as Rameses II built at many different places in the Eastern Delta, and in fact more places than one bearing his name are known (*EB.* ii. 1760 f., 4013), it may well have been one of these. To judge from xii. 37 the Rameses of the Hebrews will have been W. of Succoth, rather than, like Zoan, N. of it. W. M.

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[1] The canal started from a little above Bubastis (Pi-beseth) on the Tanitic branch of the Nile: it went Eastwards through the Wādy Ṭumīlāt (p. 67), till it reached the N. end of Lake Timsāḥ; it then turned to the S., and utilising the waters of Lake Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes (see p. 126 f.), reached the Red Sea at Klysma (a little N. of the modern Suez). It was really the reopening and extension of a canal which had been begun long before by Rameses II. Necho did not complete the canal, as he was warned by an oracle that he was 'labouring for the foreigner.' It was completed afterwards by Darius (Hdt. *l.c.*), three of whose *stelae* have been found between Lake Timsāḥ and Suez, one during Napoleon's expedition in Egypt, and the two others when the present Suez canal was being constructed (cf. Rawl. *Hist. of Eg.* ii. 316, 473 f.).

J But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied 12
and the more they spread abroad. And they [1]were
P grieved because of the children of Israel. | And the 13
Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour:
and they made their lives bitter with hard service, in 14
mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field,

Müller (*EB.* ii. 1436, iv. 4013) remarks that a site such as Tell Abu-Suleimân at the W. end of the Wādy Ṭumīlāt (p. 67) would be suitable; and Petrie (*The Hyksos and Israelite cities*, 1906, pp. 28, 31) argues in favour of Tell er-Reṭābeh, about 10 m. W. of Pithom, where a temple and *stelae* of Rameses II, and other monuments, have been excavated by him (so also Garrow Duncan, *Exploration of Egypt and the O.T.*, 1908, p. 172 ff.). It is very probable that this was Rameses, though the arguments hitherto adduced do not prove definitely that it was.

12. But the measure proved ineffectual: the more the Israelites were oppressed, the more they increased, so that the Egyptians felt an uneasy dread of them.

spread abroad] Lit. *brake through* (limits): fig. for *expanded*, *spread abroad*. So Gen. xxviii. 14, xxx. 30, 43 (all J), Is. liv. 3 *al.*

were grieved because of] Render **felt a loathing for.** Both 'grief' and 'grieve' were used formerly (see *DB.* s.vv.; and cf. on viii. 24) in various acceptations which have now passed out of use,—Tindale for instance uses it in Ex. vii. 18 'shall *grieve* to drink of the water of the river,' where AV. has 'loathe.' Here, at least to a modern reader, it conveys an entirely false idea of the meaning intended: RVm. *abhorred* (so Nu. xxii. 3 RVm.; Is. vii. 16) is better; **felt a loathing for** (lit. *because of*) would be better still, as it would be also in Nu. xxii. 3, Is. vii. 16: cf. the same verb in Nu. xxi. 5 (EVV. '*loatheth* this worthless bread').

13, 14. The parallel, from P, to *vv.* 11, 12, and continuation of *v.* 7. P states simply the fact of the oppression, without referring to the grounds prompting it.

13. *with rigour*] The rare word found otherwise only in *v.* 14, Lev. xxv. 43, 46, 53 (all P or H); Ez. xxxiv. 4. The root is not in use in Heb.; in Aram. it means to *rub* (Luke vi. 1 Pesh.), or *crush small.*

14. *hard service*] vi. 9 (P) Heb. (EVV. *cruel bondage*); also Dt. xxvi. 6 (EVV. *hard bondage*); 1 K. xii. 4 (= 2 Ch. x. 4); Is. xiv. 3.

in mortar and in brick] for the Egyptian buildings: cf. v. 7, 8. The 'mortar' (lit. *clay*, Is. xxix. 16 *al.*), would be the black Nile-mud, which was used in ancient Egypt not only for bricks (see on v. 6—9, 19), but also (Erman, *Anc. Egypt*, p. 419) for mortar: in the latter case it was usually mixed with potsherds.

in the field] E.g. in constructing canals and dams for conveying water from the Nile to the fields, and in the actual work of irrigation

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[1] Or, *abhorred*

all their service, wherein they made them serve with *P*
rigour.

15 And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, *E*
of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name
16 of the other Puah: and he said, When ye do the office of
a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the
birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him; but if it be
17 a daughter, then she shall live. But the midwives feared God,

(Dt. xi. 10). This was laborious; for the water had to be brought to the high-lying fields artificially, by a series of *shadufs*, or buckets attached to long poles, worked on axles, by which it was gradually raised from one elevation to another. 'It is hard work to be the whole day raising and emptying the pail of the shaduf, in fact nothing is so tiring in the daily work of the Egyptians as this irrigation of the fields' (Erman, p. 427). In ancient Egypt this and other agricultural operations were carried on by serfs, slaves, and captives taken in war. The *shaduf*, constructed exactly as in ancient times, is still a familiar sight on the banks of the Nile: see an illustration of both the ancient and the modern type in Erman, p. 426.

all their service, &c.] The sentence is loosely attached to what precedes, and the construction with *'ēth* (the mark of the accus.) is very anomalous: cf. however, in the later Heb., Ez. xxxvii. 19, Zech. xii. 10.

15—22. The *second* measure. The Heb. midwives are commanded to slay all male infants that are born. *V.* 15 connects directly with *v.* 12.

15. The names were preserved by tradition (Di.) as those of two noble-minded women, who in perilous times had done their duty to God and their people, and refused to obey the inhuman command of the heathen king. Obviously if the numbers of the Israelites even remotely approached 600,000 males (xii. 37), far more than two midwives must have been required: either the numbers were in reality very much less, or these were the only midwives whose names were remembered.

16. *upon the* **two stones**] This is the lit. rend. of the Heb.: the same word is used of the two circular stones, fixed horizontally on a vertical axle, to form the potter's 'wheel' (see ill. in *EB.* iii. 3820). The allusion is in all probability to the two stones upon which the Hebrew women, in accordance with a custom attested for other nations, either knelt or sat at the time of their delivery: Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur u. Völkerkunde*, 1887, ii. 174 f., 177 f., Schapiro, *Revue des Études Juives*, xl. (1900), p. 45 f. Spiegelberg (*Aeg. Randglossen zum AT.*, 1904, p. 19 ff.) cites from old Egyptian and Coptic texts the expressions, *to sit on the brick*, and (once) *on the two bricks*, in the same connexion.

17. The midwives feared God; and would not be parties to such inhumanity.

E and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but
saved the men children alive. And the king of Egypt 18
called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye
done this thing, and have saved the men children alive?
And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew 19
women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively,
and are delivered ere the midwife come unto them. And 20
J God dealt well with the midwives: | and the people multi-
E plied, and waxed very mighty. | And it came to pass, 21
because the midwives feared God, that he made them
houses. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, 22
Every son that is born ye shall cast into [1]the river, and
every daughter ye shall save alive.

[1] See Gen. xli. 1.

19. Too much cannot be inferred from the midwives' excuse with regard to the facts in question; but it is at least true that Arabian women are delivered very quickly (Knob., with references to travellers). As to whether the Egyptian women were delivered more slowly, there appears to be no independent evidence.

20^{b}. Assigned to J, because, while agreeing with *v.* 7, even in expression—*‘āṣam*, to *wax mighty*, occurs elsewhere in prose only in Gen. xxvi. 16, also J—it seems to imply a far greater people than is done by *vv.* 15—20^{a}.

21. *made them houses*] i.e. gave them families, to perpetuate their names. Cf. 2 S. vii. 11; 1 K. ii. 24; Gen. xvi. 2 (RVm.).

22. The *third* measure. As the midwives refused to carry out the Pharaoh's wishes, a command to the same effect is issued to the whole people: the Egyptians themselves are to throw every male infant of the Hebrews into the Nile. The command, if fully carried out, would have resulted obviously in the extermination of the Hebrews; it is thus inconsistent with the intention expressed by the Pharaoh in *v.* 10 to retain them as his subjects. Perhaps the thwarted and angry king did not heed the inconsistency: perhaps inconsistent traditions have been combined by the compiler. However that may be, the measure seems calculated for a people numbering far fewer than 2,000,000 souls (among whom the birth-rate would be something like 80,000 a year[1], i.e. more than 100 males a day), and also all living within near distance of the Nile. It is intimately connected with the narrative following (ch. ii.), and indeed supplies the conditions necessary for it.

that is born] Sam. LXX. add, *to the Hebrews*: in any case, a correct explanation, and perhaps part of the original text.

the river (*Nile*)] Heb. *yĕ’ōr*, from the Egyptian *yoor*, ‘river,’ often used of the Nile. *yĕ’ōr* is the regular name of the ‘Nile’ in Hebrew.

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[1] The birth-rate in Cairo in 1900 was 41 per 1000 of the population.

2 And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to *E*
2 wife a daughter of Levi. And the woman conceived, and
bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly
3 child, she hid him three months. And when she could not
longer hide him, she took for him an ark of [1]bulrushes, and

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[1] That is, *papyrus*.

CHAP. II.

The birth and education of Moses. His flight to Midian, and his marriage. God's compassion on the oppressed Israelites.

1—10. Birth, deliverance, and education of Moses. 'The murderous command of the tyrant was to become, in the hand of God, the means of bringing Israel's future deliverer to the Egyptian court, and of preparing him for his future work (cf. the history of Joseph in the same narrator, E, Gen. xlv. 5, 7, 8, l. 20)' (Di.).

1. *a daughter of Levi*] the *daughter of Levi* (as the same Heb. is rendered, Nu. xxvi. 59), i.e. of the individual, the patriarch Levi. This rend. would seem to bring Moses very near to Levi; but it is in agreement with *ch.* vi. 20 (P), where the names of Moses' parents are for the first time given, and where it is stated that his father was Amram, son of Kohath, and grandson of Levi (*vv.* 16, 18), and his mother Jochebed, Amram's father's sister, i.e. the sister of Kohath, and consequently daughter of Levi. See further on vi. 27.

2. *conceived*, &c.] The expression (after 'took,' *v.* 1) suggests that, as in other similar cases (Hos. i. 3; Gen. iv. 1, 17, xxxviii. 2f.), Moses was his parents' firstborn. A considerably older sister,—presumably Miriam,—appears, however, already in *v.* 4; and at least in P Aaron is represented as older than Moses by three years. It has hence been supposed that Aaron and Miriam were children of Amram by a former marriage: and it is noticed, as favouring this supposition, that Miriam is somewhat pointedly spoken of as *Aaron's* sister (xv. 20); and that Miriam and Aaron join together *against* Moses (Nu. xii. 1). If this supposition be not adopted, it must be concluded that the narrator expressed himself inexactly.

goodly] Heb. *good*, i.e. comely (cf. Gen. vi. 2): LXX. *ἀστεῖος* (so Heb. xi. 23; and *ἀστ. τῷ θεῷ*, Acts vii. 20). Moses' mother could not bring herself to part with such a fine infant; so she kept it with her as long as she could. In Heb. xi. 23, however, the beauty of the child is interpreted as a sign of the Divine favour resting upon him, and an omen that God had some great future in store for him, so that by 'faith' in this, his parents, heedless of the consequences of disobeying Pharaoh's edict, hid him for three months.

3. *an ark*] i.e. a *chest*. The Heb. is *tēbāh* (only used besides of the 'ark' of Noah, Gen. vi.—ix.), an Egypt. word, *têbet*, a 'chest.'

papyrus (RVm.)] Heb. *gōmĕ'* (Job viii. 12; Is. xviii. 2, xxxv. 7†: deriv. uncertain). A tall reed, consisting of a bare stem, 6 ft. or more

E daubed it with [1]slime and with pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags by the river's brink. And his sister stood afar off, to know what would be done 4

[1] That is, *bitumen.*

in height, with a large tuft of leaves and flowers at the top (see ill. in *NHB.* 434, *EB.* iii. 3557), extinct now in Egypt, and found only by the banks of the 'Blue' and 'White' Nile, but abundant in ancient times along the banks of the lower Nile. The pith of the stem was cut into thin strips, which were then laid together side by side to form a sheet; and two such sheets, with the strips in one at right angles to those in the other, placed one upon another, and glued together, were used by the ancients as writing material; the stems themselves, also, bound together and caulked, were used to form light boats (Is. xviii. 2, 'vessels of *gōmĕ*'; probably also Job ix. 26: Theophr. *H.P.* iv. 8, 4; Pliny *H.N.* vii. 57, &c.)[1]. Here a small chest, or 'ark,' is made of it.

daubed it with **bitumen** (Gen. xi. 3, xiv. 10†) *and pitch* (Is. xxxiv. 9†)] to make it water-tight. Bitumen, or asphalt, was brought into Egypt from the Dead Sea; it was used particularly for embalming (Diod. Sic. xix. 99).

flags] or **reeds**: Heb. *suph*, usually of the water-growth (see on xiii. 18), which gave the 'Red Sea' its Heb. name, once (Jon. ii. 6) of sea-weed; here, *v.* 5, and Is. xix. 6, of some water-growth along the banks of the Nile, or, in Is. xix. 6 (see RVm.), of the Nile-canals (see on Ex. vii. 19). What *suph* was, is not certainly known. It is commonly supposed to have been some kind of *reed.* At the present time, the banks of the Nile in the S. half of the Delta are completely bare: but reed-growths are abundant in the Delta, in disused canals in which the level of the water does not change—for instance, in those running through the site of Goshen—and in pools and ponds (see an ill. in R. T. Kelly's *Egypt* (1902), opp. to p. 154): Forskål, also, *Flora Aeg.-Arab.* (1775), p. 24, attests for his time the abundance of the *Arundo donax* (see ill. in *NHB.* 436) on the banks of the Nile, apparently in general; and J. Russegger, *Reisen* (1841), i. 122 (both referred to by Kn.) speaks of the 'impenetrable reeds' on its bank, where the canal from Alexandria to Cairo joins the river. Compare the illustrations in Ebers, *Egypt*, i. 112, ii. 20 (if the artist may be trusted not to have idealized his picture). What we require is some water-growth which will (1) suit Ex. ii. 3, 5, Is. xix. 6; (2) explain reasonably the name 'Sea of *suph*' (see on xiii. 18); and (3), unless the late passage Jon. ii. 6 is not to be pressed, sufficiently resemble 'sea-weed' to be called by the same name. Careful observation in Egypt itself might result in the required plant being found[2].

4. *stood*] **took her stand** (xix. 17).

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[1] Cf. Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Egyptians* (1878), ii. 179—82 (with transl. of Pliny's description, *H.N.* xiii. 11, 12), 205 f., 208; Erman, pp. 12, 235, 236, 447, 479 f.

[2] Might it be the *sari* of Theophr. *H.P.* iv. 9, Pliny, *H.N.* xiii. 45? Cf. Dillm. on xiii. 18.

5 to him. And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe *E*
at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river
side; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent her
6 handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the
child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews'
7 children. Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall
I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she
8 may nurse the child for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter

5. *the daughter of Pharaoh*] Tradition gave her name as *Tharmuth* (Jubilees xlvii. 5), *Thermouthis* (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5), or *Merris* (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 27). Rameses II is stated to have had 59 daughters (Petrie, *Hist.* iii. 38, 82); but neither of these names appears among the 45 that have been preserved (*ibid.* p. 37 f.).

came down] presumably, from her palace: though where this was, or where indeed the entire incident took place, the narrative does not state. Perhaps Tanis (Zoan), one of the chief royal residences in the NE. of the Delta, near the mouth of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, is intended.

to bathe] Women of any position do not at present bathe in the Nile (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii. 36): whether the case was different formerly, we do not know. The painting, from a tomb in Thebes (Wilk.-Birch, ii. 353), referred to by Dillmann, and in the *Speaker's Comm.*, represents (Griffith) not a lady in her bath, but a lady seated in her clothing on a mat, and being anointed and adorned for a party by her attendants (cf. Erman, p. 187).

The Nile was regarded as sacred, and as a giver of life and fertility; but whether this led to the practice of bathing in it, is more than we know. The Heb. *at* or *by the Nile*, however, does not necessarily mean that Pharaoh's daughter bathed publicly *in* the river; there might have been private bath-houses *beside* the river, into one of which she went.

her maidens] The court-ladies in attendance on her.

walked along] **were walking.**

her handmaid] her female slave,—which is what the Heb. *'āmāh* regularly denotes (xx. 10, 17, &c.).

6. *and behold*, &c.] Heb. *and, behold*, **a** *weeping* **boy.** The sight moved her compassion; and despite the Pharaoh's orders, she determined to spare the child, and bring it up.

7. *of the Hebrew women*] The Egyptians, even till the time when they came in contact with the Greeks (Hdt. ii. 178), were exclusive, and unfriendly towards foreigners (cf. *ibid.* 41; Gen. xliii. 32). So a native Egyptian woman would not have undertaken the task.

a nurse] lit. a *woman giving suck*: so Gen. xxiv. 59, xxxv. 8. So the verb 'nurse' is lit. *give suck to* (*vv.* 7, 9).

E said to her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's
mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this 9
child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy
wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it.
And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's 10
daughter, and he became her son. And she called his
name [1]Moses, and said, Because I [2]drew him out of the
water.

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[1] Heb. *Mosheh*.

[2] Heb. *mashah*, to draw out.

8. The girl naturally brings her mother, who thus recovers her infant.

the maid] Heb. *'almāh*, implying that she was a grown up girl, and consequently at least 15 or 16 years older than Moses.

9. *and* **I**] The pron. is emphatic.

10. *grew*] Heb. *became great*, implying (cf. Gen. xxi. 8) that he was 3—4 years old, and was weaned.

became **a son to her**] was adopted by her, and naturally, therefore, cared for and educated by her. In the Old and Middle kingdoms, as Dillm. remarks, royal princesses had their own establishments, in a separate part of the palace.

Moses] Heb. *Mōsheh*. Probably the Egypt. *mosi*, 'born,' which occurs not only as the second part of a theophorous name, as Thutmosi (Thothmes), 'Thoth is born,' Aḥmosi (Amāsis), 'The moon is born,' but also as a name by itself (Ebers, *Gosen*^{1}, p. 526). LXX. vocalize Μωυσῆς, which was explained by the ancients as meaning 'saved [υσης] from the water [μω]' (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9. 6, and others), or 'taken [σης] from the water' (gloss in Cod. Sarrav. [Swete, *Introd. to the OT. in Greek*, p. 137], cited by Ges. *Thes.* s.v.); but though the Egyptian words are correctly given, the compound is not correct; for 'saved from the water' would in Egyptian be *wezenmöou* (Griffith).

Because I drew him, &c.] 'Mosheh' could mean only '*drawing* out'; '*drawn out*' would in Heb. be *māshūy*. The explanation, like those of many other names in the OT. (e.g. Cain, Gen. iv. 1, Noah, v. 29), rests not upon a scientific etymology, but upon an *assonance*: the name is explained, not because it is *derived* from *māshāh*, to 'draw out,' but because it *resembles* it in sound. The note in RV. is intended to indicate this: it does not, it will be observed, say that 'Mosheh' *means* 'drawn out,' but only gives the reader to understand that it *resembles* the Heb. word signifying to 'draw out.' So in similar cases, as Gen. *ll.cc.*, and xxix. 32—xxx. 24.

The verb *māshāh* is rare, occurring otherwise in Heb. only Ps. xviii. 16 = 2 S. xxii. 17.

The simple Biblical narrative of Moses' youth was decorated in later times with many imaginative details. Thus according to Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 3—9, 10), his father, Amram, when his wife was pregnant, had a vision foretelling how her child would in the future deliver his people; the Egyptian princess, being childless, adopted him that he might ultimately succeed to the throne; he was a precocious child, and attracted by his beauty the notice of the passers by; when Egypt was invaded by the Ethiopians, he was, in consequence of an oracle, appointed leader of the Egyptians, defeated the invaders, and pursued them to the gates of their capital, Meroe, &c.: according to Philo (*Vit. Mos.* i. 5), he was a studious and thoughtful boy, Egyptian masters taught him arithmetic, geometry, music, and the philosophy contained in the hieroglyphic treatises; teachers from Greece, engaged for high fees, instructed him in other school-learning (τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν); he learnt from others Assyrian letters, and Chaldaean astronomy[1]: according to the more summary statement in Acts vii. 22 he was instructed in 'all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' A good education was valued in ancient Egypt; and the actual education of an Egyptian of the better class comprised such things as moral duties and good manners, reading, writing, composition, and arithmetic (Erman, pp. 164—6, 328—33, 364—8; 383 ff., 548—50). If however Moses was really instructed in 'all the wisdom' of the Egyptians, he must have learnt many things which from a Hebrew point of view it would be extremely undesirable for him to know: for it consisted largely of mythology, astrology, magic, and superstitious practices in medicine (*ibid.* pp. 348—364).

'The thought that in the life of such a great man the finger of God must have early manifested itself, and he must be shewn from the first to have overcome all hindrances which men opposed to him and his work, is perfectly correct, and has been, and still is, often verified: else the most diverse peoples would not have so variously given expression to it in their myths and legends, e.g. about Semiramis (Diod. ii. 4), Perseus (Apollod. ii. 4. 1), Cyrus (Hdt. i. 110 ff.), Romulus (Liv. i. 4), and especially in the singularly similar story of Sargon, king of Accad (B.C. 3800)[2]. In particular cases, to be sure, it is always difficult, and even impossible, to determine how much in such narratives is historical. In Ex. i. 15—ii. 10 there are, as has been shewn, sufficient indications that the narratives were long current as tradition (*Sage*) before they were written down' (Dillmann).

11—14. The first acts of Moses' manhood. He chivalrously interposes, first on behalf of an Israelite maltreated by an Egyptian, and then in a quarrel between two Israelites. On account of his slaughter of the Egyptian, he is obliged to flee to Midian. Cf., in St Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 23—9.

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[1] See further Stanley's *Jewish Church*, i. 107, with the references.

[2] In the words of an inscription of the 8th cent. B.C., said to have been copied from an earlier one: 'My mother, who was poor, conceived me, and secretly gave birth to me; she placed me in a *basket of reeds*, she shut up the mouth of it with pitch, she abandoned me to the river, which did not overwhelm me. The river bore me away, and brought me to Akki, the drawer of water, who received me in the goodness of his heart,' &c. (Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.*, p. 597 f.; *KB.* iii. 1, 101; Sayce, *EHH.* p. 161). For details about the others see Jeremias, *ATLAO.* p. 255 ff. (ed. 2, p. 410 ff.).

J And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was 11
grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked
on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian smiting an
Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked this way and 12
that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he
smote the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand. And he went 13
out the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews
strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong,
Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? And he said, Who 14
made thee a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to
kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared,

11. *in those days*] The days of the Egyptian oppression.

was grown up] According to tradition, 42 (Jubilees xlviii. 1, comp. with xlvii. 1), or 40 (Acts vii. 23) years old (half of the 80 of vii. 7).

looked on] i.e. contemplated with sympathy or grief (Gen. xxi. 16, xxix. 32, xliv. 34 Heb.). More than merely 'saw.'

burdens] as i. 11.

an Egyptian] Perhaps one of the 'task-masters,' or superintendents of the labour-gangs (iii. 7).

13. *strove*] i.e. quarrelled, fought: cf. xxi. 22; 2 S. xiv. 6.

14. Moses' motive in slaying the Egyptian must thus have been misunderstood; it was not seen that he was really intending to help his people. Cf. Acts vii. 25. At the same time Moses now shewed definitely that he no longer desired to be counted a son of Pharaoh's daughter (*v.* 10), but that he wished to throw in his lot with his own people; cf. Heb. xi. 24—26.

'In both these acts, the future hero shews himself courageous and energetic, burning with patriotic ardour, full of a strong sense of justice and of sympathy with the suffering, in their service readily giving up all material advantages. To free him, however, from all excess and impetuous passion, and to purify and deepen his spirit, he is now, as a result of his deed of blood, to be removed for a while into another environment' (Dillm.). In slaying the Egyptian, Moses acted without authority; his act was consequently unjustifiable, and there was cogency in the Israelite's remonstrance, 'Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?' Motives, in themselves praiseworthy, of justice, patriotism, and sympathy with the oppressed, led him to interpose in an ill-considered manner, and he was obliged to take refuge in flight. Augustine, *c. Faust.* xxii. 70 (quoted by Keil), points out both the good and the bad features in Moses' act: he had fine qualities, but they needed training and disciplining, in order to produce worthy fruits. 'Reperio non debuisse hominem ab illo, qui nullam ordinatam potestatem gerebat, quamvis injuriosum et improbum, occidi. Verumtamen animae virtutis capaces ac fertiles praemittunt saepe vitia, quibus hoc ipsum indicent, cui virtuti sint potissimum accommodatae, si fuerint praeceptis excultae.'

15 and said, Surely the thing is known. Now when Pharaoh *J*
heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled
from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian:
16 and he sat down by a well. Now the priest of Midian had
seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled

And after referring to Peter's action in defending his Master with the sword (John xviii. 20), he continues, 'Uterque non detestabili immanitate, sed emendabili animositate justitiae regulam excessit; uterque odio improbitatis alienae, sed ille fraterno, hic dominico, licet adhuc carnali, tamen amore peccavit.'

15—22. Moses' flight to Midian; and his marriage there to a daughter of the priest of Midian.

15. *Midian*] The most important of a group of tribes (Gen. xxv. 1—4), in N.W. Arabia, and E. of Canaan (*ib. v.* 6; cf. Nu. xxii. 4), which the Hebrews reckoned to their own race, through Abraham's second wife Ḳeturah, and so a step further removed than the Ishmaelites. The proper home of the Midianites appears to have been on the E. side of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, where Ptolemy (vi. 7. 2) and the Arabic geographers (cf. *EB.* iii. 3081) mention a place *Μοδίανα*, *Madyan*, almost exactly opposite the S. extremity of the Sin. Peninsula; but nomad branches of the tribe wandered northward along the margin of the desert, whence they made forays into Edom, for instance (Gen. xxxvi. 35), and even Canaan (Jud. vi.—viii.). From Ex. iii. 1 (cf. xviii. 1, 5, 27) it appears that 'the land of Midian' was not far from Sinai: if, therefore, 'Sinai' has been rightly located by tradition (see p. 189 ff.), there must have been a Midianite settlement in some part of what is now called the 'Sinaitic' Peninsula, probably in its S.E. Others, however, regard 'the land of Midian' as denoting more naturally the proper home of the tribe, and consider the passage to support the view that 'Sinai' was on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba (cf. p. 189 f.).

In the S. or SE. of the Peninsula, Moses would be beyond Egyptian jurisdiction. It is true, in Wādy Maghārah, and Wādy Sarbuṭ el-Khadim, there were mines for turquoise and copper, worked by the Egyptians, and protected by military guards, which are mentioned frequently, at intervals, from the 3rd to the 20th dynasty (see full descriptions, with numerous photographs, in Petrie's *Researches in Sinai*, 1906): but (see the Map) these were in the NW. of the Peninsula, and not necessarily on the route to the S. or SE. Sayce's statement (*HCM.* 265 f.) that in the days of the Exodus the Sin. Peninsula was 'an Egyptian province' seems to be an exaggeration of the facts; for even the mining districts were not occupied by them permanently (see Petrie, p. 206).

by **the** *well*] the well of the district to which he came.

16. *the priest of Midian*] the chief priest of the tribe, or settlement, and so a person of some importance. On the duties and position of the old Arabian 'priest,' see on xxviii. 1.

drew water] cf. Gen. xxix. 9 (Rachel). To the present day, among

J the troughs to water their father's flock. And the shepherds 17
came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped
them, and watered their flock. And when they came to 18
Gl. J | Reuel | their father, he said, How is it that ye are come

the Bedawin of the Sin. Peninsula, 'the men consider it beneath them to take the flocks to pasture'; it is 'the exclusive duty of the unmarried girls,' and those thus employed spend the whole day with the sheep (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 1822, p. 531, *Bedouins*, 1831, i. 351 f., cited by Kn.; cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1888, i. 306, 322).

the troughs] The word rendered, not very happily, *gutters* in Gen. xxx. 38, 41. Such troughs are still found regularly in the East about wells; they are often made of stone.

17. *drove them away*] wishing to water their own flocks first. But Moses chivalrously comes forward (cf. *vv.* 12, 13) to assist the girls.

18. *Reuel*] Heb. רעואל, the 'friend' or 'companion of God' (Sayce, *EHH.* p. 163 'Shepherd of God': but why should the name be *Assyrian*?). (AV. *Raguel*, where the *g* comes from the LXX., and is one of the many instances of ע being expressed in that version by *g*, as Gaza, Gomorrah, Gotholiah, &c.: see the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, on 1 S. xvi. 20.) The name occurs also in Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10) and Israel (1 Ch. ix. 8). Here it occasions a difficulty. In iii. 1, iv. 18, and ch. xviii., Moses' father-in-law is called *Jethro*[1]; in Nu. x. 29, Jud. iv. 11 (RVm.) he is called *Hobab* (RV. 'brother-in-law,' cf. i. 16, is a doubtful rend., adopted entirely from harmonistic motives): here, if Reuel is correct, he would have had a third name. Perhaps, however, the word here is a gloss, due to a misconception of Nu. x. 29 (so Ryssel in Di.^{2} *al.*): had the name been original, it would naturally have been given in *v.* 16 (where the 'priest of Midian' is first mentioned). Still, it is strange, if a name had to be found, that it was taken from the remote Nu. x. 29, rather than from Ex. iii. 1. 'Tradition,' says Prof. Sayce (*EHH.* p. 163), 'has handed down more than one name for the high-priest of Midian'; perhaps indeed, as Nielsen (*Die altarab. Mondreligion u. die Mos. Ueberlief.*, 1904, p. 131) has suggested, the variation is due to the fact that, like many of the Sabaean kings, and some of the Sabaean priests (Mordtmann, *Beiträge zur Ż. für Assyr.* 1897, p. 75 f.), he had actually two names. There seem also to have been different traditions about his nationality; for Hobab,—whether he were really the same as Jethro, or Jethro's son,—though he is a Midianite in Nu. x. 29, is a *Kenite* in Jud. iv. 11 (cf. i. 16).

[1] Or, in iv. 18, *Jether*. The *ō*, or, as it might be vocalized, *u*, is doubtless the mark of the Arab. nomin., as in the numerous Arab. names (*Zaidu*, *Sa'du*, etc.) of the Sinaitic inscriptions (p. 179) of 2–3d. cent. A.D.: cf. the Arabian Gashm*u*, Neh. vi. 6 (called *Geshem* in vi. 1, 2). The name *Yether* (meaning apparently *excellence*) recurs as that of several Israelites. The corresponding Arab. form *Watr* (or *Witr*) occurs also several times in the Sabaean inscriptions of S. Arabia, both as a principal name (*CIS.* iv. Nos. 10, 70, 83), and as a cognomen (Nos. 1, 37; cf. pp. 22, 77); and *Witru* in *CIS.* II. ii. 3156 (from Sinai), and *RÉS.* No. 53 (from Ḥauran); Οὔιθρος, Waddington, *Inscr. Grecques de la Syrie,* 2537 *h*.

19 so soon to-day? And they said, An Egyptian delivered us *J*
out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew
20 water for us, and watered the flock. And he said unto his
daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left
21 the man? call him, that he may eat bread. And Moses
was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses
22 Zipporah his daughter. And she bare a son, and he called
his name Gershom: for he said, I have been [1]a sojourner
in a strange land.

23 And it came to pass in the course of those many days, *J*
that the king of Egypt died: | and the children of Israel *P*

[1] Heb. *Ger*.

drew] **actually** *drew*: the Heb. idiom, by accentuating the fact, 'expresses the surprise which they had felt at the kindness of his action' (McNeile).

20. The hospitable Arab is vexed that his daughters have not invited their defender to a meal; so he bids them call him.

21. *was content*] or *agreed*; cf. Jud. xvii. 11, xix. 6.

22. *Gershom*] The name might conceivably be derived from גרשׁ, and mean *expulsion*. The writer, however, thinking, as in *v.* 10, of an assonance, rather than of an etymology, explains it as though it were equivalent to *gêr shām*, 'a sojourner there.' It was through a descendant of this Gershom that the priests of Dan claimed in later days descent from Moses (Jud. xviii. 30).

in a **foreign** *land*] This was the meaning of 'strange' (from Lat. *extraneus*), when the AV. was made in 1611; and the old rendering has been often retained in RV. But 'strange' has changed its meaning now, and is no longer a sufficiently clear and unambiguous rendering of the Heb. For other cases of 'strange' in the same now obsolete sense of 'foreign,' see xxi. 8 'a *strange* people'; 1 K. xi. 1, 8, Ezr. x. 2, 10 *al.* '*strange* women *or* wives'; Gen. xxxv. 2, 4, Ps. lxxxi. 9^b *al.* '*strange* gods'; Ps. cxxxvii. 4 'a *strange* land,' as here. Cf. the passage in the Homilies (cited by Aldis Wright), which speaks of 'a certain *strange* philosopher,' meaning, not an eccentric one, but a foreign one. 'Stranger' also often occurs in EVV. in the same sense (see on *ch.* xii. 43). Comp. the writer's note on Mal. ii. 11 in the *Century Bible*; and see also *DB*. s.v.

23^a (J). The death of the king of Egypt, the Pharaoh of *v.* 15. The notice is intended to explain how it became possible for Moses to return to Egypt (see iv. 19).

in the course of those [*many*] *days*] the days of Moses' sojourn in Midian. It seems that 'many' must be a redactional addition. Moses

P sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their
cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. And 24
God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant
with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw 25
the children of Israel, and God took knowledge *of them*.

to all appearance married Zipporah not long after his arrival in Midian; and 'according to J the Pharaoh must have died very soon after the birth of Gershom; for Gershom in iv. 20, 25 is represented as still quite young. J, therefore, did not picture Moses as remaining long in Midian. That is only the representation of P, according to whom (vii. 7) Moses is 80 years old when he treats with Pharaoh. If Moses was 30 (or 40) years old when he fled from Egypt, he would thus have remained in banishment 50 (or 40) years. This, however, agrees as well with the 'many' of *v.* 23^{a}, as it agrees badly with the representation of J (iv. 20, 25). Dillm. will therefore be right in regarding this 'many' as a redactional addition' (Bäntsch).

23^{b}—25 (P). The sequel in P to i. 14. God hears, and takes notice of, the cry of the oppressed Israelites.

23^{b}. *bondage*] as i. 14 (EVV. *service*), also P.

their cry for help (שַׁוְעָתָם) *came up*, &c.] cf. 1 S. v. 12 Heb.

24. *their groaning*] vi. 5^{a} (P).

and God...remembered] cf. vi. 5^{b}; also Gen. viii. 1, xix. 29 (all P).

his covenant with Abraham, &c.] The covenant concluded with Abraham and Isaac (Gen. xvii. 7—8, 19 P), and implicitly with Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 12 P), which in vi. 4, 5^{b} also is represented by P as the motive for the deliverance of Israel from Egypt: cf. p. 176.

25. *saw*] viz. with attention and sympathy.

took knowledge of them] lit. *knew* (them), i.e. *noticed, regarded* them: 'know,' as Gen. xviii. 21 (RV.), Am. iii. 2, Ps. i. 6, xxxvii. 18 *al.*

CHAPTERS III. 1—VI. 1.

First account (*JE*) *of the call and commission of Moses.*

Moses, in a vision at Horeb, is commissioned by Jehovah to deliver His people from their oppression in Egypt (iii. 1—10). Four difficulties anticipated by him are in succession removed: Jehovah promises him His support (iii. 11—12); He declares to him His name, and assures him that, when the Israelites hear that the God of their fathers has sent him, they will listen to what he tells them (iii. 13—22); to meet the contingency of their refusing to do this, he is empowered to work three signs, for the purpose of satisfying them of his commission (iv. 1—9); and when he objects that he has no fluency of speech, to convince or persuade doubters, his brother Aaron is appointed to speak on his behalf (iv. 10—17). Moses thereupon obtains permission from Jethro to visit his brethren in Egypt; he meets Aaron in the wilderness; the

3 Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the mountain of God, *E*

two brothers return to Egypt together, and the people listen to them gladly (iv. 18—31). Moses and Aaron next ask permission of the Pharaoh for the Israelites to keep a three days festival in the wilderness, but this is peremptorily refused by him (v. 1—18): Jehovah, however, promises that He will nevertheless Himself effect His people's deliverance (v. 19—vi. 1).

The narrative, when examined closely, shews marks of composition. In ch. iii. the main narrative is E (notice the frequency of *God* in *vv.* 4, 6^b, 11, 12, 13^a, 14^a, 15^a), with shorter passages from the parallel narrative of J; in iv. 1—vi. 1, on the contrary, the main narrative is J, with short passages from E (see the notes on iv. 17—18, 20^b—21, 27 f.).

iii. **1**—iv. **17**. Moses commissioned by Jehovah at Horeb to deliver His people. The dialogue between Jehovah and Moses, as in other cases (cf. Delitzsch on Gen. xii. 1), must be pictured, not as one audible externally, but as giving expression,—in *words* which are naturally those of the narrators,—to Moses' mental communings with God, through which he was gradually taught by Him that, in spite of the difficulties which he saw before him, he was nevertheless to be His appointed agent for accomplishing Israel's deliverance (cf. the dialogue in Jer. xiv.—xv.). See further, on the sense in which God is to be understood as 'speaking' to a man, the Introduction, p. xlvii f.

1—5. The vision of the burning bush. Cf. Acts vii. 30—35.

1. Moses acts as his father-in-law's shepherd. According to P (vii. 7) Moses was now 80 years of age, and some 40 years had elapsed since his flight from Egypt (ii. 11). But we must not attempt to fit the narratives of J and E to the chronological scheme of P (cf. on ii. 23).

Jethro] The name of Moses' father-in-law in E (iv. 18, ch. xviii.). In J (Nu. x. 29), as also in Jud. iv. 11 (RVm.), he is called *Hobab.* See on ii. 18.

behind (i.e. *to the west of*) *the wilderness*] where there was good pasture. We do not know exactly where the 'wilderness' mentioned was; but the change of place from the E. or S. of the Peninsula (ii. 15) at least brought Moses to 'Horeb.' 'On the approach of summer all the Bedawin leave the lower country, where the herbage is dried up, and retire towards the higher parts, where the pasture preserves its freshness much longer' (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 482, quoted by Kn.).

the mountain of God] i.e. a sacred mountain. So iv. 27, xviii. 5, xxiv. 13 (all E); 1 K. xix. 8 †. It is possibly so called proleptically, in virtue of the sanctity acquired by it from the subsequent law-giving (ch. xix.); but more probably (Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 43, 45, 103; Di.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 117 f.; Sayce, *EHH.* 188; *DB.* iv. 536^b; Burney, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, ix. (1908), p. 343 f.; and others), as being already an ancient sacred mountain. Lofty mountains towering towards heaven were often regarded as sacred by the Semites; and the very name 'Sinai'

J unto Horeb. | And the angel of the LORD appeared unto 2
him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he
looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the

suggests at once that it is derived from *Sin*, the name of the moon-god in Babylonian. Antoninus Placentinus (*Itin.* c. 38) describes how *c.* 570 A.D. a white marble idol, representing the moon-god, was worshipped on the traditional Sinai by the native Arabs at every new-moon.

Horeb] the name used by E (here, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6), by the Deuteronomist (Dt. i. 2, 6, 19, iv. 10, 15, v. 2, ix. 8, xviii. 16, xxix. 1), and in 1 K. viii. 9=2 Ch. v. 10, 1 K. xix. 8; Mal. iii. 22; Ps. cvi. 19†; J and P always speak of 'Sinai' (see on xix. 1). The two names are almost interchangeable; both denote the mountain of the law-giving (comp. Dt. iv. 15 with Ex. xix. 18, 20); and there is apparently no place where 'Horeb' occurs, in which 'mount Sinai' or 'the wilderness of Sinai' ('Sinai' alone, except in poetry, occurs only in Ex. xvi. 1) could not have been used. As Di. rightly says, 'the names vary only according to the writers, or, as in Ecclus. xlviii. 7, in the parallel clauses of the same verse.' Still, it is unlikely that the two names denote exactly the same place; and probably 'Horeb' is a slightly wider term than 'Sinai,' and denotes not the mountain only, but the mountain with the circumjacent district (in Dt. iv. 10, ix. 8, xviii. 16, it must denote not '*mount* Sinai,' but the '*wilderness* of Sinai' (see on xix. 1), i.e. the area in front of it, where the people were standing). The *name* Horeb (if Semitic) means probably either *dry ground*, or *desolation*.

2. *the angel of* **Jehovah**] The 'angel of Jehovah,' or, in E (xiv. 19, Gen. xxi. 17, xxxi. 11), 'of God,' is a temporary, but full, *self-manifestation of Jehovah*, a manifestation usually, at any rate, in human form, possessing no distinct and permanent personality, as such, but speaking and spoken of, sometimes as Jehovah Himself (e.g. *v.* 4^a here, comp. with *v.* 2; Gen xvi. 10, 13, xxxi. 11, 13; Jud. vi. 12, 14, xiii. 21 f.), and sometimes as distinct from Him (e.g. Gen. xvi. 11, xix. 13, 21, 24, xxi. 17; Nu. xxii. 31): cf. Gray, *EB.* iv., THEOPHANY, § 4. As Davidson remarks (*DB.* i. 94^b, s.v. ANGEL), the 'angel of Jehovah' differs from 'Jehovah' only in being sensibly manifest: 'the mere manifestation creates a distinction between the "angel of Jehovah" and "Jehovah," though the identity remains.' The angel of Jehovah is mentioned chiefly in the older parts of the historical books, J, E (never P), and the older narratives in Judges (ii. 1, 4, v. 23, vi. 11 f., 20—22, xiii. 3—21).

a flame of fire] A frequent form of the Divine manifestation (xix. 18, xxiv. 17; Ez. i. 27, viii. 2; and in the 'pillar of fire,' Ex. xiii. 21 f.). On the present occasion, however, the fire was not a 'devouring' fire, but only the brilliancy of fire. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 39 f. (Kn.).

out of, &c.] i.e. rising up out of the bush.

a bush] only besides Dt. xxxiii. 16 'the favour of *him that dwelt in the bush*.' Properly, as Aram. shews (PS. 2671; Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 219), *the* **bramble bush**, *rubus fruticosus*, Linn. (so LXX. βάτος,

3 bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will turn aside *J*
now, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.
4 And when the LORD saw that he turned aside to see, | God *E*
called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said,
5 Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. | And he said, *J*
Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet,
6 for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. | More- *E*
over he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham,
the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his
7 face; for he was afraid to look upon God. | And the LORD *J*
said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which
are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their
8 taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come
down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and
to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a

[Luke vi. 44], Vulg. *rubus*), which however does not seem to grow in the Sin. Peninsula.

3. Moses would fain approach nearer, and learn the reason of the marvel, why the bush was not consumed.

Moses, Moses] The duplication, as Gen. xxii. 11, xlvi. 2 (both E).

4. *And when*, &c.] In the Heb., *And* **Jehovah** *saw..., and God called*, &c., to which the division of sources does no violence.

5. *shoes*] properly (as always) *sandals*. Cf. Jos. v. 15 (J). The removal of the sandals is still the usual mark of reverence, upon entering a mosque, or other holy place, in the East.

6—10. God declares His purpose of delivering His people.

6. *Moreover*] **And** (carrying on *v.* 4^b in E).

the God of thy father] xv. 2, xviii. 4: the God worshipped by thy father, and, it is added afterwards, by thy forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as well. Moses is not to introduce to his people any previously unknown God, but the God whom their fathers had worshipped, and who, it was believed, had promised to be with, and to defend, their descendants. Comp. Mt. xxii. 32 = Mk. xii. 26 = Luke xx. 37.

hid his face] in reverence and fear: cf. 1 K. xix. 13; Is. vi. 2.

7. *seen the affliction*] iv. 31; Gen. xxxi. 42; Dt. xxvi. 7 *al.*

taskmasters] The Egyptian superintendents of the labour-gangs, or *corvée* (see on i. 11). Properly *hard-pressers*, rendered *driver* in Job xxxix. 7; *oppressor* in Is. iii. 12, ix. 4, xiv. 2; and *exactor* in Dan. xi. 20 (cf. *exact* for the cognate verb, Dt. xv. 2, 3): LXX. here ἐργοδιωκταί. So ch. v. 6, 10, 13, 14. Not the expression used in i. 11.

8. *am come down*] from heaven. A frequent anthropomorphism in J: cf. Gen. xi. 5, 7; also Ex. xix. 11, 18, 20, xxxiv. 5.

J large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.

a land flowing with milk and honey] a frequent designation of Canaan in the Pent.: in J (here, *v.* 17, xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3, Nu. xiii. 27, xiv. 8, xvi. 13 [of Egypt], 14): the compiler of H (Lev. xx. 24); Dt. vi. 3, xi. 9, xxvi. 9, 15, xxvii. 3, xxxi. 20; also Jos. v. 6 (D^2); Jer. xi. 5, xxxii. 22; Ez. xx. 6, 15 †. Milk is an essential article of diet in the East, especially among an agricultural people: 'honey' includes probably not only the honey of bees, but also what is now called by the corresponding name in Arabic *dibs*, i.e. grape juice, boiled down to a dark golden-brown syrup, intensely sweet, and much used in Palestine as a condiment to food (cf. *DB.* ii. 32^b; *EB.* ii. 2015).

of the Canaanite, &c.] Such rhetorical lists of the nations of Canaan whom the Israelites were to dispossess are frequent, esp. in the Hexateuch, in JE and Deuteronomic writers; see (in JE) Gen. xv. 19—21 (where ten are named); Ex. iii. 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Dt. vii. 1 (seven), xx. 17; Jos. iii. 10, ix. 1, xi. 3, xii. 8, xxiv. 11 (all D^2); Jud. iii. 5; 1 K. ix. 20.

the Canaanite] more particularly, it seems (see Nu. xiii. 29), the inhabitants of the sea-coast, and of the Jordan-valley: but the term is often used, esp. by J (e.g. Gen. xii. 6), in a wider sense, of the pre-Israelitish population of Canaan generally (see further the writer's note on Dt. i. 6, p. 11 f., and CANAAN in *EB.*).

the Hittite] The 'Hittites,'[1] as inscriptions now abundantly shew, were a great nation, whose home was N. of Phoenicia and Lebanon, Kadesh on the Orontes being one of their principal cities (see HITTITES in *EB.* and *DB.*; or, more briefly, the writer's note on Gen. x. 15; and cf. 1 K. x. 29, xi. 1, 2 K. vii. 6): but these Hittites were never conquered by the Israelites, and so cannot be referred to here. The reference may be to an offshoot settled in the far N. of Canaan (Jud. i. 26, iii. 3 [read *Hittite* for *Hivite*]; Jos. xi. 3 [interchange, with LXX., *Hittite* and *Hivite*]); but a belief appears gradually to have sprung up,—though how far it is grounded on fact is difficult to say (see the writer's *Book of Genesis*, pp. 228—30),—that there were once Hittites in the more southerly hill-country of Canaan (Nu. xiii. 29 in JE), and even in Hebron (Gen. xxiii. [P]); and it is possible that this is the view expressed in these enumerations.

the Amorite] in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*c.* 1400 B.C.), the 'land of Amurri' is mentioned in such a way as to shew that it was the name of a canton, or district, N. of Canaan, behind Phoenicia[2]. By the time of the Hebrew occupation, the Amorites appear to have extended themselves southwards; and so, in the OT., the term is used in two

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[1] See now most fully Garstang's *Land of the Hittites* (1910).

[2] See Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 73 f.; or the writer's *Genesis*, p. 125. It appears now that the Amurri extended eastwards much further than was once supposed: see the writer's *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 36.

9 And now, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come *E*
unto me: moreover I have seen the oppression wherewith
10 the Egyptians oppress them. Come now therefore, and I will
send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my
11 people the children of Israel out of Egypt. And Moses
said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh,
and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of
12 Egypt? And he said, Certainly I will be with thee; and

connexions: (1) Nu. xxi. 13 and often, of the people ruled by Sihon on the E. and NE. of the Dead Sea; (2) as a general designation of the pre-Israelitish population of the country W. of Jordan (so esp. in E and Dt., as Gen. xv. 6, Dt. i. 7, cf. Am. ii. 9, 10),—in Nu. xiii. 29 said specially to have inhabited the hill-country.

the Perizzite] named alone in Jos. xvii. 15; by the side of the 'Canaanite' only, Gen. xiii. 7, xxxiv. 30, Jud. i. 4, 5; and found also in many of the lists cited above. To judge from the first-cited passages, apparently a people of Central Palestine; but more is not definitely known of them. It is thought by some that the word is not a proper name at all, but that it is connected with *perāzī*, 'country-folk,' 'peasantry' (Dt. iii. 5 'besides the towns *of the peasantry*'; 1 S. vi. 18 'the villages *of the peasantry*'), and denoted the village population of Canaan, the *fellaḥin* (or 'labourers' of the soil), as they are now called.

the Hivite] a petty people of Central Palestine: Gen. xxxiv. 2 (in Shechem); Jos. ix. 7, xi. 19 (in Gibeon).

the Jebusite] the tribe which occupied the stronghold of Jerusalem, and maintained themselves there until expelled by David (Jos. xv. 8, 63, 2 S. v. 6—9).

9. *is come unto me*] Gen. xviii. 21.

10. *Now therefore* [Heb. *And now = Quae quum ita sint*] *come.* Gen. xxxi. 44, xxxvii. 20; Nu. xxii. 6 *al.*

11 ff. In his youth (ch. ii.) Moses was confident and impulsive: but now 'a fugitive and a shepherd, without influence or position' (Kn., Di.), the greatness of the task laid before him makes him distrustful of his powers to undertake it. Accordingly the narrative which follows describes how *four* difficulties felt and urged by Moses are successively removed by Jehovah, *vv.* 11—12, 13—22, iv. 1—9, 10—17. Moses' reluctance to undertake the difficult task laid upon him is emphasised, it may be observed, by each narrator, by E in iii. 11 ff., by J in iv. 10—12, and by P in vi. 12, vii. 1.

11—12. Moses' *first* difficulty: he is unsuited either to treat with Pharaoh, or to become the leader of his people. Cf. Jud. vi. 15.

12. In reply God assures him that He will be with him and support him: cf. Gen. xxviii. 15, xxxi. 3; Jos. i. 5, iii. 7; and especially Jud. vi. 16. 'Certainly,' like 'Surely' in Jud. *l.c.*, is better omitted: the Heb. *ki* is like the Greek ὅτι *recitativum* (*Lex.* 471^{b} b).

E this shall be the token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain. And Moses said 13 unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, 14 [1]I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto

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[1] Or, *I AM, BECAUSE I AM* Or, *I AM WHO AM* Or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE*

token] The word usually rendered 'sign,' as iv. 8, 17, Is. vii. 11, &c. The word means here *evidence* or *proof*, as Jud. vi. 17, 1 S. xiv. 10, 2 K. xx. 9: and with reference to something not to be realised immediately, 1 S. ii. 34, Is. vii. 11, xxxvii. 30. The promise, given with all assurance, that the liberated people would worship God on the very mountain on which he was standing, though its full cogency could not be perceived till it was fulfilled, was a guarantee to Moses that God had really sent him.

that I *have sent thee*] The pron. is emphatic.

upon this mountain] The mountain which is God's abode: cf. *v.* 1, xix. 3^a, 4^b.

13—22. Moses' *second* difficulty: his ignorance of the *name* of the God who has sent him. In reply, he is told what the name is; and is reassured with regard both to his being listened to by the Israelites (*v.* 18^a), and to his securing ultimately the deliverance of his people (*vv.* 21—22). In ancient times, every deity had his own personal name; and it was of importance to know what this name was; for only if it were known, could the deity who bore it be approached in prayer and appealed to for help; the name was also often an indication of the nature and character of the deity whom it denoted. Cf. *DB.* v. 640^b; also iv. 604^a, v. 181^a; and see, for illustrations, L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion* (1905), pp. 184—192, Frazer, *Golden Bough*^{2}, i. 441 ff.

13—15. The name which, if asked, Moses is to give as that of the God who has sent him.

13. *The God of your fathers*] Cf. *v.* 6. These words shew clearly that, according to the writer, the name Yahweh was not known to the patriarchs: when the Israelites hear of the 'God of their fathers,' they do not know what His name is, and ask to have it told them. This agrees with the predominant,—and probably, when the narrative of E was in its original form, with the uniform,—usage of E in Genesis. (In J the name Yahweh (Jehovah) is used consistently from the very beginning of the history, Gen. ii. 4^b, 5, &c.).

14. I will be that I will be (3rd marg.)] The words are evidently intended as an interpretation of the name *Yahweh*, the name,—which in form is the third pers. imperf. of a verb (just like *Isaac*, *Jacob*,

15 the children of Israel, [1]I AM hath sent me unto you. And *E*
God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto
the children of Israel, [2]The Lord, the God of your fathers,
the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of
Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever,
16 and this is my memorial unto all generations. | Go, and *J*
gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The
Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of
Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have
surely visited you, and *seen* that which is done to you in
17 Egypt: and I have said, I will bring you up out of the

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[1] Or, *I WILL BE* Heb. *Ehyeh.*

[2] Heb. *Jehovah*, from the same root as *Ehyeh.*

Jephthah), meaning *He is wont to be* or *He will be*,—being interpreted, as Jehovah is Himself the speaker, in the first person. The rendering given appears to the present writer, as it appeared to W. R. Smith, and A. B. Davidson, to give the true meaning of the Heb. *’Ehyeh ’ăsher ’ehyeh*: Jehovah promises that He *will be*, to Moses and His people, *what He will be*,—something which is undefined, but which, as His full nature is more and more completely unfolded by the lessons of history and the teaching of the prophets, will prove to be more than words can express. The explanation is thus of a character to reassure Moses. See further the separate note, p. 40.

I AM] better, as before, **I will be.**

15. Yahweh, the Israelites are to be told, is the name of the God of their fathers, who has sent Moses to them.

this is my name, &c.] The sentence, with its two parallel clauses, has a poetical tinge: the Heb. for ‘to all generations,’ also, occurs elsewhere only Prov. xxvii. 24 Kt. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 13.

memorial] The Heb. *zēker* means usually ‘remembrance’ (e.g. xvii. 14): here it is a poet. synonym of ‘name’; so Hos. xii. 5; Ps. xxx. 4 = xcvii. 12 (see RVm.); Is. xxvi. 8.

16—18. Moses is to gather together the elders of Israel, and communicate to them God’s purpose to lead His people into Canaan: they will listen to him; and the Pharaoh is then to be asked to allow a pilgrimage to worship Jehovah in the wilderness.

16. *the elders*] the older and leading men of the different families. Often mentioned as the representatives of the people: *v.* 18, iv. 29, xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 12 *al.*

visited] i.e. shewn practical interest in, noticed in some practical way (Gen. xxi. 1; Luke i. 68, vii. 16): so iv. 31, xiii. 19 (Gen. l. 24).

17. *said*] i.e. as often, said mentally = resolved.

bring you up] from the low-lying land of Egypt into the high ground of Canaan. So regularly (cf. i. 10).

J affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a land flowing with milk and honey. And they shall hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, 18 thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with us: and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to

18. *shall hearken*] rather, **will** *hearken*. In EVV. 'shall' (in the 3rd person), and 'shalt' are often used where a command is out of place, and where we should now say *will*, *wilt*.

the God of the Hebrews] as opposed to the gods of the Egyptians. So v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (all in the same narrative, J; cf. p. 56).

met with us] or, *lighted upon us*,—viz. in a sudden, unexpected way. So v. 3; cf. Nu. xxiii. 3, 4, 15, 16. Rendered *happened* or *chanced* in 2 S. i. 6, xviii. 9, xx. 1.

three days' journey] Probably a current expression for a considerable distance (Gen. xxx. 36): they ask to be allowed to worship their national God, with such rites as He may enjoin (viii. 27), at some distant spot in the wilderness where they could give no offence to the Egyptians (viii. 26). The 'wilderness' would be the broad and arid limestone plateau, now called *et-Tih*, extending from the E. border of Egypt to the S. of Palestine, and bounded on the S. by the mountains of the Sinaitic Peninsula. In an age in which every people had its own god, or gods, whom they worshipped in their own special way, a request to be allowed to make such a pilgrimage would seem quite natural. In the form, *Let my people go*, *that they may serve me*, it is repeated in the sequel of J seven times (see on iv. 23); comp. also v. 3, x. 7—11, 24—26.

In what sense is the request meant? If, as has been supposed, it was intended merely as an excuse for getting a good start for their subsequent flight, then it was clearly a case of deception: the Israelites would in this case have sought to obtain from the Pharaoh by a ruse what, if he had known their entire purpose, he would not have granted. It is not however said that, if the request had been acceded to, they would not have returned, when the three days' festival was over: so it may have been intended merely (Di.) to test the feeling of the Pharaoh towards the Israelites; to serve their God in their own way was in itself 'the smallest request that subjects could make of their ruler'; and if this request had been viewed by the Pharaoh favourably, the door might have been opened for further negotiations, and the people might eventually have been allowed to depart altogether: the request was *not* granted, and so it resolved itself in the end into a demand for the unconditional release of the people and their actual departure.

19—20. But the Pharaoh will not let Israel go, till the Egyptians have experienced the power of Jehovah's hand.

19 the Lord our God. | And I know that the king of Egypt *E*
will not give you leave to go, no, not by a mighty hand.
20 And I will put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my
wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after
21 that he will let you go. And I will give this people favour
in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass,
22 that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty: but every woman
shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in
her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment:
and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your

19. *But* **I** *know.* The pron. is emphatic.

no, not by a mighty hand] not even when severely smitten by God's hand,—as in the first nine plagues. But it is strange that the tenth plague (when the Pharaoh did let them go) should be excluded. What we expect (cf. *v.* 20) is, '*except* by a mighty hand' (so LXX.); and this ought probably to be read (אם לא for ולא). *Mighty hand* as vi. 1, xiii. 9, xxxii. 11; Nu. xx. 20 (of Edom): and often in Dt. (esp. in the combination 'a mighty hand and stretched out arm,' iv. 34, v. 15 *al.*).

20. *wonders*] Ex. xxxiv. 10, Jos. iii. 5.

21—22. Not only will the Egyptians then let the Israelites go, but God will give them favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, and they will bestow many valuables upon them. The verses, it is evident, must belong to the narrator who regards the Israelites as settled among the Egyptians themselves (i.e. E), not to J, who (see on viii. 22) represents them as living apart in the land of Goshen.

22. *sojourneth*] probably, as a slave or hired servant: cf. Job xix. 15 (RVm.), and on ch. xii. 48.

put them upon] as ornaments; cf. Gen. xxiv. 47, xli. 42.

This remarkable incident is referred to twice again: in xi. 2 f., where the people are directly commanded to make the request, and xii. 35 f., where the occurrence itself is narrated. 'According to the tradition ('*Sage*') as handed down by E, the Israelites at their departure received from their Egyptian acquaintances, who were favourably disposed towards them, and held Moses in honour (see xi. 3), all kinds of valuables. For what purpose is not, in the present text, stated: probably as ornaments and festal attire for the feast, such as it was usual to wear on such occasions (Hos. ii. 13). It is at the same time possible that according to the original intention of the legend, the valuables, which the Israelites used for their sanctuary (xxxiii. 6; xxxv. 22 f.), were to be regarded as spoil won from the Egyptians. But as it now stands, the chief stress appears to rest on the consideration that through God's providence the Israelites were enriched at the expense of their oppressors, and gained as it were a sort of prize of victory as a compensation for their long oppression' (Dillm.: similarly Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 65 f.). See further on xii. 36.

J daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians. | And Moses **4**
answered and said, But, behold, they will not believe
me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The
LORD hath not appeared unto thee. And the LORD said 2
unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said,
A rod. And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast 3
it on the ground, and it became a [1]serpent; and Moses
fled from before it. And the LORD said unto Moses, Put 4
forth thine hand, and take it by the tail: (and he put forth
his hand, and laid hold of it, and it became a rod in his
hand:) that they may believe that the LORD, the God of 5
their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and
the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee. And the 6
LORD said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into
thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and
when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, as *white*
as snow. And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom 7
again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again; and
when he took it out of his bosom, behold, it was turned

[1] Heb. *nahash*.

iv. **1—9.** Moses' *third* difficulty: in spite of the assurance of iii. 18^{a}, the Israelites will perhaps not listen to him, or believe in his divine commission. To enable him to meet this contingency, he is endowed with the power of performing three signs, which may serve as credentials of his commission.

1. *they* (twice)] not the Egyptians (iii. 22), but the Israelites, as *v.* 30 shews. The verse is the sequel in J to iii. 18.

2—5. The first sign.

2. *A rod*] 'The rod was one of the ancient elements in the tradition. Here, in J, it is represented as the shepherd's staff which was naturally in Moses' hands, and it becomes the medium of the display of the divine power to him. In E it is apparently given him by God (*v.* 17), and consequently bears the name 'rod of God' (*v.* 20^{b}): as such, it is the instrument with which Moses achieves the wonders, vii. 20^{b}, ix. 23, x. 13' (C.-H.; cf. below, p. 56). In P the rod appears in *Aaron's* hands (cf. p. 55), and the occasion on which it is changed into a serpent is a different one (vii. 8—13).

3. *a serpent*] The marg. 'Heb. *nāḥāsh*' is added for the purpose of shewing that the Heb. word used here is different from the one used in vii. 10—12 (P); see the marg. there.

6—8. The second sign.

leprous, *as* white as *snow*] cf. Nu. xii. 10, 2 K. v. 27.

was turned] an archaism for 'turned' (as Jer. xxxi. 18, 19, xxxiv. 15,

8 again as his *other* flesh.) And it shall come to pass, if they J
will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the
first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.
9 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe even
these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou
shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the
dry land: and the water which thou takest out of the river
10 shall become blood upon the dry land. And Moses
said unto the LORD, Oh Lord, I am not [1]eloquent, neither
heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant:
11 for I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the
LORD said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or
who maketh *a man* dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is
12 it not I the LORD? Now therefore go, and I will be with
13 thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak. And he
said, O Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom

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[1] Heb. *a man of words*.

and elsewhere: see the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, p. 483). The Heb. verb, as in the passages quoted, is an intransitive one, and is rendered in 2 K. v. 14 (in the same expression) 'came again.'

9. The third sign, to be resorted to only if necessary. Water taken from the Nile, and poured upon the earth, to be turned into blood.

the river (twice)] *the* **Nile** (Heb. *ye'ōr*): see on i. 22.

10—17. Moses' *fourth* difficulty: he objects that he is not fluent, has no power to state his case, to convince or persuade the Israelites. He is promised, in reply, firstly, that God will be with him to give him words, and afterwards, as he still demurs, that Aaron shall be his spokesman.

10. *Oh*] In the Heb. a particle of entreaty, craving permission to speak: always followed by either *Lord* ('Adonai,' not 'Jehovah'), *v.* 13, Jos. vii. 8 *al.*, or *my lord*, Gen. xliii. 20, Nu. xii. 11 *al.*

eloquent] lit. *a man of words*, i.e. able to command words, fluent. Cf. Jeremiah's objection (i. 6).

nor since, &c.] In giving him his commission, God has conferred upon him other powers (*vv.* 2—9), but not the gift of fluency.

heavy *of* **mouth** *and* **heavy** *of tongue*] i.e. slow to move them.

11. God gives man all his faculties; and therefore, it is implied, can give Moses fluency. The words are spoken in a tone of reproof.

12. God further promises that He will be *with his mouth* (cf. iii. 12), and teach him always what to say. Cf., of prophets, Dt. xviii. 18, Jer. i. 9.

13. Send, I pray thee, him whom thou wilt send, whoever it may be (for the idiom, see on xxxiii. 19). Moses assents, but unwillingly and ambiguously (cf. W. R. Smith [p. 40 *n.*], p. 163).

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J thou wilt send. And the anger of the Lord was kindled 14
against Moses, and he said, Is there not Aaron thy brother
the Levite? I know that he can speak well. And also,
behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth
thee, he will be glad in his heart. And thou shalt speak 15
unto him, and put the words in his mouth: and I will be
with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you
what ye shall do. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the 16
people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee
E a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God. | And thou 17

14. *the Levite*] As Moses, equally with Aaron, belonged to the tribe of Levi (ii. 1), the term, as applied distinctively to the latter, must denote, not ancestry, but profession. There must have been a period in the history of the 'Levites,' when the term was (McNeile) 'the official title of one who had received the training of a priest, regardless of the tribe of which he was a member by birth' (cf. Jud. xvii. 7, where a member of the tribe of Judah is a 'Levite'). See Moore, *Judges*, 383; McNeile, lxvi—lxviii. It was the duty of the priest to give *tôrāh*, or oral 'direction,' to the people (p. 79); hence some power of language might be presupposed in him. If the term has here, not a tribal sense, but the official sense just explained, there need be no anachronism in its use.

that **he**] unlike Moses. The pron. is emphatic.

when he seeth thee, &c.] he will be glad, not only to meet thee, but also, it is implied, to cooperate with thee.

15, 16. Aaron is to be, as it were, Moses' prophet, and to speak the words which Moses places in his mouth,—in particular, the words contained in iii. 16—17,—putting them in such a way, and supporting them with such arguments, as may satisfy the people of the reality of Moses' commission. Cf. in P vii. 1.

15. *put the words*, &c.] cf. Nu. xxii. 38, xxiii. 5, 12, 16.

I will be, &c.] The promise of *v.* 12 is extended here to both the brothers.

16. *And* **he** (emph.) *shall be thy spokesman*] Heb. *shall speak for thee*.

as God] or *as a god*,—inspiring him, as God (or a god) inspired (or was supposed to inspire) a prophet.

17—21. Here *vv.* 17—18, 20^b—21 are assigned to E on account of their imperfect connexion with the context: iv. 17 speaks of 'the *signs*' to be done with the rod, whereas only *one* sign to be performed with it has been enjoined in *vv.* 1—9; iv. 21 mentions 'portents' to be done before the *Pharaoh*, whereas *vv.* 1—9 speak only of wonders to be wrought for the satisfaction of the *people*. Further, *v.* 19, from its contents, is not fitted to be the *sequel* of *v.* 18; it in fact states an alternative ground for Moses' return into Egypt; and the name Jether (Jethro) makes it probable that *v.* 18 belongs to the same current of

shalt take in thine hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do *E*
the signs.
18 And Moses went and returned to [1]Jethro his father in
law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return
unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they
be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.
19 | And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return *J*
into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy
20 life. And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them
upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: | and *E*
Moses took the rod of God in his hand. And the

[1] Heb. *Jether*.

narrative as iii. 1 and ch. xviii. (i.e. E); hence *v.* 19 will be referred to J. *V.* 20^{b} goes naturally with *v.* 17 (the rod).

17 (E). *this rod*, &c.] Not the rod of *vv.* 2—4 (with which only *one* sign was to be wrought), but the rod often mentioned in E as borne by Moses (*v.* 20^{b}, vii. 15, 17, 20, ix. 23, x. 13, xiv. 16, xvii. 5, 9). In a previous part of E, which has not been preserved, it must have been told how Moses was equipped with a wonder-working rod, and what 'the signs' were which he was to perform with it before Pharaoh (so Di.).

18—20. Moses prepares to return to Egypt.

18. He first asks permission to leave his father-in-law (in whose service he was, iii. 1), concealing his real purpose, and requesting only a temporary leave of absence.

my brethren] his own relations (the term 'brethren' including nephews, Gen. xiii. 8, xiv. 14, xxiv. 27).

19. That Moses should now be commanded by God to do what he has already both determined to do, and obtained Jethro's permission to do, is remarkable; and, as Dillm. remarks, can only be explained by the fact that the verse is by a different narrator from *v.* 18 (viz. J)[1].

which sought thy life] the Pharaoh and his servants (ii. 15, cf. 23).

20^{a} (J). *his wife*, &c.] according to E Moses went alone into Egypt, and was only joined by his wife and sons afterwards (xviii. 5).

his sons] The birth of only one son has been hitherto mentioned (ii. 22); and iv. 25 suggests strongly that only one son was with Moses at the time: Di. and others are therefore probably right in thinking that we should read *his son*, the plural being an alteration due to an editor or scribe who thought that account should be taken of xviii. 2—4.

20^{b} (E). *the rod of God*] So xvii. 9, cf. on iv. 17.

21—23. A summary statement of what Moses is to do when he comes to negotiate with Pharaoh, of the failure of his first 'portents' to

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[1] 'Said' cannot, consistently with Hebrew grammar, be interpreted to mean '*had* said.'

E LORD said unto Moses, When thou goest back into Egypt,
see that thou do before Pharaoh all the wonders which
I have put in thine hand: but I will [1]harden his heart, and
J he will not let the people go. | And thou shalt say unto 22
Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, my first-
born: and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he 23

[1] Heb. *make strong.*

produce any effect upon him (*v.* 21), and of the threat which he is ultimately to hold out to him (*v.* 22 f.).

21ᵃ. He is to do the **portents** which God has put in his hand, i.e. not the signs of *vv.* 2—9 (which were to be done before the *people*), but those enjoined in *v.* 17 (E), which (*v.* 21) were to be done by Moses before *Pharaoh*, by means of the 'rod': see p. 56.

wonders] **portents**. The Heb. *mōphēth* is more than a 'wonder'; it means an unusual phenomenon,—natural or supernatural, as the case might be,—arresting attention, and calling for explanation: see 1 K. xiii. 3, 5 (EVV. *sign*); Dt. xiii. 1, 2, xxviii. 46, Is. viii. 18, xx. 5 (EVV. *wonder*); Ez. xii. 6, 11 (EVV. *sign*). Elsewhere in Ex. it occurs only in P (vii. 3, 9, xi. 9, 10): in Dt., coupled with 'signs,' it is often used of the 'portents' wrought in Egypt (iv. 34, vi. 22, vii. 19 *al.*). It is quite different from the word rightly rendered *wonders* in Ex. iii. 20, and elsewhere.

21ᵇ. *but* **I**] the pron. is emphatic. The effect of the portents would be only to 'harden' Pharaoh's heart against letting the people go.

harden] Lit., as marg., *make strong*. See on vii. 13.

22—23. The substance of the demand which Moses is to make of the Pharaoh, formulated with special reference to the final and severest plague, the 10th: Israel is Jehovah's firstborn; if Pharaoh does not let Israel go, his own firstborn will be slain. The situation implied by these verses ('have said,' 'hast refused') is *between* the first nine plagues and the 10th; and so it has been conjectured, especially as this message to Pharaoh is never in the sequel actually given to him, that they originally stood before x. 28 (or xi. 4), as J's introduction to the 10th plague, and were removed here by the compiler, as an indication of the gist and purpose of the whole series of plagues.

22. *Thus saith* **Jehovah**] so vii. 17, viii. 1, 20, xi. 4 (all J); with *the God of the Hebrews* added, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (also all J); and with *the God of Israel* added, v. 1, xxxii. 27 (both E). None of these expressions occurs elsewhere in the Pent. The first is a formula used constantly by the prophets (e.g. 2 K. i. 4, 6, Am. i. 3, 6); and the third is used by them sometimes (as Jud. vi. 8, Jer. xi. 3).

my son, my firstborn] Israel, treated as an individual, is brought into the closest and dearest relation to Jehovah, as his 'son' (cf. Hos. xi. 1), his 'firstborn.' In Jer. xxxi. 9 Ephraim is called Jehovah's 'firstborn,' as in *v.* 20 His 'dear son,' and 'delightsome child.' The

may serve me; and thou hast refused to let him go: behold, *J*
24 I will slay thy son, thy firstborn. And it came to pass
on the way at the lodging place, that the LORD met him,
25 and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a flint, and
cut off the foreskin of her son, and [1]cast it at his feet;
and she said, Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me.

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[1] Heb. *made it touch.*

figure is more common in the plural of the individual Israelites; and it is then often used when the prophets desire to dwell upon the privileges bestowed on Israel by its Father, or the duties owed by it to its Father, or its unfilial behaviour towards Him: e.g. Hos. i. 10, xi. 2—4; Is. i. 2, 4; Dt. xiv. 1, xxxii. 5, 6, 18, 19, 20; Jer. iii. 14, 22, iv. 22; Is. lxiii. 8—10 (see further the writer's note on Dt. xxxii. 5, p. 352). The idea of a nation or an individual being descended from a divine ancestor was common in antiquity (cf. Nu. xxi. 29, where the Moabites are called the 'sons and daughters of Chĕmōsh'): but in such cases the relation was conceived as a physical one; in Israel the idea was *spiritualized*, and, in virtue of Jehovah's ethical and spiritual character, made the expression of moral and spiritual relations.

23. *that he may serve me*] i.e. hold a religious service ('serve,' as in iii. 12 and frequently), viz. in the wilderness: cf. (also in J) vii. 16, viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3.

24—26. Continuation of *v.* 20ª. On the journey to Egypt, Moses falls dangerously ill; but his wife, Zipporah, divining the cause, saves his life by circumcising his son, and casting his foreskin at Moses' feet (thereby treating it symbolically as Moses' foreskin). A remarkable, and evidently antique narrative, noticeable also on account of the strongly anthropomorphic representation of Yahweh ('met him,' and 'sought to kill him': cf. Gen. ii. 4—iii. 24, vii. 16, xi. 5, 7: see the writer's *Book of Genesis*, pp. xx f., 35 f.).

24. *sought to kill him*] 'A primitive anthropomorphic way of saying that Moses fell dangerously ill' (McNeile). The reason is commonly supposed to have been his neglect to circumcise his child (Gen. xvii.). But, as Di. remarks, 'there is nothing in the narrative to suggest this; and an acquaintance with the command of Gen. xvii. is as little presupposed by it as by Jos. v. 9' (see further below, p. 33).

25. *a flint*] in accordance with the oldest custom (cf. Jos. v. 2, 3, and xxiv. 30 LXX.); because the practice of circumcision originated among peoples, or in an age, in which metal knives were either not yet in use, or used but rarely (Di.).

and **made it touch** *his feet*] to connect him with what she had done, and make her son's circumcision count as her husband's. For the Heb., cf. Is. vi. 7, Jer. i. 9.

a **blood-bridegroom**] Originally the expression may have denoted the bridegroom, as one who (see below) was himself circumcised. Here

J So he let him alone. Then she said, [1]A bridegroom of 26
blood *art thou*, because of the circumcision.

E And the Lord said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to 27
meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mountain

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[1] Or, *A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision*

however it is used in the sense of a bridegroom secured to his wife by the circumcision of his son.

26. *let him alone*] Heb. *relaxed from him*: cf. Jud. xi. 37, Dt. ix. 14.

Then she said (viz. when she spoke the words given in *v.* 25^b), '*A* **blood-bridegroom,' with regard to** *circumcisions*] The last word is *plural* in the Heb. 'Blood-bridegroom' was apparently a current expression: and the passage seems to attribute to Zipporah the new sense of it explained in the last note but one.

It seems that in this narrative an archaic stage in the history of circumcision is referred to, which is not elsewhere mentioned in the OT. Circumcision is a rite which has been, and still is, largely practised in the world: among the Hebrews (besides its religious associations) its distinctive feature was that it was performed in *infancy*. Among the Arabs it is performed upon boys of ages varying, in different places, from 3 to 15; but in many parts of the world it is performed upon youths at the approach of puberty. A practice so widely diffused must rest upon some common principle: and the idea which appears generally to underlie circumcision is that it is a rite of *initiation into manhood*; a youth, till he has been circumcised, is not reckoned a full member of the tribe, or (as in Australia, for instance) allowed to marry. Now the fact that the Heb. word for 'father-in-law' (*ḥōthēn*) is derived from a root which in Arabic signifies to *circumcise*, seems to shew that it meant originally *circumciser*, and to indicate that in primitive times circumcision was among the Hebrews, as among the other nations just referred to, a general preliminary to marriage, which it was the duty of the future father-in-law to see enforced. These facts throw light upon the present narrative. The reason why Moses had incurred Jehovah's wrath was because he was not a 'blood-bridegroom,' i.e. because he had not, according to established custom, submitted to circumcision before marriage: Zipporah, seizing a flint, circumcises her son *instead of* her husband, and so makes the latter symbolically a 'blood-bridegroom,' and delivers him from the wrath of Jehovah. At the same time, the circumcision of male infants is explained as a more humane substitute for the original circumcision of young men before marriage (Wellh. *Hist.* p. 340; *EB.* ii. 830, 832; *DB.* v. 622^a). On circumcision, see now very fully Hastings' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v.

27—31. Moses and Aaron together communicate their commission to the people in Egypt, and are readily believed by them.

27. Aaron (cf. *v.* 14) coming from Egypt by Divine command to meet Moses, finds him in the 'mountain of God,' Horeb (iii. 1). The verse is the continuation of *vv.* 17, 18, 20^b. The 'wilderness' meant

28 of God, and kissed him. And Moses told Aaron all the *E*
words of the Lord wherewith he had sent him, and all the
29 signs wherewith he had charged him. | And Moses and *J*
Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the
30 children of Israel: and Aaron spake all the words which
the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the
31 sight of the people. And the people believed: and when
they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel,
and that he had seen their affliction, then they bowed their
5 heads and worshipped. | And afterward Moses and Aaron *E*
came, and said unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord,
the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold

may be either the one beyond Horeb (iii. 1), or the wilderness between Horeb and Egypt.

28. *words...signs*] the commission and promises of iii. 10—15; and the 'signs' of iv. 17. There does not seem to be any reference to the part which Aaron is to play as Moses' spokesman (iv. 15, 16 J).

29—31. Execution of the commands given in iii. 16, iv. 2—9.

30^{a}. Here Aaron appears as Moses' spokesman, in accordance with *vv.* 15, 16 (J).

30^{b}. *and did*] i.e. Aaron. But the Heb. is *and* **he** *did*, allowing a reference to Moses, which is undoubtedly right (Di.). The 'signs' are those given to Moses in *vv.* 1—9.

31. The people believe in Moses' commission, as Jehovah had assured him that they would do (iii. 18^{a}, iv. 8, 9); and bow their heads in reverence and gratitude when they hear that Jehovah has visited (iii. 16) His people.

and when, &c.] Heb. *and they heard..., and they bowed.* LXX. for *and they heard* (וישמעו) have *and they rejoiced* (וישמחו); no doubt rightly.

v. **1**—vi. **1.** The application to the Pharaoh, and its failure. V. 1—vi. 1 is for its greater part a continuous narrative from J: but at the beginning *v.* 3 seems to be a doublet of *v.* 1, and (especially) *v.* 5 of *v.* 4; hence most critics refer *vv.* 1, 2, 4 to E.

1—5. Moses and Aaron ask permission of the Pharaoh for the Israelites to keep a three days' feast in the wilderness. The request is refused.

1. Jehovah, *the God of Israel*] elsewhere in the Pent. only xxxii. 27 (E), also with *Thus saith*; cf. on iv. 22.

make a pilgrimage] The Heb. *ḥag* means not simply a religious 'feast' like our Easter or Christmas, for instance, but a feast accompanied by a *pilgrimage* to a sanctuary: such as, for instance, were the three '*ḥaggim*,' at which every male Israelite was to appear before Jehovah (Ex. xxiii. 14—17). The corresponding word in Arabic, *ḥaj*,

E a feast unto me in the wilderness. And Pharaoh said, Who 2
is the LORD, that I should hearken unto his voice to let
Israel go? I know not the LORD, and moreover I will not
J let Israel go. | And they said, The God of the Hebrews 3
hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days'
journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice unto the LORD
our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the
E sword. | And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore 4
do ye, Moses and Aaron, loose the people from their works?
J get you unto your burdens. | And Pharaoh said, Behold, 5
the people of the land are now many, and ye make them
rest from their burdens. And the same day Pharaoh 6
commanded the taskmasters of the people, and their officers,

denotes the pilgrimage to Mecca, which every faithful Mohammedan endeavours to make at least once in his life.

2. The Pharaoh replies contemptuously that he knows nothing of Jehovah, and need not therefore listen to His behests.

3. The request itself, as far as 'our God,' is repeated almost *verbatim* from iii. 18 (J). 'God of the Hebrews' is J's standing expression (see the note *ibid.*); contrast 'God of Israel,' *v.* 1.

lest he fall upon us, &c.] for neglecting the duty laid upon us.

4. The Pharaoh regards the pilgrimage as merely an excuse for a holiday; and bids Moses and Aaron no longer unsettle the people.

burdens] i. 11, ii. 11.

5. *the people of the land*] the common work-people; cf. Jer. lii. 25. They are already sufficiently numerous; and idleness will unsettle them, and make them dangerous to their masters.

6—9. The Pharaoh commands the Egyptian 'taskmasters' (whom he must be supposed—see *v.* 10—to have summoned to his presence) to increase the tasks imposed upon the Israelites: they are to find their straw themselves, and yet to make the same number of bricks. Bricks in Egypt (which in the earlier periods were much larger than our bricks, generally about 15 × 7 × 4½ in.) were made (on i. 14) from the mud of the Nile, mixed usually with chopped straw or reed, to give it coherence and prevent cracks while drying, and then dried in the sun (*EB.* i. 609; cf. *L. and B.* i. 165). These bricks remained black. Burnt red brick was first introduced into Egypt by the Romans.

6. *the taskmasters*] i.e. as in iii. 7, the Egyptian superintendents of the labour-gangs (LXX., as there, ἐργοδιωκταί): so *vv.* 10, 13, 14.

officers] Heb. *shōṭerim*: here of minor officials appointed (see *v.* 14) by the Egyptian superintendents (the 'taskmasters') from among the Israelites themselves, and acting as the immediate overseers of the labour-gangs. If the word were really felt to mean *writers* (LXX. γραμματεῖς, 'scribes': cf. the footnote), they no doubt also kept lists of the

7 saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make *J*
brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for them-
8 selves. And the tale of the bricks, which they did make
heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish
aught thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, saying,
9 Let us go and sacrifice to our God. Let heavier work be
laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let
10 them not regard lying words. And the taskmasters of the
people went out, and their officers, and they spake to the
people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you
11 straw. Go yourselves, get you straw where ye can find it: for
12 nought of your work shall be diminished. So the people were
scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather
13 stubble for straw. And the taskmasters were urgent, saying,
Fulfil your works, *your* daily tasks, as when there was straw.

workmen, and accounts of the work done. Elsewhere, as Nu. xi. 16, Dt. i. 15 (see the writer's note there), xvi. 18, xx. 5, the term is used of various minor judicial and military officials. The 'taskmasters' dealt directly, not with the labourers, but with these *shōṭerim*[1].

8. *tale*] that which is *told* or counted: an archaism for 'number' (=Germ. *Zahl*). So *v.* 18, 1 S. xviii. 27, 1 Ch. ix. 28. Cf. Milton, *L'Allegro*, 67 f., 'And every shepherd tells [i.e. *counts*: Ps. xlviii. 12, cxlvii. 4] his *tale* [viz. of sheep] Under the hawthorn in the dale.' The Heb. here means properly a *rightly regulated amount*.

therefore they cry, &c.] Their request to be allowed to make a pilgrimage to their God is merely a pretext for idleness.

9. Let them be fully occupied with their work, and have no time to regard 'lying words,' as if God had really demanded a pilgrimage of them.

10—12. The 'taskmasters' communicate the Pharaoh's commands to the people.

10. *went out*] viz. from the Pharaoh's court.

12. *to gather stubble*] which might be difficult to find, except immediately after the harvest.

13—14. Although however the number of workers was thus materially diminished, the 'taskmasters,' carrying out the Pharaoh's injunctions, still demand the same tale of bricks; and as it is not forthcoming, the 'officers' (*v.* 6) of the Israelites are held responsible for the deficit, and beaten.

13. your *daily tasks*] Heb. *the matter of a day in its day*, a Heb.

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[1] The proper meaning of *shōṭerim* is uncertain, the root not occurring in Heb. It may be *writers* (i.e. *registrars*), cf. the Ass. *shaṭâru*, to *write*; or it may be, from what is seemingly the primary sense of the root in Arabic, *to range in order* (cf. Arab. *saṭara*, to *rule* (a book), *saṭr*, a *row*), *arrangers, organizers* (cf. *mishṭār*, Job xxxviii. 33, 'ordered arrangement,' 'rule').

J And the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's 14
taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, [1]and demanded,
Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task both yesterday
and to-day, in making brick as heretofore? Then 15
the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto
Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy
servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants, and 16
they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are
beaten; but the fault is in thine own people. But he said, 17
Ye are idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us go and
sacrifice to the LORD. Go therefore now, and work; 18
for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver
the tale of bricks. And the officers of the children of Israel 19
did see that they [2]were in evil case, when it was said, Ye
shall not minish aught from your bricks, *your* daily tasks.

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[1] Heb. *saying*

[2] Or, *were set on mischief, when they said*

idiom implying a daily portion, amount, or duty. See xvi. 4, Lev. xxiii. 37 (RV. 'each on its own day'), 1 K. viii. 59, 2 K. xxv. 30 *al.*

demanded] i.e. *asked.* 'Demand' in Old English meant simply to 'ask' (Fr. *demander*), not, as now, to ask with authority. See Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, or *DB.* s.v. So Job xxxviii. 3, 2 S. xi. 7, Mt. ii. 4, &c. Here 'and demanded' is a paraphrase, the Heb. being simply *saying.*

14. *task*] **prescribed portion** (or **amount**): cf. Prov. xxx. 8 (RVm.), xxxi. 15. Not as in *v.* 13, or as in '*task*masters' (*v.* 6).

yesterday and to-day] i.e., by Heb. idiom, *recently.* So *heretofore* is lit. 'yesterday and the third day'; cf., in the Heb., *vv.* 7, 8.

15—19. The officers of the Israelites expostulate with the Pharaoh, but to no effect. Cf. Erman, 177 (a complaint of the absence of straw).

16. *they say*] viz. the Egyptian 'taskmasters.'

but the fault is in thine own people] The text cannot be right: not only is the Heb. ungrammatical, but the fault was not in the people, but in the king. It is better, adding one letter, to read with LXX. Pesh. Di. Bä. 'and *thou sinnest against* thine own people,' i.e. committest a wrong against thine own subjects, the Hebrews.

17, 18. The king impatiently turns them away, repeating the charge of idleness which he had made before (*v.* 8), and insisting again that they must produce the same amount of bricks as before.

19. *in evil case*] in having to tell their people that there was to be no abatement from their daily task.

The description here given of Egyptian brick-making is well illustrated from the monuments. The accompanying illustration (given more completely in Wilk.-B. i. 344) from the tomb of Rekhmāra,

20 And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as *J*
21 they came forth from Pharaoh: and they said unto them,
The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have
made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh,
and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand
22 to slay us. And Moses returned unto the LORD, and
said, Lord, wherefore hast thou evil entreated this people?
23 why is it that thou hast sent me? For since I came to
Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath evil entreated this

vizier of Thothmes III (1503—1449 B.C.), at 'Abd el-Ḳurnah, opposite to Luxor, represents Asiatic captives making bricks for the temple of Amon at Thebes. On the left we see men drawing water from a tank to moisten the mud: elsewhere there are men carrying the mud in baskets, kneading it with their feet, placing it in moulds (which would usually be stamped with the name of the reigning king), exposing the bricks to dry, piling them up in rows, and building a wall with them; in the lower picture we notice an Egyptian 'taskmaster' with his rod. The gangs of slaves, or captives, engaged upon such work, were organized almost like an army: they were under the superintendence of 'standard-bearers,' chosen out of the Egyptian army (corresponding to the 'taskmasters' here), and they had also officers of their own (corresponding to the *shōṭerim*), who were responsible to the standard-bearers. See Erman, pp. 417 f., 128. At Tell el-Maskhuṭa, the site of Pithom (i. 11), M. Naville found bricks, some made with chopped straw or reed, and some without it (*Pithom*, p. 11^{b}). Most Egyptian bricks, however, do not contain straw; and Petrie (*Egypt and Israel*, 30) thinks that the straw here asked for was for dipping the hand in, or sprinkling over the still soft bricks, that they might not stick.

20—21. On coming out from their audience with the Pharaoh, they meet Moses and Aaron; and blame them for being the cause of this aggravation of the people's sufferings.

20. *stood in the way*] **stationed themselves to meet them.**

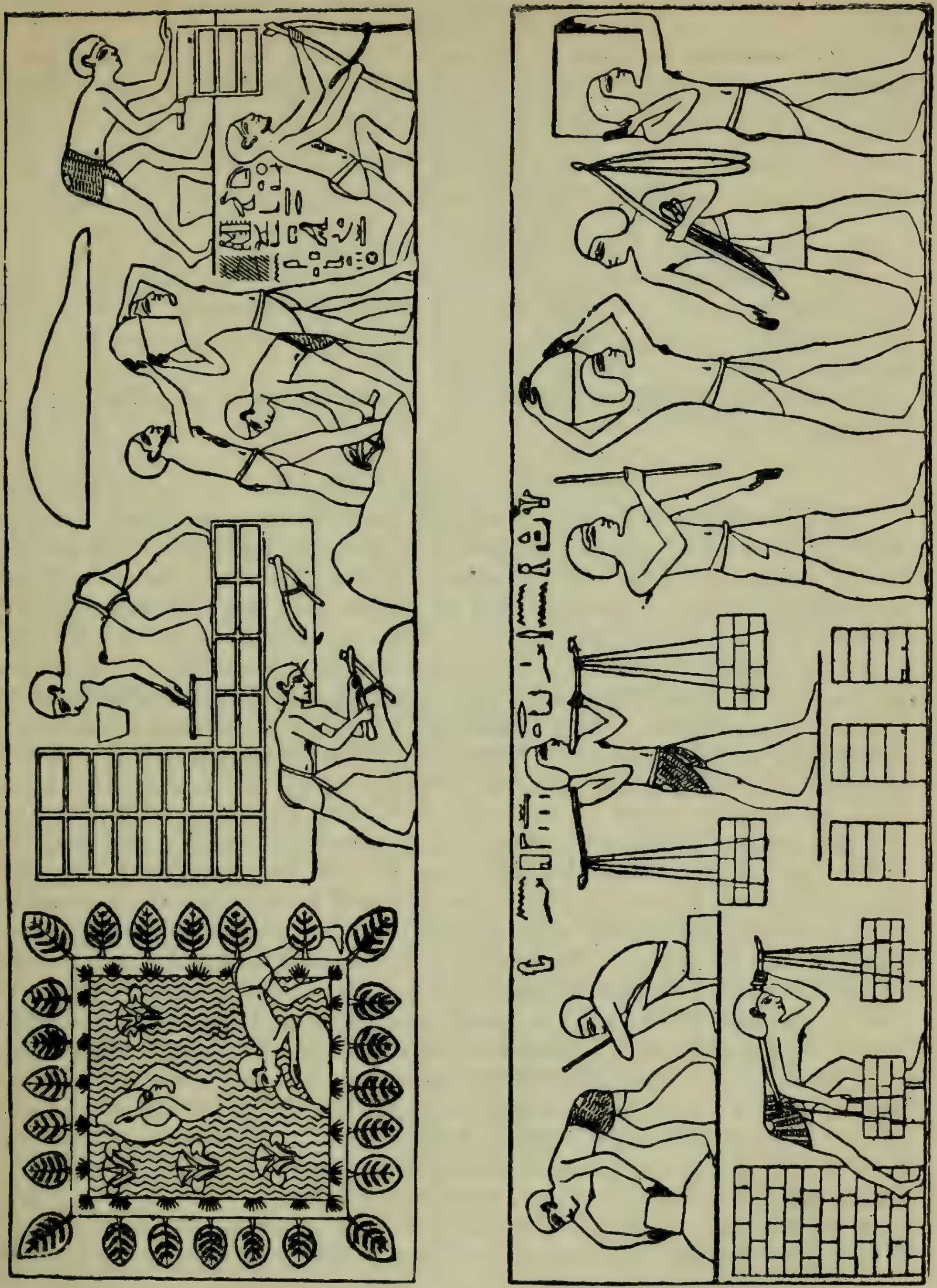
21. **Jehovah** *look upon you, and judge*] not leave you unheeded and unpunished, for the evil you have brought upon the people.

made our savour to be abhorred, &c.] lit. *made our savour to stink*; as we should say, *brought us into ill odour with*: cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; also, in the Heb., 1 S. xiii. 4, 2 S. x. 6 *al.*

to put, &c.] They have simply, by asking permission for the pilgrimage, given the Pharaoh an opportunity to ruin us.

22—23. Moses expostulates with Jehovah; and asks why He has thus brought trouble upon His people, and sent Moses himself upon a fruitless mission.

entreated] an archaism for *treated* (ill-treated); so Gen. xii. 16, Nu. xi. 11, Dt. xxvi. 6 *al.* Elsewhere the same Heb. is rendered *dealt ill with* (Gen. xliii. 6), or *brought evil upon* (1 K. xvii. 20).



Asiatic captives making bricks under Thothmes III.
[From Ball's *Light from the East* (1899), p. 112.]

For the colours of the original, the copper-coloured bodies and white loin-cloths of the men, and the blue water in the tank, &c., see Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, v. 40. For the inscriptions accompanying the pictures, see the Introduction, p. xxxi.

6 people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all. And J
the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will
do to Pharaoh: for by a strong hand shall he let them go,
and by a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

23. *neither*, &c.] according to the promise, iii. 8.

vi. **1.** Jehovah's reply. He calms Moses with the assurance that he will now shortly see what will happen to the Pharaoh: he will soon not merely be willing to let the Israelites go, but will be eager to *drive* or *thrust them* (xi. 1, xii. 39) from his land.

by a strong hand] compelled by the strong hand of Jehovah; cf. iii. 19.

Additional Note on iii. 14.

The following are the reasons which lead the present writer to agree with W. R. Smith[1] and A. B. Davidson[2] in adopting the rend. *I will be that I will be* for *'Ehyeh 'ăsher 'ehyeh*. In the first place the verb *hāyāh* expresses not to *be essentially*, but to *be phaenomenally*; it corresponds to γίγνομαι not εἶναι; it denotes, in Delitzsch's words, not the idea of inactive, abstract existence, but the active manifestation of existence. Secondly the imperfect tense used expresses not a fixed, present state ('I *am*'), but *action*, either *reiterated* (habitual) or *future*, i.e. either *I am wont to be* or *I will be*. Whichever rend. be adopted, it is implied (1) that Jehovah's nature can be defined only in terms of itself ('I am wont to be *that I am wont to be*,' or 'I will be *that I will be*'), and (2) that, while He *is*, as opposed to non-existent heathen deities, He exists, not simply in an abstract sense ('I am that I am[3]'; LXX. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν), but *actively*: He either *is wont to be what He is wont to be*, i.e. is ever in history manifesting Himself anew to mankind, and especially to Israel[4]; or He *will be what He will be*, i.e. He will,—not, of course, once only, but habitually,—approve Himself to His people as 'what He will be'; as what is not further defined, or defined only in terms of Himself, but, it is understood, as what He has promised, and they look for, as their helper, strengthener, deliverer, &c.[5] The two renderings do not yield a substantially different sense: for what is *wont to be* does not appreciably differ from what at any moment *will be*. *I will be* is however the preferable rendering. As both W. R. Smith and Davidson point out, the important thing to bear in mind is that *'ehyeh* expresses not the abstract, metaphysical idea of being, but the being of Yahweh as revealed and known to Israel. 'The expression *I will be* is a historical formula; it refers, not to what God will be in Himself: it is no predication regarding His essential nature, but one regarding what He will approve Himself to others, regarding what He will shew Himself to be to those in covenant with Him,' as by His providential guidance of His people, and the teaching of His prophets, His character and attributes were more and more fully unfolded to them[1].

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[1] In an interesting article in the *Brit. and Foreign Evang. Rev.* 1876, p. 163.

[2] *The Theology of the OT.* (1904), pp. 46, 54—58; more briefly in *DB* ii. 199^b.

[3] A translation, as Davidson remarks (p. 55), 'doubly false: the tense is wrong, being present [i.e. a real 'present,' not the 'present,' as often in English, expressive of habit], and the idea is wrong, because *am* is used in the sense of essential being.'

[4] So Delitzsch, *Genesis*, ed. 4 (1872), p. 26; in the *New Commentary* of 1887 (translated) towards the end of the note on ii. 4: Oehler, *OT. Theol.* § 39. Comp. the present writer in *Studia Biblica*, i (1885), pp. 15—18.

[5] So W. R. Smith and A. B. Davidson, *ll.cc.*

CHAPTERS VI. 2—VII. 13.

The second account (P) of the call and commission of Moses.

God, who had been known to the patriarchs as El Shaddai, reveals Himself to Moses as Jehovah (Yahweh), and bids him tell the Israelites that He has resolved to deliver them from their bondage, to make them His people, and to bring them into the land promised to their forefathers (vi. 2—8). The people, hopeless and disheartened, refuse to listen to him (vi. 9). He and Aaron are then commanded to demand the release of the people from the Pharaoh: upon his pleading his inability to speak, Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman with the king (vi. 10—13, 28—30, vii. 1—2). But God will harden the Pharaoh's heart, that he will not listen to their request, and that he may be made to see and feel His might (vii. 3—7). Moses and Aaron are empowered to work a portent, as a credential of their mission; but it is imitated by the Egyptian magicians, and the Pharaoh remains obdurate (vii. 8—13). The narrative is interrupted by a genealogy of Moses and Aaron, vi. 14—27.

The phraseology of this narrative shews that it is derived from P; its contents shew that it does not describe the *sequel* of iii. 1—vi. 1, but is *parallel* to it, and that it gives a partly divergent account of the commission of Moses, and of the preliminary steps taken by him to secure the release of the people. This will be apparent if the narrative be followed attentively. iii. 1—vi. 1 describes the call and commission of Moses, the nomination of Aaron as his spokesman with *the people*, and three signs given to him for the satisfaction of the people, if they should demand his credentials: Moses and Aaron have satisfied the people (iv. 30, 31), but their application to the Pharaoh has proved unsuccessful (ch. v.), and something further is threatened (vi. 1). The continuation of vi. 1 is, however, vii. 14: vi. 1—vii. 13 is a *parallel* narrative of Moses' call and commission, in which, *unlike* iv. 31, the people refuse to listen to him (vi. 9), and in which, upon Moses' protesting his inability to plead, not, as in iv. 10—16, with the people, but with the *Pharaoh*, Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman *with*

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[1] The rend. *will be* is not new: it is at least as old as the Jewish Commentator Rashi (A.D. 1040–1105), who paraphrases, '*I will be* with them in this affliction *what I will be* with them in the subjection of their future captivities.' And Ewald, in his last work, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, 1873, ii. p. 337 f., explains, '*I will be* it,' viz. the performer of My promises; in *v.* 12 God says 'I will be with thee'; *v.* 14 explains how: '*I will be* it! I (viz.) *who will be* it,' will be viz. what I have promised and said. This, however, as W. R. Smith remarks, is a clumsy version: *v.* 14 is rendered far more naturally as is done above: *I will be what I will be.*

2 And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am *P*
3 JEHOVAH: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and

him (vi. 11—12, 29—30, vii. 1—2). If the Pharaoh had already refused to hear him (as he would have done, had ch. v.—vi. formed a continuous narrative), it is scarcely possible that Moses should allege (vi. 12) a different, *à priori* ground,—a ground, moreover, inconsistent with iv. 31,—for his hesitation. The parallelism of details which prevails between the two narratives is remarkable: comp. vi. 2—8 and iii. 6—8, 14—15; vi. 12^b (=30) and iv. 10; vii. 1 and iv. 16; vii. 4 f. and iii. 19 f., vi. 1.

vi. **2—8**. God, who had appeared to the patriarchs as *El Shaddai*, reveals Himself to Moses by His name *Yahweh*; and bids him tell the Israelites that, having heard their groanings in bondage, He has resolved to fulfil the covenant made with the patriarchs, to deliver them from their sufferings, to make them His people, and to bring them into the land promised to their forefathers.

2. *I am* **Yahweh**] The speaker declares His name to be 'Yahweh,' though to the patriarchs He had been known, not by this name, but as *El Shaddai*. It is the theory of P that the name 'Yahweh' was not known until now; and accordingly in the sections of Genesis belonging to P, *Elohim*, 'God,' is the Divine name regularly employed (except twice, Gen. xvii. 1, xxi. 1^b, where 'Yahweh' has been introduced by a scribe or redactor), 'El Shaddai' (see the next note) being the *distinctive* name said to have been revealed to, and used by, the patriarchs. The Being denoted by 'Yahweh,' the special, personal name of the God of Israel, is thus identified with the 'Elohim' and 'El Shaddai' of (according to P) the pre-Mosaic period. On the name Yahweh, see on iii. 14, and p. 40.

as God Almighty] *as* **El Shaddai**. See Gen. xvii. 1 ('I am El Shaddai,' addressed to Abraham), xxxv. 11 ('I am El Shaddai,' addressed to Jacob); xxviii. 3 and xlviii. 3 ('El Shaddai' used by Isaac and Jacob). All these passages belong to P.

'El Shaddai' occurs besides in Gen. xliii. 14 (E), xlix. 25 [read with LXX. אל for את], Ez. x. 5; 'Shaddai' alone, as a poet. name of God, in Nu. xxiv. 4, 16, Ru. i. 20, 21, Ez. i. 24, Is. xiii. 6=Joel i. 15, Ps. lxviii. 14, xci. 1, and 31 times in Job. *Shaddai* is rendered conventionally 'Almighty' (LXX. 14 times in Job *παντοκράτωρ*; elsewhere *θεός*, *κύριος*, &c., in Gen. Ex. strangely *my* (*thy*, *their*) *God*; Vulg. mostly *omnipotens*); and it is true that the idea of *might* does suit the context in many passages in which the name occurs; but whether 'Almighty' is its real meaning is more than we can say, neither tradition nor philology throwing any certain light upon it, and all suggested explanations of it,—the 'Waster,' the 'Over-powerer,' 'My mountain' (from the Assyrian; cf. 'My rock,' Ps. xviii. 2 *al.*),—being open to objection of one kind or another (see the writer's *Genesis*, p. 404 ff.).

I was not, &c.] Or (cf. Ez. xx. 5), **made** *I not* **myself known.** For *but*, &c., a Yemen MS. of 11 cent. (Kittel), LXX., Syr., Vulg., Onk.

P unto Jacob, as [1]God Almighty, but [2]by my name JEHOVAH
I was not [3]known to them. And I have also established 4
my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan,
the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. And 5
moreover I have heard the groaning of the children of
Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have
remembered my covenant. Wherefore say unto the children 6
of Israel, I am Jehovah, and I will bring you out from
under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out
of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched

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[1] Heb. *El Shaddai.* [2] Or, *as to* [3] Or, *made known*

have 'but my name J. I *made* not *known* to them' (ה for נ), easing the construction (Ewald, § 281^{c}), but not materially affecting the sense.

4. *I also* **established**] without 'have,' the reference being to Gen. xvii. 7. *Established* means 'set up,' 'concluded,' not 'gave effect to': to 'establish a covenant' is a standing expression in P, Gen. vi. 18, ix. 9, 11, 17, xvii. 7, 19, 21 (elsewhere, in the same sense, only Ez. xvi. 60, 62). P never uses the ordinary Heb. expression, '*cut* a covenant' (xxiii. 32, xxiv. 8, xxxiv. 19, &c.).

my covenant] The covenant concluded with Abraham in Gen. xvii. 1—2, 7—8 (P) that, if Abraham walked blamelessly before God, He would multiply him, be a God to him and his seed after him, and give to his descendants the land of their sojournings, Canaan (cf. Gen. xxviii. 4, xxxv. 12,—both also P).

the land of their sojournings] Gen. xvii. 8, xxiii. 4; also xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1 (all P), Ez. xx. 38†.

5—8. And now He has heard the groanings of the patriarchs' descendants in their bondage (*v.* 5); and bids Moses tell them that He is YAHWEH, and as such will deliver them from Egypt (*v.* 6), will make them His people (*v.* 7), and bring them into the land promised to their fathers (*v.* 8).

5. *and* **I** *also.* The pronoun is emphatic,—*I*, the same who gave the promise of *v.* 4.

the groaning] see ii. 24 (P).

keep in bondage] Heb. *make to serve*, as i. 13 (P).

remembered my covenant] as ii. 24 (P): see also Gen. ix. 15, 16 (P); Lev. xxvi. 42, 45 (H); Ezek. xvi. 60.

6. *the burdens*] i. 11, ii. 11, v. 4, 5.

rid] an archaism for *deliver* (A.S. *hreddan*, to *snatch away*; Germ. *retten*, to *deliver*). So in AV. Gen. xxxvii. 22, Ps. lxxxii. 4 (RV. in both *deliver*); cxliv. 7, 11 (RV. *rescue*); and in PBV. of the Psalms, Ps. xviii. 49, lxxi. 1.

bondage] ii. 23; rendered 'service' in i. 14 (twice).

redeem] The proper sense of the Heb. *gā'al* is to *resume a claim* or

7 out arm, and with great judgements: and I will take you to *P*
me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall
know that I am Jehovah your God, which bringeth you out
8 from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring
you in unto the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand
to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will

right which has lapsed, to *reclaim*, *re-vindicate*: it is thus used Lev. xxv. 25 ff. of the 'redemption' of a house or field, after it has been sold (cf. Jer. xxxii. 7, 8), and in the expression, the 'avenger (*gō'ēl*) of blood,' properly the one who *vindicates* the rights of a murdered man: it is also often used metaphorically of deliverance from oppression, trouble, death, &c., as here, xv. 13, Gen. xlviii. 16, Hos. xiii. 14, Ps. ciii. 4, and especially in II Isaiah, of Yahweh's *reclaiming* His people from exile in Babylon, Is. xli. 14, xliii. 1, &c. On the syn. *pādāh*, see on xiii. 13.

a stretched out arm] not again till Dt. iv. 34. Six times in Dt. (usually with 'a mighty hand'), and sometimes also besides. Cf. the verb in Ex. vii. 5; also Is. v. 25, ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4, xiv. 26, 27.

judgements] Not the usual word. Ex. vi. 6, vii. 4, xii. 12, Nu. xxxiii. 4 in P; 10 times in Ez. (e.g. v. 10, 15); and twice besides.

7. *and I will take you to me for a people*] to be owned by Me, and enjoy My protection. The *thought*, as xix. 5 (J), Dt. xxvi. 18; cf. also Dt. xxix. 13. The common expression is 'and ye (*or* they) *shall be to me* a people,' Jer. vii. 23, Ez. xi. 20 (and often in Jer. Ez.); Zech. ii. 15, viii. 8; Lev. xxvi. 12 (H).

and I will be to you a God] to be revered by you, and also to be your all-powerful leader, protector, and benefactor. The correlative of the last expression: cf. Gen. xvii. 7, 8, Ex. xxix. 45, Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33, xxv. 38, xxvi. 45, Nu. xv. 41 (all P or H); and together with that expression, Lev. xxvi. 12 (H), Dt. xxvi. 17, xxix. 13, Jer. vii. 23, Ez. xi. 20 (and often in Jer. Ez.), Zech. viii. 8.

and ye shall know, &c.] learn by what you witness and experience that I am Jehovah, your Deliverer; so vii. 5, xiv. 4, 18, xvi. 12, xxix. 46 (all P); cf. xxxi. 13^b (H), and x. 2. Sentences of the type, 'and ye (they, thou) shall know (viz. by some signal and impressive manifestation of power) that I am Yahweh,' are extremely common in Ezek., a prophet who in other respects also displays many literary affinities with P, as vi. 7, 10, 13, 14, vii. 4, 9, &c. (more than 50 times altogether): comp. *LOT.* p. 266 f. (ed. 6—8, p. 295).

8. *lifted up my hand*] i.e. *sware*; the expression being derived from the custom of raising the hand to heaven when taking an oath. So Nu. xiv. 30 (P), Dt. xxxii. 40 (the Song); and esp. in Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15, 23, 28, 42, xxxvi. 7, xlvii. 14; Ps. cvi. 26 (misrendered in PBV. 'against'). Also, with a different verb for 'lift up,' Gen. xiv. 22. The reference is no doubt to Gen. xxiv. 7 J (cf. xv. 18 J).

P give it you for an heritage: I am Jehovah. And Moses 9
spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened
not unto Moses for [1]anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.
And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Go in, speak 10 11
unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children
of Israel go out of his land. And Moses spake before 12
the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not
hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who
R^{P} am of uncircumcised lips? | And the LORD spake unto 13

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[1] Or, *impatience* Heb. *shortness of spirit.*

heritage] not the usual word (*naḥălāh*), but *mōrāshāh*: elsewhere only Dt. xxxiii. 4 (the Blessing), and in Ezek. xi. 15, xxv. 4, 10, xxxiii. 24, xxxvi. 2, 3, 5.

I am **Yahweh**] a solemn asseverative formula, closing a Divine utterance. It occurs with remarkable frequency in the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.), as Lev. xviii. 5, 21, xix. 12, 14, 16, 18, &c.; sometimes also elsewhere in P, Ex. xii. 12, xxix. 46 (with the addition of 'their God'), Nu. iii. 13, 41, 45. It is never found in J or E.

9. Moses communicates the Divine message to the Israelites; but they are too much disheartened and demoralized by their sufferings to pay heed to it, or credit it.

hearkened not] according to iv. 31 (J), the people listened to Moses gladly.

for **impatience**] the marg. is right: promises of deliverance had no meaning for them; they repelled them with impatience. See, with the corresponding verb or adj., Job xxi. 4 RV., Prov. xiv. 29^{b} Heb., Mic. ii. 7 RVm.; and with 'soul' for 'spirit,' Nu. xxi. 4 RVm., Jud. x. 16 Heb., xvi. 16 Heb. The opposite is 'long of spirit,' i.e. patient, Job vi. 11 RV. (lit. 'make long my spirit'), Eccl. vii. 8.

cruel (lit. *hard*) *bondage*] The same expression which in i. 14 (see the note) is rendered *hard service* (where slaves are referred to, 'service' and 'bondage' are naturally identical).

10—13. Moses is bidden to demand of the Pharaoh the release of the Israelites. He objects that, if his own people have not listened to him (*v.* 9), much less will the Pharaoh do so.

11. In P (cf. vii. 2) an unconditional release of the people is asked for, not merely (as in J: see on iii. 18 and iv. 23) a temporary one, to hold a three days' feast in the wilderness.

12. In iv. 10 (J) Moses urges his inability to persuade the *people*; here he urges that the *Pharaoh* is not likely to listen to him.

of uncircumcised lips] i.e. lips closed in, which open and speak with difficulty. Cf. the same expression of the *heart*, when it is (in a figurative sense) closed in, and so impervious to good impressions (Lev. xxvi. 41, Jer. ix. 26, Ez. xliv. 7, 9), and of the *ear*, when it is, meta-

Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the R^P
children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to
bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.
14 These are the heads of their fathers' houses: the sons of
Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron,
15 and Carmi: these are the families of Reuben. And the
sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin,

phorically, in a similar condition, and hears imperfectly (Jer. vi. 10). In substance, the meaning is the same as that of J's 'slow' (lit. 'heavy') of mouth and tongue (iv. 10^b).

The answer to *v.* 12 does not follow till vii. 1, where the way is prepared for it by the repetition in substance of *vv.* 10—12 in *vv.* 28—30.

13. A summary statement, unconnected with *v.* 12, of the commission given to Moses and Aaron in *vv.* 2—6. The verse comes in abruptly; for Aaron has not in this connexion been mentioned before. No doubt, it is an addition of the compiler who inserted the genealogy, *vv.* 14—27 (the main object of which is to explain who Moses and Aaron were), and who intended this verse to introduce it.

14—27. Genealogies are frequent in P (Gen. v., xi., xxv. 12—16, xlvi. 8—27, &c.); and here, at his first mention of Moses and Aaron, he is careful to define their position among the descendants of Jacob: they belonged to the tribe of Levi, which claimed descent from Jacob's third son, Levi, and the particulars about the descendants of the two elder sons, Reuben and Simeon (*vv.* 14^b—15), are introduced merely for the purpose of leading up to Levi, about which tribe more circumstantial particulars are given (*vv.* 16—25). The particulars in *vv.* 14, 15, 16^a are identical with those given in the list of Jacob's descendants who came down into Egypt, Gen. xlvi. 9—11.

14. *These are the heads of their fathers' houses*] The form of superscription, as often in P; e.g. Gen. x. 1, xi. 10, xxv. 13, xlvi. 8, Ex. i. 1, Nu. i. 5, xiii. 4, &c. 'Fathers' house' is an expression which occurs frequently in P and Chronicles, especially in connexion with genealogies. It means the 'house,' or family, descended,—or reputed to be descended,—from a single ancestor; it may thus denote even an entire tribe, as Nu. xvii. 2; but usually it denotes either the main subdivision of a tribe, which we might call a 'clan,' as Nu. iii. 24, or the subdivision of a clan, i.e. a family, Ex. xii. 3. Here it denotes a clan: Ḥănōch, Pallu, Ḥeẓron, and Carmi, were the reputed ancestors of the four main subdivisions of the tribe of Reuben, which were called by the corresponding patronymics Ḥanochites, Palluites, &c. (Nu. xxvi. 5 f., where 'family' is used in the largest sense of the word, equivalent to 'clan'). Cf. here, 'these are the *families* of Reuben.'

these are the families of Reuben] The closing *sub*scription to such enumerations, even where it might seem superfluous, is also in the manner of P: cf. *vv.* 15^b, 19^b, 24^b, 25^b, Gen. x. 20, 31, 32, xxv. 16, Nu. i. 13, xiii. 16, &c.

R^P and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman:
these are the families of Simeon. And these are the names 16
of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon,
and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi
were an hundred thirty and seven years. The sons of 17
Gershon; Libni and Shimei, according to their families.
And the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, 18
and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath were an
hundred thirty and three years. And the sons of Merari; 19
Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites
according to their generations. And Amram took him 20
Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him
Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram

15. See Gen. xlvi. 10, Nu. xxvi. 12 f. The clan Shaul must have had in it an admixture of Canaanite blood.

16^a. See Gen. xlvi. 11, Nu. xxvi. 57. Gershon, Kohath, and Merari were the reputed ancestors of the corresponding clans, who, according to Nu. iii. 21—33, 1 Ch. xxiii. 6 ff., and other late passages, exercised menial duties in connexion with the sanctuary.

according to their generations (lit. *begettings*)] referring specially to their *ages*. So *v.* 19 (cf. xxviii. 10), Gen. x. 32, xxv. 13 (all P), 1 Ch. v. 7, vii. 2, 4, 9, viii. 28, ix. 9, 34, xxvi. 31. The word, in whatever connexion, is found only in P, Ru. iv. 18, and Chronicles.

16^b. The age of Levi is not mentioned elsewhere.

17—19. The sons of *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*.

17. *Libni and Shimei*] Cf. Nu. iii. 18, 21, 1 Ch. vi. 17.

18. *Amram*, *Izhar*, &c.] Cf. Nu. iii. 19, 1 Ch. vi. 2, 18; and for families regarded as descended from them, Nu. iii. 27, 1 Ch. xv. 9—10, xxiii. 18—20, xxiv. 22—24, xxvi. 23.

19. *Maḥli and Mushi*] Cf. Nu. iii. 20, 33, 1 Ch. vi. 19.

20—25. The descendants of Kohath's sons.

20. The family of Kohath's *first* son, Amram (*v.* 18), viz. Aaron and Moses.

Jochebed] Mentioned besides only Nu. xxvi. 59 (P). The name means probably 'Yahweh is glory' [viz. to us or to our people] (cf. the Phoen. *Kabd-melḳart*, 'Melḳart is glory'),—'Yahweh' being contracted (through *Yahw*, *Yĕhaw*, *Yaw*), as in many other proper names (e.g. Jo‘ĕzer, 'Yahweh is help'), to *Yô* (*Jo*).

his father's sister] and so the 'daughter of Levi,' ii. 1, cf. Nu. xxvi. 59. Marriage with a father's sister was afterwards forbidden, Lev. xviii. 12; cf. another deviation from the later law in Gen. xx. 12. P must here preserve a genuine ancient tradition.

Aaron and Moses] Sam. LXX. Pesh. add, *and Miriam*; cf. Nu. xxvi. 59. Aaron, according to P (vii. 7) was three years older than Moses

21 were an hundred and thirty and seven years. And the R^P
22 sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. And the
23 sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri. And
Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the
sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab and
24 Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. And the sons of Korah;

(cf. Nu. xxxiii. 39 with Dt. xxxiv. 7). Miriam's age is nowhere stated: it may be inferred from ii. 8 (presuming her to be there referred to) that she was some years older than either of her brothers.

21. The family of Kohath's *second* son, Izhar.

Koraḥ] Moses' and Aaron's cousin: Nu. xvi. 1 ff. Nepheg and Zichri are not mentioned again.

22. The family of Kohath's *fourth* son, Uzziel. The family of his *third* son, Hebron, is passed by; presumably, though Hebronites are mentioned elsewhere (see on *v.* 18), there were no separate families which traced their descent to him.

Mishael and Elzaphan] cousins of Moses and Aaron. See Lev. x. 4; for Elzaphan, also, Nu. iii. 30 ('Elizaphan'), 1 Ch. xv. 8, 2 Ch. xxix. 13.

23—25. Of two of Kohath's grandchildren, Aaron and Koraḥ, some further descendants are enumerated,—no doubt, on account of their later prominence in the history.

23. *Aaron's* family. Aaron marries a wife of the tribe of *Judah*, viz. the daughter of Amminadab, and sister of Naḥshon, a descendant in the fifth generation from Judah (1 Ch. ii. 4, 5, 9, 10; Mt. i. 3, 4), who according to P was leader of the tribe of Judah in the wilderness (Nu. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12). Elisheba (LXX. Ἐλισαβεθ) is not mentioned elsewhere.

Nadab and Abihu] See xxiv. 1, 9, in J: mentioned in P as priests (with their two brethren), xxviii. 1; and as being killed for offering 'strange' fire, Lev. x. 1 f. (cf. Nu. iii. 4, xxvi. 61), and leaving no issue (Nu. iii. 4).

Eleazar and Ithamar] xxviii. 1, Lev. x. 6, 12, 16; Eleazar afterwards succeeded Aaron as chief priest (Dt. x. 6; and in P, Nu. xx. 26), and is often mentioned by P in the latter part of Numbers (e.g. xxvi. 1, xxxi. 6) and in Joshua (as xiv. 1, xix. 51). For Ithamar, see Ex. xxxviii. 21, Nu. iv. 28, 33; 1 Ch. vi. 3, xxiv. 1—6, Ezr. viii. 2.

24. *Koraḥ's* family. It is stated in Nu. xxvi. 11 that the sons of Koraḥ did not perish with their father (Nu. xvi. 32); and Koraḥites are mentioned in Nu. xxvi. 58. In much later days the Koraḥites acted as gate-keepers in the Temple (1 Ch. ix. 19, xxvi. 1—19), and also, probably (cf. 2 Ch. xx. 19; and the titles of Ps. xlii., xliv.—xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., lxxxviii.), assisted in some way in the worship of the Temple. For the *names*, see 1 Ch. vi. 22, 23 (where, however, Elkanah is the *son* of Assir, and Ebiasaph [Abiasaph] the *son* of Elkanah), ix. 19 (Ebiasaph).

R^P Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; these are the families
of the Korahites. And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one 25
of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him
Phinehas. These are the heads of the fathers' *houses* of
the Levites according to their families. These are that 26
Aaron and Moses, to whom the LORD said, Bring out the
children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their
hosts. These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of 27
Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt:
these are that Moses and Aaron.

25. The family of Aaron's son, Eleazar (*v.* 23).

Puṭiel] not mentioned elsewhere. Seemingly 'an Egyptian name, of a type very common from B.C. 1000 onward, but with the Heb. *El*, "God," instead of the name of an Egyptian deity, meaning "He whom God gave"' (F. Ll. Griffith); cf. Poṭiphar = 'He whom Ra gave' (see *DB*. iv. 22).

Phineḥas] See Nu. xxv. 7—13 (P) [cf. Ps. cvi. 30], xxxi. 6; Jos. xxii. 13, 30—32, xxiv. 33; Eleazar's successor in the priesthood, Jud. xx. 28. The name, like that of his grandfather, may be of Egyptian origin, and signify 'the negro' (i.e. the Ethiopian, Jer. xiii. 23). The name (*Pi-neḥas*) is very common in Egyptian (*EB*. iii. 3304).

heads of the **fathers**] for 'heads of the fathers' *houses*' (*v.* 14); so Nu. xxxi. 26, xxxii. 28, xxxvi. 1, Jos. xiv. 1, xix. 51, xxi. 1 (all P); and frequently in Chr. Ezr. Neh.

26, 27. At the close of the genealogy the writer refers emphatically to Moses and Aaron, the two men on whose account the entire genealogy has been introduced.

26. *These*] The men whose genealogy has just been stated.

Bring out, &c.] as *vv.* 6, 13.

according to their hosts] The expression *hosts* (i.e. armies: 2 S. ii. 8, &c.), of the Israelites at the Exodus, is peculiar to P (vii. 4, xii. 17, 41, 51, Nu. i. 3, ii. 3, 4, 6, &c., ix. 10, 16, &c., x. 14, 15, 16, &c., xxxiii. 1): as Dillm. remarks, it is part of the picture that he had formed of Israel at the Exodus, as marching out and journeying through the wilderness in battle array (cf. Nu. i., ii., x.).

27. These were the men commissioned also to speak to the Pharaoh on behalf of Israel: cf. *vv.* 11, 13. The diffuseness, and repetitions (*vv.* 26, 27), are in P's style: cf Gen. ix. 16, 17 (repetition of *vv.* 13—15), xvii. 26, 27 (repetition of *v.* 23), xxiii. 20 (see *vv.* 17, 18).

It is to be observed that P consistently represents Moses, or his contemporaries, as being in the *fourth* generation (cf. Gen. xv. 16) from one or other of Jacob's sons: thus Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses (here, *vv.* 16, 18, 20); Levi, Kohath, Iẓhar, Koraḥ (*vv.* 16, 18, 21, Nu. xiv. 1); Levi, Kohath, Uzziel, Mishael (Lev. x. 4); Reuben, Pallu,

28 And it came to pass on the day when the LORD spake *RP*
29 unto Moses in the land of Egypt, that the LORD spake unto
Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto Pharaoh
30 king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. And Moses said
before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and
7 how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me? | And the LORD said *P*
unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and
2 Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet. Thou shalt speak
all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall
speak unto Pharaoh, that he let the children of Israel go
3 out of his land. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and
multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt.
4 But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, and I will lay my
hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my hosts, my people the
children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judge-
5 ments. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD,

Eliab, Dathan (Nu. xxvi. 7—9). On the chronological question involved, see the Introd. p. xlv, and on xii. 40.

28—30. The stream of the narrative here, after its interruption by *v.* 13, and the genealogy, *vv.* 14—27, is resumed, *v.* 29 recapitulating the beginning and end of God's words to Moses, *vv.* 2 and 11, and *v.* 30 repeating Moses' objection in *v.* 12. Ch. vii. 1—5 is thus really the sequel, and answer, to vi. 12.

vii. **1, 2.** As Moses is unable to speak fluently, Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman with Pharaoh, just as in J (iv. 15 f.) he was appointed to be his spokesman with the *people*.

1. *a god*] Cf. the parallel in J, iv. 16. Moses is to be as it were a god unto Aaron; and Aaron, like a prophet (Dt. xviii. 18, Jer. i. 9), is to speak the words which his god puts into his mouth.

2. **Thou** (emph.) *shalt speak*] viz. to Aaron: LXX. adds 'to him.'

shall speak] viz. what thou tellest him. Cf. *vv.* 9, 19, viii. 4 f., where Aaron at least performs wonders at Moses' direction: he does not in P ever *speak* for Moses to Pharaoh.

that he let &c.] vi. 11.

3. *And* **I** (emph.) *will harden*, &c.] cf. iv. 21 (E). *Harden* (הקשה), as Ps. xcv. 8; but used only here of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

my signs and my **portents**] alluding, probably, partly to 'portents' (see on iv. 21) performed as credentials (cf. *v.* 9), partly to the less severe plagues (cf. xi. 10, in P).

4. *lay my hand*] severely, to inflict the great 'judgements' (see on vi. 6; and cf. xii. 12), which ultimately effected Israel's deliverance.

my hosts] See on vi. 26.

5. *And the Egyptians shall know*, &c.] These great judgements, and Israel's triumphant exodus, will teach the Egyptians Jehovah's

P when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them. And Moses and 6 Aaron did so; as the LORD commanded them, so did they. And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore 7 and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 8 When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder 9 for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a [1]serpent.

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[1] Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in vv. 10, 12.

might, and (cf. xii. 12) His superiority to their own gods. Cf. xiv. 4, 18; and similarly Ez. xxv. 7, 11, 17, xxviii. 24, &c. On the expression, see on vi. 7.

6. A summary statement that Moses and Aaron carried out these instructions. The verse is anticipatory: the details follow in vii. 8 ff. The type of sentence is one characteristic of P: cf. Gen. vi. 22, Ex. xii. 28, 50, xxxix. 32^b, xl. 16, *al.*: *LOT.* p. 124 (ed. 6—8, p. 132), No. 11.

7. The ages of the two brothers at the time of their dealings with the Pharaoh. The sentence is again of a form which often recurs in P: see Gen. xii. 4^b, xvi. 16, xvii. 24, 25, xxi. 5, xxv. 26^b (cf. 20), xli. 46, Dt. xxxiv. 7^a. The ages themselves (which are only given by P) are, upon general grounds, higher than is probable, especially if 40 years in the wilderness have to be added to them; nor do they agree with the representation of J, according to which (see on ii. 23^a) the Pharaoh of the exodus came to the throne no long time after Moses' flight into Midian.

8—13 (P). Moses and Aaron are provided by God with a wonder, which, if the Pharaoh asks for a credential of their mission, they may perform before him. Aaron performs it: but the Egyptian magicians imitate it; and the Pharaoh refuses to listen to them. In iv. 1—5 (J) *Moses* is empowered to perform a similar wonder before the *Israelites*.

9. *shall speak unto you*] when you come before him, as directed (vi. 11, 13, vii. 2).

Give (Dt. vi. 22, Joel ii. 30 Heb.) *a* **portent** (*v.* 3) *for you*] Or, '*Give for yourselves* a portent': the pronoun is reflexive, according to a very common Heb. idiom, Gen. vi. 14 'make thee,' *v.* 21 'take thee,' Dt. i. 13 'give you,' &c. (*Lex.* p. 515^b).

thy rod] the rod, which in P Aaron regularly bears, *v.* 19, viii. 5, 16, 17.

a serpent] The marg. is added to shew that the word here, and *vv.* 10, 12, is different from the one below, *v.* 15, and in iv. 3 (which is the ordinary one for 'serpent'). *Tannin* is a large reptile, generally used of a sea- or river-monster (Gen. i. 21, Ps. lxxiv. 13), but occasionally also of a land-reptile (Dt. xxxii. 33 EVV. 'dragon,' Ps. xci. 13^b

10 And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did *P*
so, as the Lord had commanded: and Aaron cast down
his rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it
11 became a serpent. Then Pharaoh also called for the wise
men and the sorcerers: and they also, the [1]magicians of
12 Egypt, did in like manner with their [2]enchantments. For
they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents:
13 but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. And Pharaoh's

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[1] See Gen. xli. 8.

[2] Or, *secret arts*

'serpent'). Here the writer will mean either a land-reptile, or possibly a young crocodile.

11, 12. The Egyptian magicians do the same. The art of serpent-charming is indigenous in the East: there are allusions to it in Ps. lviii. 5, Jer. viii. 17, Eccl. x. 11; and it is practised in Egypt to the present day. Modern Egyptian serpent-charmers possess an extraordinary power over serpents, drawing them forth, for instance, by noises made with the lips, from their hiding-places, and by pressure applied to the neck throwing them into such a state of hypnotic rigidity that they can be held as rods by the tip of the tail (Lane, *Mod. Eg.*, ch. xx., in ed. 1871, ii. 93 f.; *DB.* iii. 889^a; *EB.* iv. 4394: see further references in Di.). The serpent commonly used for the purpose is a species of cobra. As Di., however, remarks, we hear elsewhere only of serpents becoming rods, not of rods becoming serpents: the latter, as also the swallowing up of the magicians' rods by Aaron's rod, is 'peculiar to the Hebrew story (*Sage*).'

11. *wise men*] cf. Gen. xli. 8, Isa. xix. 11, 12.

magicians] Heb. *ḥarṭummim*, a word of unknown etymology, but found only in connexion with Egypt (Gen. xli. 8, 24, Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7, 18, 19, ix. 11), and (borrowed from Gen.) in Daniel (i. 20, ii. 2, 10, &c.). RVm. in Genesis *sacred scribes*: and probably the word did in fact correspond to the Greek ἱερογραμματεῖς,—the term applied by Numenius to Jannes and Jambres. Magic flourished in ancient Egypt; and many magical formulae are known to us from the inscriptions: see Erman, pp. 289, 308, 353 ff., 373.

with their **secret arts** (RVm.)] i.e. with their usual mystic words or movements. So *v.* 22, viii. 7, 18 (not elsewhere in this sense).

The Jerus. Targ., both here and on i. 15, following a Jewish tradition, gives the names of the magicians whom Pharaoh called as Jannes and Jambres (cf. 2 Tim. iii. 8): the same two names are also given elsewhere, as Evang. Nicod. 5; Numenius, the Pythagorean philosopher of the 2nd cent. A.D., as cited in Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 8; see also Buxtorf, s.v. יוֹחַנָּא, or Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* s.v. יַנִּים; and Schürer, § 32 (ed. 3, iii. 292 ff.), with the references.

12. *swallowed up their rods*] and so gave proof of Aaron's superiority to the magicians.

P heart [1]was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken.

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[1] Heb. *was strong.*

13. *was hardened*] Heb. *was strong.* One of the three synonyms used in Ex. to express the idea of *hardening* of the heart: the three being (1) *ḥāzak*, *ḥizzēk*, lit. *to be* and *to make strong* (i.e. *firm*, *hard*, *unyielding*, cf. Ez. iii. 7—9 Heb.), used by P (vii. 13, 22, viii. 19, ix. 12, xi. 10, xiv. 4, 8, 17), and E (iv. 21, ix. 35, x. 20, 27); (2) *kābēd*, *hikbīd*, lit. *to be* and *to make heavy* (i.e. *slow to move* or *be affected*, *unimpressionable*, cf. of the tongue, iv. 10), used by J (vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, 34, x. 1); and (3) *hiḳshāh*, which is properly rendered, *to harden* (cf. the cognate adj. of the neck, Ex. xxxii. 9 *al.*), only vii. 3 (P). (1) and (2) are always distinguished in RV. of Ex. by a marg. In these passages, Pharaoh's heart is itself said to be hard in vii. 13, 14, 22, viii. 19, ix. 7, 35; Pharaoh is said to harden it himself in viii. 15, 32, ix. 34; and God is said to harden it in iv. 21, vii. 3, ix. 12, x. 1, 20, 27, xi. 10, xiv. 4, 8 (cf. 17). See further the detached note below.

and he hearkened not to them, as **Jehovah** *had spoken*] P's closing formula (p. 55), as *v.* 22, viii. 15^{b}, 19, ix. 12. *Had spoken*, see *v.* 4^{a}.

Both in P (vii. 13) and J (vi. 1), the same point has thus been reached: the Pharaoh will listen to no request to let the people go. Accordingly stronger measures are threatened; and the ten 'Plagues' follow.

On the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

God is spoken of as 'hardening' Pharaoh's heart by E in iv. 21, x. 20, 27, by J (or R^{JE}) in x. 1, and by P in vii. 3, ix. 12, xi. 10, xiv. 4, 8, by P also as hardening the heart of the Egyptians so that they followed Israel into the sea in xiv. 17: in iv. 21 and vii. 3 generally, in view of the whole series of coming plagues, otherwise first after the sixth plague (ix. 12). In what sense are these passages to be understood? The Hebrews, with their vivid sense of the sovereignty of God, were in the habit of referring things done by man to the direct operation of God; and it is possible that these are merely examples of the same custom: we may notice that the performance of signs and wonders in Egypt, which in x. 1 is described as a consequence of Jehovah's having 'hardened' the hearts of Pharaoh and his servants, is in xi. 9 represented as a consequence simply of Pharaoh's not hearkening himself to Moses and Aaron. In this case, the meaning will be that God 'hardened' Pharaoh just in so far as he hardened himself. But even supposing that the passages mean more than this, we must remember that, especially in His dealings with moral agents, God cannot be properly thought of as acting *arbitrarily*; He only hardens those who begin by hardening themselves: though the reasons for His actions are not always specified, it would be contrary to His moral attributes, and inconsistent with the character of a righteous God, if He were to harden those whose hearts were turned towards Him, and did not wish to harden themselves. The Pharaoh—whatever he was in actual history—is depicted in Exodus as from the first a self-willed, obstinate man who persistently hardens himself against God, and resists all warnings: God thus hardens him only because he has first hardened himself. And even here we must remember that the means by which God hardens a man is not necessarily by any extraordinary intervention on His part; it may be by the ordinary experiences of life, operating through the principles and character of human nature, which are of His appointment: the man who has once begun to harden himself, may thus find in the experiences of life, and even in the approaches made by God or His messengers to him, occasions and excuses for hardening himself yet more (cf. Ps. xviii. 26 'with the crooked thou shewest thyself tortuous').

The question arises again, in a slightly different form, in connexion with ix. 16, where Jehovah is said to have made Pharaoh continue in life, in order that he might experience His power. Does He, in so doing, act arbitrarily with Pharaoh? The passage is quoted, together with xxxiii. 19 (see the note), in Rom. ix. 15—18, in order to shew that God has absolute liberty of choice in selecting whom He will, either as examples of His hardening judgement, or as the recipients of His mercy. But although St Paul says (*v.* 18) 'He hath mercy on whom he *will*, and whom he *will* he hardeneth,' we have no right to interpret this 'will' in a sense inconsistent with God's righteousness, or to suppose that He is actuated in His choice by the motives of a despot, responsible not to a law of righteousness, but only to His own caprice. The apostle is arguing against those who maintained that because God had once chosen the Jewish nation, His hands were, so to say, tied, and, whatever they did, He could not reject them, except by being unrighteous. Against such a contention St Paul quotes two passages of the OT. in which Jehovah asserts His right to shew mercy and judgement to whom He will. But we must not exalt God's sovereignty at the expense of His justice; and so we must think of God as 'willing' to shew mercy and judgement, not arbitrarily, or where either would be unmerited, but according to character and deserts. As Bp Gore says, in the course of an illuminative discussion of the whole question (*Ep. to the Romans*, ii. 3—13, 31—43), 'The liberty asserted for God is wholly consistent with His being found, in fact, to have "hardened" those only who have deserved hardening by their own wilfulness. It was for such a moral cause that God hardened the hearts of the Jews, that "seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not hear." We can feel no doubt that some similar moral cause underlay the hardening of Pharaoh' (p. 38).

Chapters VII. 14—XI.

The first nine Plagues.

The narrative of the Plagues, like that of the preceding chapters, is composite. The details of the analysis depend partly upon literary criteria, partly upon differences in the representation, which are not isolated, but recurrent, and which moreover *accompany* the literary differences and support the conclusions based upon them,—the differences referred to often also agreeing remarkably with corresponding differences in the parts of the preceding narrative, especially in iii. 1—vii. 13, which have already, upon independent grounds, been assigned to P, J, and E, respectively. No one source, however, it should be premised, in the parts of it that have been preserved, gives *all* the plagues.

The parts belonging to P are most readily distinguished, viz. (after vii. 8—13) vii. 19—20^a, 21^b—22, viii. 5—7, 15^b—19, ix. 8—12, xi. 9—10: the rest of the narrative belongs in the main to J, the hand of E being hardly traceable beyond vii. 15, 17^b, 20^b, ix. 22—23^a, 31—32 (perhaps), 35^a, x. 12—13^a, 14^a, 15^b, 20, 21—23, 27, xi. 1—3.

Putting aside for the present purely literary differences, we have thus a threefold representation of the plagues, corresponding to the three literary sources, P, J, and E, of which the narrative is composed. The differences relate to not less than five or six distinct points,—the terms of the command addressed to Moses, the part taken by Aaron, the demand made of the Pharaoh, the use made of the rod, the description of the plague, and the formulae used to express the Pharaoh's obstinacy. Thus in **P** Aaron *co-operates* with Moses, and the command is *Say unto Aaron* (vii. 19, viii. 5, 16; so before in vii. 9: even in ix. 8, where Moses alone is to act, both are expressly addressed); there is no interview with the Pharaoh, so that no demand is ever made for Israel's release; the descriptions are brief; except in ix. 10, *Aaron* is the wonder-worker, bringing about the result by stretching out his rod at Moses' direction (vii. 19, viii. 5 f., 16 f.; cf. vii. 9); the wonders wrought ('signs and portents,' vii. 3: P does not speak of them as 'plagues') are intended less to break down the Pharaoh's resistance than to accredit Moses as Jehovah's representative; they thus take substantially the form of a contest with the native magicians, who are mentioned only in this narrative (vii. 11 f., 22, viii. 7, 18 f., ix. 11), and who at first do the same things by their arts, but in the end are completely defeated; the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is expressed by *ḥāzaḳ*, *ḥizzēḳ* (*was strong*, *made strong*), vii. 22, viii. 19, ix. 12, xi. 10 (so vii. 13), and the closing formula is, *and he hearkened not unto them*, *as Jehovah had spoken*, vii. 22, viii. 15^b, 19, ix. 12 (so vii. 13). In **J**, on the contrary, Moses alone (without Aaron) is told to go in before the Pharaoh, and he addresses the Pharaoh himself (in agreement with iv. 10—16, where Aaron is appointed to be Moses' spokesman not with Pharaoh, as in P, but with *the people*), vii. 14—16, viii. 1, 9, 10, 20, 26, 29, ix. 1, 13, 29,

x. 1, 9, 25, xi. 4—8[1]; a formal demand is regularly made, *Let my people go, that they may serve me*, vii. 16, viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (comp. before, iv. 23); the interview with the Pharaoh is prolonged, and described in some detail; Jehovah Himself brings the plague, after it has been announced by Moses,—usually on the morrow, viii. 23, ix. 5 f., 18, x. 4,—without any mention of Aaron or his rod; sometimes the king sends for Moses and Aaron to crave their intercession, viii. 8, 25, ix. 27, x. 16; the plague is removed, as it is brought, without any human intervention; the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is expressed by *kābēd, hikbīd* (*was heavy, made heavy*), vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, 34, x. 1; and there is no closing formula: J also, unlike both P and E, represents the Israelites as living apart from the Egyptians, in the land of Goshen, viii. 22, ix. 26 (so before, Gen. xlv. 10, xlvi. 28 f., &c.). The narrative generally is written (just as it is in Genesis, for instance) in a more picturesque and varied style than that of P; there are frequent descriptive touches, and the dialogue is abundant.

Some other, chiefly literary, characteristics of J may also be here noticed: *refuseth* (מאן), esp. followed by *to let the people go*, vii. 14, viii. 2, ix. 2, x. 3, 4 (so before, iv. 23); *the God of the Hebrews*, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (so iii. 18, v. 3); *Thus saith Jehovah*, said regularly to Pharaoh, vii. 17, viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3, xi. 4 (so iv. 22); *behold*... with the participle (in the Heb.) in the announcement of the plague, vii. 17, viii. 2, 21, ix. 3, 18, x. 4 (so iv. 23); *border*, viii. 2, x. 4, 14, 19; *thou, thy people, and thy servants*, viii. 3, 4, 9, 11, 21, 29, ix. 14 (see the note), cf. x. 6; *to intreat*, viii. 8, 9, 28, 29, ix. 28, x. 17; *such as hath not been*, &c. ix. 18^{b}, 24^{b}, xi. 6^{b}, cf. x. 6^{b}, 14^{b}; *to sever*, viii. 22, ix. 4, xi. 7; the didactic aim or object of the plague (or circumstance attending it) stated, vii. 17^{a}, viii. 10^{b}, 22^{b}, ix. 14^{b}, 16^{b}, 29^{c}, x. 2^{b}, xi. 7^{b}.

The narrative of **E** has been only very partially preserved; so it is not possible to characterize it as fully as those of P or J. Its most distinctive feature is that *Moses* is the wonder-worker, bringing about the plague by his rod (in agreement with iv. 17, 20^{b}, where it is said to have been specially given to him by God), vii. 15^{b}, 17^{b}, 20^{b}, ix. 23^{a}, x. 13^{a} (cf. afterwards, xiv. 16, xvii. 5, 9); only in the case of the darkness (x. 21 f.) does he use his hand for the purpose. This feature differentiates E from both P (with whom the wonder-working rod is in *Aaron's* hand), and J (who mentions no rod, and represents the plague as brought about directly, after Moses' previous announcement of it, by Jehovah Himself). E uses the same word *be* or *make strong*, for 'harden,' that P does, but he follows the clause describing the hardening of the Pharaoh's heart by the words, *and he did not let the children of Israel* (or *them*) *go*, ix. 35 (contrast J's phrase, *v.* 34^{b}), x. 20, 27 (cf. iv. 21 E). He also pictures the Israelites, not, as J does, as living apart in Goshen, but as having every one an Egyptian 'neighbour' (iii. 22, xi. 2, xii. 35 f.), and consequently as settled promiscuously among the Egyptians.

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[1] Aaron, if he appears at all, is only Moses' silent companion, viii. 8, 12 (see *vv.* 9, 10), 25 (see *vv.* 26, 29), ix. 27 (see *v.* 29), x. 8 (see *v.* 9). In x. 3 it is doubtful if the plural, 'and *they* said,' is original: notice in *v.* 6^{b} 'and *he* turned.'

The scheme, or framework, of the plagues, as described by P, J, and E, is thus suggestively exhibited by Bäntsch:—

In P we have—

And Jehovah said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod..., and there shall be.... And they did so: and Aaron stretched out his rod, and there was.... And the magicians did so (*or* could not do so) with their secret arts.... And Pharaoh's heart was hardened; and he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had spoken.

J's formula is quite different—

And Jehovah said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go that they may serve me. And if thou refuse to let them go, behold I will.... And Jehovah did so; and there came (*or* and he sent, &c.).... And Pharaoh called for Moses, and said unto him, Entreat for me, that.... And Jehovah did so..., and removed.... But Pharaoh made his heart heavy, and he did not let the people go.

The formula of E is again different—

And Jehovah said unto Moses, Stretch forth thy hand (with thy rod) toward..., that there may be.... And Moses stretched forth his hand (*or* his rod) toward..., and there was.... But Jehovah made Pharaoh's heart hard, and he did not let the children of Israel go.

It has long since been remarked by commentators that the plagues stand in close connexion with the actual conditions of Egypt; and were in fact just miraculously intensified forms of the diseases or other natural occurrences to which Egypt is more or less liable (see particulars in the notes on the different plagues). They were of unexampled severity; they came, and in some cases went, at the announcement, or signal, given by one of the Hebrew leaders; one followed another with unprecedented swiftness; in other respects also they are represented as having an evidently miraculous character.

What judgement, however, are we to form with regard to their historical character? The narratives, there are strong reasons for believing, were written long after the time of Moses, and do not do more than acquaint us with the traditions current among the Hebrews at the time when they were written: we consequently have no guarantee that they preserve exact recollections of the actual facts. That there is *no* basis of fact for the traditions which the narratives incorporate is in the highest degree improbable: we may feel very sure of this, and yet not feel sure that they describe the events exactly as they happened. 'As the original nucleus of fact,' writes Dillm. (p. 66 f., ed. 2, p. 77), 'we may suppose that at the time of Israel's deliverance Egypt was visited by various adverse natural occurrences, which the Israelites ascribed to the operation of their God, and by which their leaders, Moses and Aaron, sought to prove to the Egyptian court the superiority of their God above the king and gods of Egypt; it must however be admitted that in the Israelitish story (*Sage*) these occurrences had for long been invested with a purely miraculous character. And if all had once been lifted up into the sphere of God's unlimited power, the compiler could feel no scruple in combining the different plagues mentioned in his sources into a series of ten, in such a manner as to depict, in a picture drawn with unfading colours, not only the abundance of resources which God has at His disposal for helping His own people, and humiliating those who resist His will, but also the slow and patient yet sure steps with which He proceeds against His foes, and the growth of evil in men till it becomes at last obstinate and confirmed.' The real value of the narratives, according to Dillmann, is thus not historical, but moral and religious. And from these points of view their typical and didactic significance cannot be overrated. The traditional story of the contest between Moses and the Pharaoh is applied so as to depict, to use Dillmann's expression, 'in unfading colours,' the impotence of man's strongest determination when it essays to contend with God, and the fruitlessness of all human efforts to frustrate His purposes.

Dr Sanday,—whose historical bias, if he has one, always leads him to conservative conclusions,—has expressed himself recently on the subject, in an essay on the Symbolism of the Bible, in words which are well worth quoting:—'The early chapters of Genesis are not the only portion of the Pentateuchal history to which I think that we may rightly apply the epithet "symbolical." Indeed I suspect that the greater part of the Pentateuch would be rightly so described in greater or less degree. The narrative of the Pentateuch culminates in two great events, the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai. What are we to say of these? Are they historical in the sense in which the Second Book of Samuel is historical? I think we may say that they are not. If we accept—as I at least feel constrained to accept at least in broad outline—the critical theory now so widely held as to the composition of the Pentateuch, then there is a long interval, an interval of some four centuries or more, between the events and the main portions of the record as we now have it. In such a case we should expect to happen just what we find has happened. There is an element of *folk-lore*, of oral tradition insufficiently checked by writing. The imagination has been at work.

'If we compare, for instance, the narrative of the Ten Plagues with the narrative of the Revolt of Absalom, we shall feel the difference. The one is nature itself, with all the flexibility and easy sequence that we associate with nature. The other is constructed upon a scheme which is so symmetrical that we cannot help seeing that it is really artificial. I do not mean artificial in the sense that the writer, with no materials before him, sat down consciously and deliberately to invent them in the form they now have; but I mean that, as the story passed from mouth to mouth, it gradually and almost imperceptibly assumed its present shape' (*The Life of Christ in recent Research*, 1907, p. 18f.).

The 'Plagues' are denoted by the following terms:—

(1) *maggēphāh*, properly a severe *blow*, ix. 14 J (see the note).

(2) *néga'*, a heavy *touch* or *stroke*, xi. 1 E (see the note).

(3) *négeph* (cognate with No. 1), a severe *blow*, xii. 13 P (by implication, of the tenth plague only).

Nos. 2 and 3 of these are rendered in LXX. πληγή, and Nos. 1, 2, 3 in the Vulg. *plaga*: hence the Engl. *plague*.

J And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is 14
[1]stubborn, he refuseth to let the people go. Get thee unto 15
Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water;

[1] Heb. *heavy*.

They are also spoken of as:—

(4) *'ōthōth*, *signs*, LXX. σημεῖα (proofs of God's power), viii. 23 J, x. 1, 2 J or the compiler of JE, vii. 3 P; probably also in iv. 17, 28 E. Cf. Nu. xiv. 11, 22 (JE); also σημεῖα in the NT.

In iv. 8, 9, 30 (all J) the same word is used, not of the 'plagues,' but of 'signs' to be wrought,—or, in *v.* 30, actually wrought,—before the Pharaoh, to accredit Moses, as Jehovah's representative. In iv. 17, 28, the reference *might* be similarly, not to the 'plagues,' but to the antecedent credentials, to be given by Moses.

(5) *mōphĕthim*, **portents**, LXX. τέρατα (unusual phaenomena, arresting attention, and calling for explanation: see on iv. 21; and cf. Acts ii. 43, &c.), vii. 3, xi. 9, 10 (all P); also, probably, iv. 21 E.

In vii. 9 P the same word is used, not of one of the 'plagues,' but of the preliminary portent of Aaron's rod becoming a serpent, wrought before Pharaoh.

(6) *niphlā'ōth*, *wonders* or *marvels* (extraordinary phaenomena), iii. 20 J.

N.B. In EVV., No. 5 is in Ex. confused with No. 6; elsewhere in the OT. it is confused with both No. 4 and No. 6 (cf. on iv. 21).

14—25. The *first* plague: the water turned into blood. From J, E, and P. In J and E only the water of the Nile is turned to blood (*vv.* 17, 20), in P all the water in Egypt (*vv.* 19, 21^{b}). In P, also, as in other cases (p. 55), the wonder is wrought at a signal given by *Aaron* with his rod (*v.* 19); and though the distinction is obscured as the text now stands, it is probable, that when J and E were in their original form, it was described in J as wrought, like the other plagues, by Jehovah, without human intervention, and in E at a signal given by *Moses* (see on *vv.* 15, 17, 20^{b}; and cf. p. 56).

14. *is stubborn*] lit. *is heavy*, i.e. difficult to move, the word used by J to express the idea of hardening of the heart. See on vii. 13.

refuseth] cf. iv. 23, viii. 2, ix. 2, x. 3, 4.

15. *goeth out unto the water*] for what reason is not stated. Apparently a standing custom is alluded to (cf. viii. 20; also ii. 5): to bathe[1] (cf. ii. 5), to pay his devotions to the Nile[2], to ascertain, if it were the time (June) at which the annual inundation was beginning, how much the river had risen, have all been suggested.

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[1] But Diod. Sic. i. 70 is not proof that the Egyptian king bathed every morning in the Nile.

[2] The Nile, the source of Egypt's fertility, was personified as a deity: in honour of the Nile-god, religious festivals were held, at which the Pharaoh himself sometimes officiated, especially at the time when the annual inundation was expected, and hymns addressed to him are extant (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.*, pp. 36—42; cf. NILE in *EB.*, with an illustration of the Nile-god).

and thou shalt stand by the river's brink to meet him; | and *E*
the rod | which was turned to a [1]serpent | shalt thou *RJE* *E*
16 take in thine hand. | And thou shalt say unto him, The *J*
LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee,
saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the
wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou hast not hearkened.
17 Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the
LORD: behold, I will smite | with the rod that is in mine *E*
hand | upon the waters which are in the river, and they *J*
18 shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in the river
shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall
19 loathe to drink water from the river. | And the LORD said *P*
unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out

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[1] See ch. iv. 3.

the river's brink] *the brink of the* **Nile**. See on i. 22.

the rod] The rod given to Moses by Jehovah in iv. 17, 20^b. The words, *which was turned to a serpent*, are regarded, even by Di., as a harmonizing addition of the compiler of JE; for the wonder referred to (iv. 3 J) is not described by E.

16. The demand to be made of the Pharaoh. The terms, as elsewhere in J (viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3): see p. 56.

17. The proof to be given to the Pharaoh that the God of the Hebrews is Jehovah: the waters of the Nile to be smitten and turned into blood (i.e. to assume the appearance of blood).

I will smite] As Di. remarks, the transition from the Divine 'I' just before to the 'I' of Moses is very abrupt: we expect, 'I [i.e. Jehovah] will smite the waters that are in the Nile' (cf. *v.* 25, 'after that *Jehovah* had smitten the Nile'); hence it is probable (Di.) that the words, *with the rod that is in mine hand*, are introduced by the compiler from the narrative of E (in which, Moses being addressed, *thine* will have stood originally for *mine*). If these words are omitted, the 'I' in 'I will smite' will of course be Jehovah.

the river] *the* **Nile**. So *vv.* 18 (thrice), 20 (twice), 21 (thrice), 24 (twice), 25. See on i. 22.

18. Fish was one of the principal articles of food in ancient Egypt (Erman, p. 239), so that the death of the fish in the Nile would be a serious calamity.

loathe] **weary themselves** (Gen. xix. 11 *al.*) in the vain effort to obtain drinkable water.

19—20^a. Before describing how the Nile was smitten, the compiler introduces P's account of the command given to Moses. According to this, not the water of the Nile only, but all the water in Egypt, is to become blood.

19. *Say unto Aaron*] as regularly in P (p. 55).

thy rod] as *v.* 9.

P thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over
their [1]streams, and over their pools, and over all their ponds
of water, that they may become blood; and there shall be
blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of
wood and in vessels of stone. And Moses and Aaron did 20
E so, as the Lord commanded; | and he lifted up the rod,
and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of
J Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; | and all the
waters that were in the river were turned to blood. And 21
the fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and
P the Egyptians could not drink water from the river; | and
the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. And the 22
magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments:
and Pharaoh's heart [2]was hardened, and he hearkened
J not unto them; as the Lord had spoken. | And Pharaoh 23
turned and went into his house, neither did he [3]lay even
this to heart. And all the Egyptians digged round about 24
the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the

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[1] Or, *canals* [2] Heb. *was strong.*
[3] Heb. *set his heart even to this.*

their rivers] The Nile, and its arms, running through the Delta.

their streams] lit. *their Niles,* i.e. *their* **Nile-canals,**—such as were constructed for irrigation purposes, to convey the water of the Nile to the fields.

all their ponds of water] Heb. *every gathering* (Gen. i. 10, Lev. xi. 36) *of their water.* Probably **reservoirs** (tanks, cisterns, &c.) are in particular thought of: cf. the fem. in Is. xxii. 11 ('reservoir').

20^{b}. *and he lifted up*] At first sight, in view of *v.* 19^{a}, the subject seems to be Aaron: Aaron, however, in *v.* 19, is to stretch out his hand over *all* the water in Egypt; here the Nile only is smitten, in exact accordance with *v.* 17. At least therefore in its original context, when the narrative of E was complete, the 'he' will have been Moses, who carries the rod in *vv.* 15^{b}, 17.

21^{a}. How the fish died, and the river stank, in agreement with *v.* 18 (J).

21^{b}. How there was blood in all the land of Egypt, in agreement with *v.* 19 (P).

22. The magicians, however, did the same with their 'secret arts'; and the Pharaoh remained unmoved. The expressions, as *vv.* 11^{b}, 13 (P).

23. *turned and went*] viz. after his visit to the Nile, *v.* 15.

set *his heart*...**to** *this*] i.e. pay attention to it: a Heb. idiom (like *νοῦν προσέχειν*, *animum attendere*); so 2 S. xiii. 20 Heb. *al.*

25 water of the river. And seven days were fulfilled, after that *J*
the Lord had smitten the river.
8 [1]And the Lord spake unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh,
and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go,
2 that they may serve me. And if thou refuse to let them

[1] [Ch. vii. 26 in Heb.]

The plague is an intensification of a natural phaenomenon of annual occurrence in Egypt. 'Still, each year, the water of the river becomes like blood at the time of the inundation. When the Nile first begins to rise, towards the end of June, the red marl brought from the mountains of Abyssinia stains it to a dark colour, which glistens like blood in the light of the setting sun' (Sayce, *EHH.*, p. 168, writing with personal knowledge of the country). Other observers speak similarly[1]. The natives call it then the 'Red Nile.' The reddish colour continues more or less till the waters begin to abate in October. The water, while it is red, is not unwholesome. Shortly, however, before the redness begins, the Nile (called then the 'Green Nile') generally for a few days rises slightly, and becomes green (from decaying vegetable matter brought down from the equatorial swamps), and then it is unwholesome[2].

As Dillm. says, however, though the recollection of an extraordinary intensification of a genuine Egyptian phaenomenon is the foundation of the narrative, it is not the actual reddening of the Nile at the time of the inundation which the narrative describes, not only because there would be nothing surprising in what was an annual occurrence, but also because of the seven days' limit of time in *v.* 25, and because the water of the 'Red Nile' is wholesome and drinkable: but the natural local phaenomenon is dissociated from its natural conditions, and transformed into something transcending all experience, by the circumstances under which it is produced, and by the consequences attending it,—the water (including in P even that in domestic vessels) becoming undrinkable, and the fish dying.

viii. **1—15.** The *second* plague. Frogs come up out of the Nile. The narrative consists of J and P only, without any traces of E.

1—4. The announcement of the plague to the Pharaoh, from J.

1. *Go in unto Pharaoh*] as ix. 1, x. 1 (both J).

Thus saith, &c.] The terms of the demand, as in the other introductions of J (viii. 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3; cf. iv. 22, 23, vii. 16).

2. *And if thou refuse*, &c.] The announcement to Pharaoh of what

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[1] e.g. Osburn, *Monum. Hist. of Egypt* (1851), i. 11 f. (when the rays of the rising sun fell upon the Nile, it had the appearance of a 'river of blood'; and the Arabs came to tell him that it was the 'Red Nile').

[2] See further on the annual inundation of the Nile,—which is due to the waters of the Atbara and the 'Blue Nile' being swollen by the heavy spring and summer rains in the Abyssinian highlands, and the melting of the mountain snow, and which gives the Delta its fertility,—R. Pococke, *Descr. of the East* (1743), i. 199 f.; Rawlinson, *Hist. of Eg.* (1881), i. 19—25; Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* pp. 22—26; *DB.* iii. 551, 889; W. M. Müller in *EB.* Egypt, § 7, and Nile; Bädeker, *Egypt*[6] (1908), p. xlv f.

J go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs: and the 3
river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come
into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy
bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy
people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneadingtroughs:
and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy 4
P people, and upon all thy servants. | [1]And the LORD said 5
unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with
thy rod over the rivers, over the [2]streams, and over the
pools, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.
And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; 6
and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. And 7
the magicians did in like manner with their enchantments,

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[1] [Ch. viii. 1 in Heb.]

[2] Or, *canals*

will follow, in case he refuses, as elsewhere in J (viii. 21, ix. 2, x. 4; cf. ix. 17, iv. 23).

borders] i.e. *territory*, as often: in J, here, x. 4, 14, 19, xiii. 7.

3. The frogs will not only swarm in the river, but fill every part of the houses in Egypt, and even climb up upon the person (*v.* 4).

frogs] except in the present context, mentioned in the OT. only Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 30, with reference to this plague.

the house] read probably, with LXX. Sam., *the* **houses**.

upon thy people] read, with LXX., **of** *thy people*: 'upon' follows in *v.* 4.

ovens] The 'oven' (*tannūr*) was a portable earthenware stove, about 3 ft. high, of the shape of a truncated cone, heated by the burning embers being placed in it at the bottom. Ovens of this kind are still in use in the East. See *DB*. i. 318^a; and, for an illustration, Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Antiquities*, p. 73. So Gen. xv. 17 ('furnace'), Lev. ii. 4 *al.*

kneading-**bowls**] not 'troughs,' but shallow wooden bowls, such as are still used for the purpose by the Arabs. So xii. 34, Dt. xxviii. 5, 17 †.

5—7. The arrival of the frogs is described in an extract from P. As elsewhere in P (p. 55), the wonder is brought about by Aaron with his rod.

5. *Say unto Aaron*] See on vii. 19.

with thy rod] The rod which in P Aaron habitually carries (vii. 9, 19, viii. 16, 17).

the streams] *the* **Nile-canals**, as vii. 19. In J the frogs are to come up only out of the Nile (*v.* 3); in P they come up out of the other waters in Egypt as well (cf. *v.* 6).

7. The magicians (vii. 11, 22) do the same with their arts.

8 and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt. | Then *J*
Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Intreat the
Lord, that he take away the frogs from me, and from my
people; and I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice
9 unto the Lord. And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Have thou
this glory over me: against what time shall I intreat for
thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs
be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain in the
10 river only? And he said, Against to-morrow. And he said,
Be it according to thy word: that thou mayest know that
11 there is none like unto the Lord our God. And the frogs
shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy
servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the
12 river only. And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh:
and Moses cried unto the Lord concerning the frogs [1]which
13 he had brought upon Pharaoh. And the Lord did according
to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses,
14 out of the courts, and out of the fields. And they gathered
15 them together in heaps: and the land stank. But when
Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he [2]hardened his heart,
| and hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken. *P*

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[1] Or, *as he had appointed unto Pharaoh*
[2] Heb. *made heavy.*

8—14. At the Pharaoh's urgent request, and promise, if it be granted, that he will let the people go, the frogs die away off the land.

9. *Have thou this glory*] Heb. *Deck* or *Glorify thyself* (Is. xliv. 23, xlix. 3: in a bad sense, *vaunt oneself*, Jud. vii. 2, Is. x. 15), i.e. here, Have this glory or advantage over me, in fixing the time at which I shall ask for the plague to cease. Not so used elsewhere.

10. *that thou mayest know*, &c.] The removal of the plague at a time fixed by the Pharaoh himself should be conclusive evidence to him that it was sent by God. The words are intended to emphasize the religious lesson of the plague; cf. the similar sentences, *v.* 22^{b}, ix. 14^{b}, 16^{b}, 29^{b}, x. 2^{b}, xi. 7^{b} (all J); comp. on ix. 14—16, and p. 56.

12. *brought upon*] **appointed for**, viz. as a sign. The marg. (referring the words to the promise of their removal, *v.* 10) is less probable.

14. *gathered*] better, **piled**: cf. Hab. i. 10 ('heapeth up').

15. *that* **the respite had come**] the respite (or *relief*, Est. iv. 14; lit. *open space*, *width*), promised in *v.* 10 f.

he **made** *his heart* **stubborn**] The word used by J; cf. vii. 14.

and hearkened not, &c.] The closing phrase, from P: notice exactly the same words in vii. 13; and cf. p. 55.

P And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch 16
out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may
become [1]lice throughout all the land of Egypt. And they 17
did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and
smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon man,
and upon beast; all the dust of the earth became lice
throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians did 18
so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they

[1] Or, *sand flies* Or, *fleas*

Plagues of frogs in different places are mentioned by the classical writers; they are also not unknown in modern times (*DB*. iii. 890). In Egypt 'each year the inundation brings with it myriads of frogs, which swarm along the banks of the river and canals, and fill the night air with continual croakings' (Sayce, *EHH*. 168); similarly Seetzen and other travellers cited by Di. 'Accordingly here also the Hebrew tradition simply describes a miraculously intensified form of a natural phaenomenon characteristic of the country. For the frogs come at the signal given by Aaron's wonder-working rod, they climb up even into the houses, and they disappear, not, as happens now, by returning to the water, or being devoured by the ibis or other water-birds, but by dying immediately, in immense numbers, upon the land' (Di.).

16—19. The *third* plague. The dust of the land turned to gnats. Entirely P.

16. *lice*] Marg. *gnats*. The Heb. *kinnīm* or *kinnām* occurs only Ex. viii. 16—18, Ps. cv. 31, and doubtfully in the sing. Is. li. 6; and it has been differently interpreted. Both the renderings here given are ancient: *gnats* are found in LXX. (σκνῖφες[1]), Vulg. *sciniphes*; *lice* in Pesh. and Targ. (so Jos. *Ant.* ii. 14. 3). Gnats, or, as we should say, mosquitos, are abundant in Egypt: they are generated from the water (which is full of their larvas); and in the autumn especially, when the Nile is still overflowing, and the rice-fields stand in water, they rise from it in such swarms that the air is sometimes darkened with them. Their sting occasions swelling and irritation; and the annoyance caused by them is often alluded to by travellers in Egypt. Lice, on the other hand, are nothing characteristic of Egypt. Hence most moderns (Ges., Keil, Dillm. &c.) agree that **gnats** is the most probable rendering. The gnats in Egypt often look like clouds of dust; accordingly, they are described here as produced from the dust.

17. *with his rod*] See on *v.* 5.

18. This wonder the magicians (*v.* 7) were unable to imitate.

to bring forth] viz. from the earth.

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[1] Philo (*Vit. Mos.*, p. 97) describes the σκνῖφες as small insects, which not only pierced the skin, but also set up intolerable itching, and penetrated the ears and nostrils; and Origen (*Hom. in Ex.* iv. 6) as small stinging insects, i.e. mosquitos. Herodotus (ii. 95) also mentions how troublesome the κώνωπες, another species of gnat, were in Egypt.

could not: and there were lice upon man, and upon beast. *P*
19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of
God: and Pharaoh's heart [1]was hardened, and he hearkened
not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.
20 And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the *J*
morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth
to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let
21 my people go, that they may serve me. Else, if thou wilt
not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies
upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people,
and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall
be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they

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[1] Heb. *was strong*.

19 *This is the finger of God*] i.e. the finger, or hand, of God is discernible here. The expression (though not in the same application), also, xxxi. 18, Dt. ix. 10, Luke xi. 20, and in the plural, Ps. viii. 3.

The *mosquito* is so well known as a plague in Egypt, that it will not be necessary to add anything to what has been said about it on *v.* 16. The 'gnats' described here, however, differ from the mosquito in being produced, not from water, but from the dust; and also in their appearing miraculously, like the frogs, at a signal given by Aaron.

20—32. The *fourth* plague. The dog-fly. Entirely J.

20—23 The announcement of the plague. Cf viii. 1—4.

20. *lo, he cometh forth to the water*] cf. vii. 15

21. *swarms of flies*] Heb. *'ārōb*,—except here and in the sequel, only Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv 31 (in allusions to this plague). *'Ārōb* might mean a *mixture* (cf. *'ēreb*, xii 38, a '*mixed* multitude'), and so possibly a *swarm* (AV. rightly kept 'of flies' in italics); but some *definite* insect is evidently meant; and it is best to suppose that the word, whatever its etymology may be[1], denotes some particularly irritating kind of fly, LXX. κυνόμυια, or **dog-fly**: in Ps. lxxviii 45 the *'ārōb* is said to have 'eaten,' or devoured, the Egyptians. Flies are a common pest in Egypt; swarms are often brought up by the S. wind, settling everywhere, filling the houses, irritating men and animals alike, and often carrying with them the germs of contagious diseases, especially ophthalmia, diphtheria, and (one kind) malignant pustules (Post in *DB*. ii. 25). In Is. vii. 18 the 'fly' (the ordinary word) is a symbol for the Egyptian armies. The 'dog-fly' is described by Philo (*Vit M.* p. 101), who lived in Egypt, as a biting insect, attacking its victim with the force of a dart, and not desisting till it had had its fill of blood and flesh.

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[1] The meaning 'the *sucker*' (Ges.), from an isolated sense, to 'eat,' of the Arab. *'araba* (which generally has very different meanings: Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 1991), is very uncertain.

J are. And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in 22
which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be
there; to the end thou mayest know that I am the LORD
in the midst of the earth. And I will [1]put a division 23

[1] Or, *set* a sign of *deliverance* Heb. *set redemption.*

22. 'Such swarms may advance along particular lines, and so spare a given district. The promise here given may stand in some connexion with this fact' (Di.).

sever] as ix. 4, xi. 7 (EVV. *put a difference*): both J.

the land of Goshen] to which, according to J, the Israelites were confined (ix. 26; Gen. xlv. 10, xlvi. 28^b, 29, 34, xlvii. 1, 4, 6, 27, l. 8: all J); E pictures them as living side by side with the Egyptians (iii. 22, xi. 2). The site of Goshen has been fixed by recent discoveries. Ancient hieroglyphic lists of the 'nomes' of Egypt mention *Kesem* as the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, and state that its religious capital was *P-sapṭ*, i.e. the modern '*Ṣafṭ* el-Ḥenna,' a village about 40 miles NE. of Cairo, the ancient name of which M. Naville ascertained in 1885, from inscriptions found on the spot, to be *Kes*. 'Goshen' (LXX. Γεσεμ) must thus have been the fertile district around Ṣafṭ, where the Wādy Ṭumīlāt opens out at its W. end towards Bubastis, 'within the triangle lying between the villages of Ṣafṭ, Belbeis, and Tel el-Kebir' (Naville), embracing an area of 60—80 sq. miles (Petrie, *Sinai*, p. 208), about 40—50 miles NE. of Cairo. The Wādy Ṭumīlāt is a narrow strip of cultivated soil stretching out, like an arm from the Delta (see the map), across the desert, about 50 miles NE. of Cairo, to Lake Timsāḥ: 'in pre-historic times, a branch of the Nile ran down it[1], discharging its waters into a northern extension of the Gulf of Suez' (see p. 126); within the historic period canals have been at different times constructed along it, connecting the Nile with the Red Sea (p. 4 *n.*); on each side of this strip of soil the country is desert, but the Wādy itself is irrigated by a fresh water canal, and fertile: and the part of the Delta adjoining it on the W. (where 'Goshen' will have been) affords excellent arable land and pasture (cf. Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, p. 55 f.). See further GOSHEN in *DB.* or *EB.*

On Kes, the ancient *town* of 'Goshen,' see Duncan, *Exploration of Egypt and the OT.* (1908), pp. 106 f., 113 ff.: few remains of it are now visible. The cemetery of Kes was excavated in 1905—6 by Petrie, and found by him to contain numerous tombs of the 18th and 19th dynasties; but the tombs, as the objects found in them shewed, were entirely those of *Egyptians.* If, therefore, as J represents (see esp. Gen. xlvi. 34), the Israelites lived *apart* from the Egyptians, we must suppose that the Egyptians in Goshen lived only in the *town*, while the Israelites were in the country.

to the end...that, &c.] Cf. viii. 10, with the references.

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[1] Borings revealed at the depth of 22 ft. below the surface the shells of fresh-water mussels of species still living in the Nile (*ZDPV.* 1885, p. 227).

between my people and thy people: by to-morrow shall J
24 this sign be. And the LORD did so; and there came
grievous swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and
into his servants' houses: and in all the land of Egypt
the land was [1]corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies.
25 And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go
26 ye, sacrifice to your God in the land. And Moses said, It
is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination
of the Egyptians to the LORD our God: lo, shall we sacrifice
the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will

[1] Or, *destroyed*

23. *set* **redemption** (RVm.) *between*, &c. A singular expression, interpreted to mean *make a distinction by redeeming* ('redemption,' as Is. l. 2, Ps. cxi. 9, cxxx. 7†). There is probably some error in the text; perhaps *make a* **severance** (*p^{e}lūth* for *p^{e}dūth*) should be read.

to-morrow] Cf. ix. 5, 6, 18, x. 4; also viii. 10, 29 (p. 56).

24. *grievous*] lit. *heavy*, combining, as x. 14, the ideas of both *numerous* (xii. 38, Gen. l. 9, Heb.), and *severe* (ix. 3, 18, 24). 'Grievous' is an archaism, meaning *burdensome* (ultimately from Lat. *gravis*[1]): see *DB.* s.v.; and cf. Gen. xii. 10 (AV.), l. 11, 2 Cor. xii. 14 AV. (RV. 'be a burden to')[2].

and into, &c.] read probably, with LXX. Sam. Pesh., adding only one letter, but improving the sentence, *and into his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt;* **and** *the land was*, &c.

corrupted] rather, **ruined**,—by the suffering inflicted on men and cattle, and the interruption caused to daily occupations, &c. (*v.* 21).

25—29. The Pharaoh, as before (*v.* 8), entreats for a removal of the plague. At first he will only give permission for the Israelites to hold their festival in Egypt; but afterwards, in consequence of Moses' representations, he grants leave for a journey of three days in the wilderness.

25. *in the land*] i.e. in Egypt.

26. Moses objects that, if they do this, they will arouse the religious susceptibilities of the Egyptians, and be in danger of their lives.

meet] i.e. *suitable*, *proper*; an archaism, not unfrequent in AV., RV.: see e.g. Gen. ii. 18, Mt. iii. 8 (AV.: RV. *worthy*), xv. 26.

the abomination of the Egyptians] i.e. animals which the Egyptians deemed it unlawful to sacrifice, and the sacrifice of which would consequently shock them: as the cow (which was sacred to Isis), the bull (which, according to Hdt. ii. 41, was only sacrificed by them when it was 'clean,' i.e. free from the sacred marks of Apis), sheep at Thebes,

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[1] Cf. to *grieve*, i.e. originally to *be a burden* or *trouble to*, to *harass* (Gen. xlix. 23), from *gravare*.

[2] Murray quotes from a writer of 1548, 'Ye shall be *grievous* to no man with begging' (cf. the Glossary in the writer's *Jeremiah*, p. 373).

J they not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the 27
wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord our God, as he shall
command us. And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye 28
may sacrifice to the Lord your God in the wilderness; only
ye shall not go very far away: intreat for me. And Moses 29
said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will intreat the
Lord that the swarms of flies may depart from Pharaoh,
from his servants, and from his people, to-morrow: only
let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the
people go to sacrifice to the Lord. And Moses went out 30
from Pharaoh, and intreated the Lord. And the Lord 31
did according to the word of Moses; and he removed
the swarms of flies from Pharaoh, from his servants, and
from his people; there remained not one. And Pharaoh 32
[1]hardened his heart this time also, and he did not let the
people go.

J Then the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, 9
and tell him, Thus saith the Lord, the God of the Hebrews,
Let my people go, that they may serve me. For if thou 2
refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, behold, the 3
hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field,

[1] Heb. *made heavy.*

and goats (according to Wiedemann, an error for rams) at Mendes: see Hdt. ii. 38, 41, 42, 46; cf. Wilk.-Birch, ii. 460, iii. 108 f., 304 f.; Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 180—3, 187 f., 196 f., 218 f.

27. *three days' journey*] as iii. 18, v. 3.

28. The Pharaoh recognises the force of Moses' argument, and grants the required permission: they are only not to go very far away.

29. *to-morrow*] Cf. *v.* 10; and on *v.* 23.

deal deceitfully] properly, *mock* (1 K. xviii. 27), so as to deceive (Gen. xxxi. 7, Jud. xvi. 10, 13, 15).

any more] as in *v.* 15, after the promise of *v.* 8.

30, 31. Cf. *vv.* 12, 13.

32. *hardened his heart*] Heb. *made his heart heavy*, i.e. *stubborn*, as *v.* 15ᵃ. See on vii. 13.

ix. **1—7.** The *fifth* plague. The murrain on cattle. Entirely J.

1—4. The announcement to the Pharaoh, worded analogously to those of the second and fourth plagues (viii. 1—4, 20—23,—both J).

1. *Then*] Heb. simply **And.**

3. *cattle*] lit. *possessions,* commonly used of possessions in sheep and oxen (xii. 38, Gen. xlvii. 14), but including here other animals as well.

upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the J
herds, and upon the flocks: *there shall be* a very grievous
4 murrain. And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of
Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die
5 of all that belongeth to the children of Israel. And the
LORD appointed a set time, saying, To-morrow the LORD
6 shall do this thing in the land. And the LORD did that
thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but
7 of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one. And
Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not so much as one of
the cattle of the Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh
was [1]stubborn, and he did not let the people go.

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[1] Heb. *heavy*.

camels] Camels were not used, or bred, in ancient Egypt, nor do they appear 'in any inscription or painting before the Greek period' (Erman, p. 493; cf. W. Max Müller, *EB*. i. 634; Sayce, *EHH*. 169). They look here like an anachronism: the reference may however be to camels belonging to traders, which had brought merchandise into Egypt across the desert from Arabia, or elsewhere (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25).

grievous] i.e. *severe*: see on viii. 24.

murrain] the word which, when used of a disease of men, is commonly rendered *pestilence* (*v.* 15, ix. 3, and frequently); it is applied to a cattle plague only here and Ps. lxxviii. 50.

Egypt does not seem to be often visited by cattle plagues. Pruner (*Krankheiten des Orients*, p. 108 ff.), and Lepsius (*Letters from Eg.*, p. 44), cited by Kn., mention, however, a severe epidemic which began in 1842, and by June, 1843, had raged for nine months (Mrs Poole, *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, 1844, ii. 114 f.), causing great mortality among oxen and sheep, though it did not affect camels or horses. Pruner attributed this epidemic to the water of the Nile, which was low and impure at the time when it began: cattle which were at a distance from the Nile, and could obtain good water, were not attacked by it. There have also been cattle plagues in Egypt in recent years.

4. The land of Goshen is again, as in the case of the plague of flies (viii. 22 f.), to be immune from the visitation.

5. *To-morrow*] cf. viii. 23.

6. *all the cattle*] unless there is a real inconsistency in the narrative, the 'all' must not be pressed, but understood (as often in Heb.) merely to denote such a large number that those which remain may be disregarded (Keil); for cattle belonging to the Egyptians are mentioned afterwards, *vv.* 19—21, also xi. 5, xii. 29, xiii. 15.

7. *was stubborn*] lit. *heavy*; the word regularly used by J (*v.* 34, vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, x. 1).

8—12. The *sixth* plague. The boils on men and cattle. Entirely P.

P And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to 8
you handfuls of [1]ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle
it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. And it shall 9
become small dust over all the land of Egypt, and shall be
a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast,
throughout all the land of Egypt. And they took ashes of 10
the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled
it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth
with blains upon man and upon beast. And the magicians 11
could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the

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[1] Or, *soot*

8. *Take to you your* **two hands** *full of* **soot** *from a* **kiln**. The *kibshān* (also *v.* 10, Gen. xix. 28, Ex. xix. 18),—different from both the 'oven' of ch. viii. 3, and the *kūr*, or furnace for smelting metals in (Dt. iv. 20, Ez. xxii. 20, Pr. xvii. 3),—was a **kiln** for baking pottery or burning lime (cf. in the Mishna, *Kel.* viii. 9, 'the *kibshān* of lime-burners, glass-makers, and potters'). Cf. *DB.* ii. 73; Wilk.-B. ii. 192 (illustr.); *EB.* iii. 3820 f.

sprinkle] **toss** or **throw** (in a volume), as from the two filled hands (properly, the hollow of the hand, or fist, as Lev. xvi. 12, Ezek. x. 2, Prov. xxx. 4). So Ezek. x. 2. The word is more commonly used of a liquid: see on xxix. 16.

9. *become fine dust*, &c.] i.e. be dispersed in the air over the whole land in the shape of fine dust, which settling down on men and cattle, will produce boils. For *'ābāḳ*, fine, flying dust, cf. Is. v. 24, xxix. 5.

a boil, breaking out (Lev. xiii. 12, 20, 25) *into blains*, or *pustules*. *Blain* is still 'commonly used in the West Riding to denote a large pustule or boil' (Aldis Wright, *Bible Word-Book*). Wycliffe uses the word of Job's 'boil' (Job ii. 7). The Heb. for 'boil,' as the cognate languages shew, in which the root signifies *to be hot*, means an *inflamed spot*: it is mentioned also in Lev. xiii. 18, 19, 20 (a symptom of elephantiasis), 23 (a common ulcer), Dt. xxviii. 27 (the 'boil of Egypt'), 35, 2 K. xx. 7 = Is. xxxviii. 12, Job ii. 7 †. Cutaneous eruptions, of various kinds, are common in Egypt (cf. Dt. *l.c.*): we cannot say exactly what kind is here meant. Di. after Kn. thinks of the *Nile-scab*, an irritating eruption, consisting of innumerable little red blisters, which is frequent in Egypt at about the time when the Nile begins to rise in June, and often remains for some weeks upon those whom it attacks (Seetzen was attacked in this way two years running, iii. 204 f., 209, 377): it is attributed either to the unhealthy condition of the water at the time (cf. on vii. 23), or to the excessive heat. It is not known to attack animals; but that is no objection to its being intended, in what is represented by the writer as miraculous.

10. The **soot of a kiln**, and **tossed** *it* for 'sprinkled it up,' as *v.* 8.

11. The magicians (vii. 11, 22, viii. 7, 18, 19) this time are not only not able to imitate the plague, but are themselves attacked by it.

boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. *P*
12 And the Lord [1]hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he
hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken unto
Moses.

13 And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the *J*
morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him,
Thus saith the Lord, the God of the Hebrews, Let my
14 people go, that they may serve me. For I will this time
send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants,
and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that there is

[1] Heb. *made strong*.

12. As vii. 13, 22^b, viii. 15^b, 19^b (all P). The result, as foretold in vii. 4^a (P). On God's 'hardening' Pharaoh's heart, see p. 53 f.

13—35. The *seventh* plague. The hail. From J, with short passages, probably, from E.

13, 17—18. The announcement of the plague: cf. viii. 1—3, 20—23, ix. 1—4.

13. *Rise up early*, &c.] cf. viii. 20.

14—16. The announcement of the plague (*vv.* 13, 17—18) is interrupted by a passage, intended evidently (Di.) to explain why, when so many plagues have produced no impression upon the Pharaoh, God continues to send fresh ones upon him: He does so in order to extort from him the recognition of Himself, and that His name may be made known throughout the world; had this not been His motive, He would ere now have summarily removed him from the earth. By Di. and others this explanation (*vv.* 14—16) is considered to be a didactic addition of the compiler's (cf. on x. 1^b—2). Cf. the Introd. p. xvii.

14. *this time...all my plagues*] The two expressions seem hardly consistent: 'this time' shews that the hail is referred to, while 'all my plagues' points to much more than a single plague. J writes as a rule so clearly that the inconsistency is urged as one reason for supposing that *vv.* 14—16 are not from his hand.

plagues] Heb. *maggēphāh*, properly a severe *stroke* or *blow*, only here of the 'plagues' of Egypt (cf. the cognate verb 'smite' in viii. 2, xii. 23, 27, Jos. xxiv. 5); of a great defeat in war (EVV. *slaughter*), 1 S. iv. 17 (*vv.* 2, 10 the cognate verb, 'smitten'), 2 S. xviii. 7 (with 'smitten') *al.*; of various supernatural chastisements, Nu. xiv. 37, xvi. 48, 49, 50, xxv. 8, 9, 18, 2 S. xxiv. 21, 25, Zech. xiv. 12, 15, 18.

upon thine heart] The expression (though it might be interpreted with Di. as a reference to the Pharaoh's hardened heart) is strange: read, probably, changing one letter, *all* **these** *my plagues* (cf. x. i.) **upon thee** (אלה בך for אל לבך), *and upon thy servants*, &c.; cf. viii. 4, 9, 11, 21, 29.

that thou mayest know, &c.] See on viii. 10.

none like me in all the earth. For now I had put forth my 15
hand, and smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, and
thou hadst been cut off from the earth: but in very deed 16
for this cause have I made thee to stand, for to shew thee
my power, and that my name may be declared throughout
all the earth. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, 17
that thou wilt not let them go? Behold, to-morrow about 18

15. *For now*, &c.] 'had put forth' is hypothetical: *For* **else** (i.e. except for the motive just stated) *I* **should now have** *put forth*, &c., would express the sense more clearly.

hadst] i.e. *wouldest have been*.

16. *made thee to stand*] i.e. *maintained thee alive*, the causative of to 'stand' in the sense of to *continue*, ch. xxi. 21, Ps. cii. 28 [Heb. 27]. The same sense is expressed by the paraphrase of LXX. *thou wast preserved* (διετηρήθης). St Paul quotes this verse in Rom. ix. 17, in his argument to prove the absolute sovereignty of God. He there (disregarding the LXX.) expresses the verb by ἐξήγειρά σε, *raised thee up*, i.e. brought thee on to the stage of history (cf. ἐξεγείρω in LXX., Hab. i. 6, Zech. xi. 16, and ἐγείρω, Jud. ii. 16, 18, iii. 9 *al.*),—a sense which העמיד might have had in post-exilic Hebrew, but hardly at the date when this passage of Ex. was written[1]. The difference between *raised up* and *kept alive* does not, however, affect the Apostle's argument. He is arguing against the Jews (who strongly maintained that their national privileges were inalienable), that God, in rejecting Israel, is not arbitrary or unjust; and he quotes two passages from the OT. to shew the absolute character of the Divine sovereignty, Ex. xxxiii. 19^b as proof that God can choose Himself the recipients of His mercy, and the present passage as proof that He may, if it pleases Him, be severe, in order to carry out His Divine purpose. See further p. 54.

to shew thee,—lit. *to make thee see*, i.e. experience,—*my power*] which *might* have had the effect of softening Pharaoh's heart, and did in fact lead him more than once to give God the glory (*v.* 27, x. 16 f.).

and that my name, &c.] Pharaoh is a signal type of the power of the world, as opposed to God; and God's victory over him will cause His name to be *declared* (Ps. cii. 21) and known far and wide in the world.

17. *exaltest thyself*] A peculiar word, found only here. The root means *to cast up a way* (Is. lvii. 14, lxii. 10); and the Heb. words for 'siege-*mound*,' and 'high-way' (properly, a '*raised* way'), are derived from it; hence the meaning seems properly to be, '*raisest thyself up as a mound* (or *obstacle*) against my people,' to oppose their release.

18. *to-morrow*] as *vv.* 5, 6. Comp. on viii. 23.

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[1] In post-exilic Heb. עמד and העמיד acquire meanings which in early Heb. are expressed by קום and הקים: see examples in the writer's *Introduction*, pp. 475, 503 (ed. 6 or 7, pp. 507, 535), Nos. 16 and 4. In early Heb. ἐξεγείρω would have been expressed by הקים (as in Hab. i. 6, &c., quoted above).

this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as *J*
hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded even
19 until now. Now therefore send, hasten in thy cattle and
all that thou hast in the field; *for* every man and beast
which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought
home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall
20 die. He that feared the word of the LORD among the
servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee
21 into the houses: and he that regarded not the word of the
LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine *E*
hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land
of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb
23 of the field, throughout the land of Egypt. And Moses
stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the LORD sent
thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth;
24 | and the LORD rained hail upon the land of Egypt. So *J*
there was hail, and fire [1]mingled with the hail, very grievous,

[1] Or, *flashing continually amidst*

grievous] i.e. *severe*: see on viii. 24.

19. Advice to the Pharaoh, and, implicitly (cf. *vv.* 20, 21), to his servants as well, to bring their cattle quickly into safety. The advice gives the Pharaoh an opportunity of shewing what his frame of mind is, according as he follows or disregards the advice. According to *v.* 6 the Egyptians had indeed no 'cattle' left after the murrain; but (as was remarked on *v.* 6) 'all' in Hebrew is not always to be taken literally. The inconsistency is however remarkable: contrast x. 5, 15.

20, 21. How the Pharaoh's servants—i.e. his courtiers and ministers—act in consequence.

22, 23^{a} (E). The hail comes at the signal given by Moses with his rod. The rod in *Moses*' hand is a mark of E: see on iv. 17.

23^{a}. *sent thunder*] lit. *gave* **voices.** 'Voices' is a common expression in Heb. for 'thunder' (*vv.* 29, 33, 34, xix. 16, xx. 18, 1 S. xii. 17, 18 [with 'gave,' as here], Job xxviii. 36, xxxviii. 25; cf. Rev. iv. 5, viii. 5, xi. 15, &c.): in a thunderstorm the Hebrews imagined Jehovah, enveloped in light, to be borne along in the dark thunder cloud; the flashes of lightning were glimpses of the brilliancy within, caused by the clouds parting; and the thunder was His voice. See especially Ps. xviii. 10—13, xxix. 3—9 (where 'the voice of Jehovah' means the thunder), Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 2. With 'gave voices' here, cf. 'gave (i.e. uttered) his voice' (in thunder), Ps. xviii. 13, xlvi. 6, lxviii. 33 *al.*

23^{b} (J). The sequel of *v.* 18 (*vv.* 19—21 being parenthetic) in J.

24. *fire mingled with the hail*] lit. 'fire *taking hold of itself in the*

J such as had not been in all the land of Egypt since it became
a nation. And the hail smote throughout all the land of 25
Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast; and
the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree
of the field. Only in the land of Goshen, where the children 26
of Israel were, was there no hail. And Pharaoh sent, and 27
called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, I have
sinned this time: the LORD is righteous, and I and my
people are wicked. Intreat the LORD; for there hath been 28
enough of *these* [1]mighty thunderings and hail; and I will
let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. And Moses said 29
unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will
spread abroad my hands unto the LORD; the thunders
shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; that thou
mayest know that the earth is the LORD's. But as for thee and 30

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[1] Heb. *voices* (or *thunderings*) *of God.*

midst of the hail,' i.e. forming a continuous stream in it, paraphrased on the marg. by *flashing continually amidst.* The same expression recurs in Ez. i. 4 'a great cloud, with a fire *taking hold of itself*' (AV., RV. *infolding itself*; RVm. Or, *flashing continually*).

very grievous, &c.] as *v.* 18.

25. The destruction wrought by the hail.

26. The same exception, in the case of Goshen, as viii. 22, ix. 4, 7.

27—33. The Pharaoh craves a third time (see viii. 8, 28) for a cessation of the plague.

27. The Pharaoh this time, impressed, it may be supposed, by the spectacle of the storm, confesses his fault, as he has never done before. His penitence, however, as the sequel shews, is not very deep.

I have sinned] x. 16.

righteous...wicked] rather, *the* (with the art.) *one in the right...those in the wrong.* The words are used not in their ethical, but in their *forensic* sense, as ii. 13 (where 'him that did the wrong' is lit. *the wicked one*), Dt. xxv. 1.

28. *Intreat*] viii. 8, 28, x. 17.

mighty thunderings] Heb. *voices* (*v.* 23) *of God.* The addition, 'of God,' does sometimes imply worthy to belong to God, i.e. mighty or noble (Gen. xxiii. 6, Nu. xxiv. 6, Ps. xxxvi. 6, lxviii. 15 RV., lxxx. 10, civ. 16); but, in view of the idiom explained on *v.* 23^a, it is doubtful whether that is the case here.

29. *spread abroad my hands*] The attitude of prayer: *v.* 33, 1 K. viii. 22, 38 *al.*

that thou mayest know, &c.] cf. viii. 10, with the note.

thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the LORD God. *J*
31 | And the flax and the barley were smitten: for the barley *E*?
32 was in the ear, and the flax [1]was bolled. But the wheat
and the spelt were not smitten: for they were not grown up.

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[1] Or, *was in bloom*

30. *that ye* **do** *not yet* **fear before** (Hag. i. 12) **Jehovah** *God*] that ye do not yet really stand in awe of Him, so as to grant Israel's release. The meaning is not 'fear God' in a religious sense, but 'fear *before*' Him, be afraid of Him.

Jehovah *God*] The addition 'God' (not in LXX. however) emphasizes the fact that it was just Jehovah's Godhead which the Pharaoh had failed to recognize. The combination is very unusual: elsewhere in the Pent. it occurs only (for a different reason) in Gen. ii. 4^{b}—iii.

31, 32. A supplementary notice, which interrupts the connexion between *vv.* 29 f. and 33, stating, more explicitly than *v.* 25^{b}, what crops had suffered in the fields. On account of the information on Egyptian matters which it contains, the notice is referred by Di. and others to E. In Egypt, according to a farmer living in the Delta (cited by W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Phil.* xii. 300), flax blossoms and barley ripens in Jan.; but, he adds, the seasons vary, and so the travellers cited by Kn. mention mostly Feb.: wheat and spelt are ripe, in any case, about a month later. As the wheat and the spelt were not yet up, the hail will be represented as coming in Jan. (Kn.), if not earlier.

Flax was much cultivated in Egypt: for linen was worn constantly by men of rank, and exclusively by the priests (Hdt. ii. 37); wrappings for mummies were also made of it. There are many representations on the Egyptian monuments of the processes by which flax was converted into linen; and the linen itself was often of remarkable transparency and fineness (Erman, pp. 448, 449 f.; Wilk.-B. ii. 157 f., 165 f.; cf. Gen. xli. 42; Ez. xxvii. 7; Hdt. ii. 81, 105).

was bolled] *was* **in bud.** The Heb. word occurs only here in the OT.; but, as Ges. shews, this is the meaning of *gib'ōl* in the Mishna.

'Bolled' is a now obsolete expression meaning *podded* (lit. *swollen*, akin to *bowl*, *bellows*, *billow*, &c.) *for seed.* The old verb was *bolnen*, to swell. Aldis Wright mentions that the later of the Wycliffite versions has in Col. ii. 18 *bolnyd* for 'puffed up,' and that in Holland's *Pliny* '*bolled* leekes' is the rendering of 'porrum *capitatum*.' He adds that 'bolled' in the sense of *podded* is still in use in Ireland, as it is also in Lincolnshire (Jos. Wright, *Dialect Dict.* i. 332): cf. the remark on the word in the Preface to RV.

32. *spelt*] 'bread made from spelt is frequently found in Egyptian tombs' (Lepsius, in a private letter to Dillmann). 'Spelt' (Is. xxviii. 25, Ezek. iv. 9†) is a cereal closely allied to wheat, which it much resembles (*NHB.* 479; and, with fuller particulars, *EB.* ii. 1532). LXX. *ὄλυρα*; Aq. Sym. *ζέα*.

were not grown up] **are late** (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 137); i.e. are

J | And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread 33
abroad his hands unto the LORD : and the thunders and
hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth.
And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the 34
thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and [1]hardened
E his heart, he and his servants. | And the heart of Pharaoh 35
[2]was hardened, and he did not let the children of Israel
R^P go ; | as the LORD had spoken by Moses.
J And the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh : **10**

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[1] Heb. *made heavy*.

[2] Heb. *was strong*.

habitually late in coming up: as stated above, they are about a month later than flax and barley.

34. *hardened his heart*] **made** *his heart* **stubborn** (lit. *heavy*), J's regular word : see on vii. 13.

35 (E). *was hardened*] *waxed strong* (or *firm*), the word used by E : cf. x. 20, 27, iv. 21^b.

as **Jehovah** *had spoken*] This is P's formula (vii. 13, 22, viii. 15, 19, ix. 12) : the clause was probably added here, on the basis of the passages quoted, by the compiler who combined JE with P.

by the hand of Moses. Moses is never said to have foretold what is here referred to him : in ix. 12 '*unto* Moses' is said, which agrees with vii. 3 f. Perhaps the words are intended as a reference to *v.* 30.

Thunder and hail are not common in Egypt: nevertheless they occur occasionally. Different travellers (see Di., or *DB.* iii. 891) speak of storms of heavy rain, hail, or thunder in Egypt occurring during the winter months ; and Sayce (*EHH.* 169) states that in the spring of 1895 a violent storm of thunder and hail swept along the valley of the Nile and desolated 3000 acres of cultivated land. *Vv.* 31 f. shew that the plague took place in Jan., or thereabouts ; and with this date agrees the statement in *v.* 19 that the cattle were at the time in the fields, for the cattle in Egypt are from Jan. to April on their pastures, while from May to Dec. they are commonly kept in their stalls.

x. **1—20.** The *eighth* plague. The locusts. From J, with short passages from E.

1^a. *Go in unto Pharaoh*] as before in J: viii. 1, ix. 1.

1^b, 2. Explanation to Moses of the reason of the command. In previous cases the command to go in to the Pharaoh is followed at once by the words, *and say unto him*, and the demand for the release of the people (viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13) ; and it is possible that Di. and others are right in regarding *vv.* 1^b, 2 as a didactic addition (similar to ix. 14—16) made by the compiler of JE, who at the same time substituted at the beginning of *v.* 3 'And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him' for an original 'and say unto him' (the direct sequel to *v.* 1^a 'Go in unto Pharaoh'). It may be noticed that in *v.* 6 'And *he* (i.e. Moses) turned,' at the end of the interview with Pharaoh, rather suggests that,

for I have [1]hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, *J*
that I might shew these my signs in the midst of them:
2 and that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy
son's son, [2]what things I have wrought upon Egypt, and my
signs which I have done among them; that ye may know
3 that I am the LORD. And Moses and Aaron went in unto
Pharaoh, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, the God
of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself
before me? let my people go, that they may serve me.
4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to-morrow

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[1] Heb. *made heavy.*

[2] Or, *how I have mocked the Egyptians*

—in accordance with the command in *v.* 1, but against *v.* 3 as it at present stands,—originally Moses alone 'went in' to Pharaoh.

1^{b}. *for* **I** (emph.) *have hardened*] Heb. *made heavy*, the term used by J (see on vii. 13).

shew] Heb. **put**: cf. the synonym, *sām*, 'set,' in *v.* 2.

signs] cf. *v.* 2, vii. 3 (P), viii. 23 (J), Nu. xiv. 11, 22 (JE), and often in Dt. (iv. 34, vi. 22 *al.*); see p. 59. The thought, as ix. 16.

of them] Heb. *of it*, i.e. of the people of Egypt (iii. 20), which, however, has not been previously mentioned. 'Them' is right (so LXX. Pesh. Onk.); but it implies a change of text (בקרבם for בקרבו).

2. *thou*] i.e. Moses, addressed however as the representative of Israel. Cf. the plural *ye* at the end of the verse.

in the ears of thy son, &c.] The story is to be passed on to the children. The interest in the instruction of future generations, as Dt. iv. 9, vi. 7; comp. also ch. xii. 26 f., with the note, and Jud. vi. 13, Ps. xliv. 1, lxxviii. 5—6.

how *I have* **mocked the Egyptians**] so RVm. rightly: cf. 1 S. vi. 6 RVm. (also with reference to the Egyptians), xxxi. 4 RVm. AV. itself has the rend. *mock* in Nu. xxii. 29, Jer. xxxviii. 19. The word used cannot mean 'wrought': in Arabic the corresponding word means to *divert* or *occupy oneself*; the Heb. word is applied in a bad sense, to 'divert oneself at another's expense,' i.e. to *make a toy of*, or, by a slight paraphrase, to *mock*. As used here, 'it is an anthropomorphism which is not consonant with the higher Christian conception of God' (McNeile).

done] better, **set**, as the same verb, also of 'signs' 'set' in Egypt, is actually rendered, Jer. xxxii. 20 AV., RV., Ps. lxxviii. 43 RV., cv. 27 RV. (cf. Is. lxvi. 19).

and *that* (G.-K. § 112^{p}) *ye may know*, &c.] cf. on viii. 10.

3—6. The announcement of the plague to Pharaoh.

4. *to-morrow*] cf. viii. 23, ix. 5, 6, 18.

J will I bring locusts into thy border: and they shall cover 5
the face of the earth, that one shall not be able to see
the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is
escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall
eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field: and 6
thy houses shall be filled, and the houses of all thy servants,
and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers
nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they
were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned, and
went out from Pharaoh. And Pharaoh's servants said unto 7
him, How long shall this man be a snare unto us? let the

locusts] A well-known plague in Palestine and neighbouring countries: see for descriptions both of their immense numbers, and of their ravages, the writer's notes on Joel (in the *Camb. Bible*), pp. 37—39, 48—53, 87—91. They do not however seem to visit Egypt very frequently. Niebuhr (as cited by Kn.) witnessed at Cairo in January a great swarm of locusts blown up by a SW. wind from the Libyan desert: Lepsius (*Letters*, p. 104) describes one in March, coming up also from the SW., which covered the whole country far and near. Denon (*Voyages dans la basse et la haute Égypte*, 1807, i. 287) describes one brought up by the wind from the East, which eventually, when the wind changed, was driven back into the desert.

5. *they shall cover*, &c.] This is literally true of locusts. As Thomson says of an invasion in the Lebanon district, 'Their number was astounding; the whole face of the mountain was black with them' (*Joel*, p. 89).

face] Heb. *eye*. A peculiar usage: so *v.* 15, Nu. xxii. 5, 11.

they shall eat, &c.] their voracity is insatiable. Cf. Joel ii. 3, with the passage cited in the writer's note from a traveller, 'On whatever spot they fall, the whole vegetable produce disappears. Nothing escapes them, from the leaves on the forest to the herbs on the plain.'

6. *thy houses shall be filled*, &c.] Cf. Morier, describing an invasion in Persia (*ibid.* p. 89), 'They entered the inmost recesses of the houses, were found in every corner, stuck to our clothes, and infested our food.'

And he turned] i.e. Moses, though Aaron also, according to *v.* 3, had gone in. See the note on *vv.* 1^{b}, 2, at the end.

7—11. The Pharaoh's ministers suggest to him that Moses should no longer be permitted to ruin Egypt. He accordingly makes an attempt to come to terms with Moses; but when Moses declares that the whole people must go to hold the feast to Jehovah, he replies that he can only let the men go. The ministers shew by what they say that they are prompted not by religious fear, but only by solicitude for the welfare of their country, the misfortunes of which they attribute to Moses.

7. *a snare*] fig. for an occasion of destruction. See 1 S. xviii. 21; and cf. on ch. xxiii. 33. Lit. a *fowling-instrument*; and probably, in

men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest *J*
8 thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed? And Moses and
Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto
them, Go, serve the LORD your God: but who are they
9 that shall go? And Moses said, We will go with our young
and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters,
with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must
10 hold a feast unto the LORD. And he said unto them, So
be the LORD with you, as I will let you go, and your little
11 ones: look to it; for evil is [1]before you. Not so: go now
ye that are men, and serve the LORD; for that is what ye
desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.
12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand *E*
over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come
up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land,
13 even all that the hail hath left. And Moses stretched forth

[1] Or, *what ye purpose* Heb. *before your face.*

fact, not a 'snare' (i.e. a noose; Germ. *Schnur*, a 'string') at all, but the trigger of a trap with the bait upon it[1].

destroyed] i.e. *ruined*, viz. through all the calamities that have visited it.

8. *again*] **back**, a frequent sense of 'again' in Old English.

9. *a feast unto the LORD*] more naturally, **Jehovah's feast**.

10. The Pharaoh's good wishes are of course intended ironically (cf. Am. v. 14): *Jehovah be with you*, and protect you, *as* assuredly as *I will let you go*, i.e. not at all.

for evil is before you] i.e. is contemplated by you, is *what ye purpose* (marg.): lit. is *before your faces*. The 'evil' is their intention of leaving Egypt altogether.

11. *men*] Not the word used in *v.* 7, but one meaning more distinctly men, as opposed to women or children: cf. Dt. xxii. 5 Heb.

for that is what ye desire] viz. to worship Jehovah at a festival, which could be sufficiently observed by men alone (xxiii. 17).

And they were driven, &c.] With this *ultimatum*, that only the men might go, the interview abruptly terminates.

12, 13^a (E). The locusts are brought at the signal given by Moses with his rod. Cf. ix. 22, 23^a, with the note.

12. (even) *all that*, &c.] LXX. Sam. read, *and all the fruit of the trees that*, &c., perhaps rightly: cf. *v.* 15, and ix. 25 *end.*

13^b (J). The sequel of *v.* 11 in J: cf. ix. 23^b, similarly after an insertion from E.

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[1] This *must* be the meaning, if the Mass. text of Am. iii. 5^a ('Will a bird fall into a trap upon the earth, when there is no *mōkēsh* for it?') is right; but even though 'into a trap' be omitted with LXX., it still (in spite of *EB.* ii. 1561) seems to be a probable meaning of the word.

J his rod over the land of Egypt, | and the LORD brought an
east wind upon the land all that day, and all the night;
and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.
E J | And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, | and 14
rested in all the borders of Egypt; very grievous were they;
before them there were no such locusts as they, neither
after them shall be such. For they covered the face of the 15
E whole earth, so that the land was darkened; | and they did
eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees
J which the hail had left: | and there remained not any green
thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of
Egypt. Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste; 16
and he said, I have sinned against the LORD your God, and
against you. Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin 17
only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may

brought (first time)] **led** (iii. 1), or **brought along**,—the word used in Ps. lxxviii. 26^b of the wind which brought the quails.

an east wind] so Ps. lxxviii. 26^a, for which the parallel clause has the *south wind*. The word does in fact include winds at least from the SE. The 'east wind' commonly denotes the violent and scorching **sirocco** (from Arab. *sherḳîyeh*, 'eastern'), often described as 'drying up' vegetation, &c. (Ez. xvii. 10, xix. 12, Hos. xiii. 15); hence the Vulg. here has 'ventus *urens*.' 'That the wind brings locusts is stated by ancient and modern authorities alike, e.g. Agatharc. p. 42, Strabo, xvi. p. 772, Diod. Sic. iii. 28, Shaw, *Travels* (1738), p. 256' (Kn.).

brought (second time)] more exactly, **bore along**; cf. 1 K. xviii. 12 ('carried'). For the construction of the Heb., cf. Gen. xix. 23, xliv. 3; and see G.-K. § 164^b, or the writer's *Heb. Tenses*, §§ 167—9.

14. *went up*] **came** *up* (*v.* 12).

borders (Heb. *border*)] i.e. *territory*, as viii. 2, x. 4, 19 (cf. p. 56).

grievous] viii. 24, ix. 3, 18, 24.

before them, &c.] cf. *v.* 6^b, ix. 18^b, 24^b, xi. 6^b; and p. 56.

15. *was darkened*] i.e. hidden (cf. *v.* 5) by the multitude of locusts resting upon it. Cf. the description of Thomson, cited on *v.* 5, 'the whole face of the mountain was black with them'; and of the Jaffa invasion in 1865 (*Joel*, p. 90), 'in parts they covered the ground for miles to a height of several inches.'

not any green thing] cf. the last note on *v.* 5.

16, 17. Such terrible ravages move the Pharaoh to confess his sin, in stronger terms than before (ix. 27); he prays for forgiveness, and for a fourth time intreats for the removal of the plague (cf. viii. 8, 28, ix. 28).

17. *only this once*] Gen. xviii. 32.

18 take away from me this death only. And he went out from *J*
19 Pharaoh, and intreated the Lord. And the Lord turned an
exceeding strong west wind, which took up the locusts, and
drove them into the Red Sea; there remained not one
20 locust in all the border of Egypt. | But the Lord [1]hardened *E*
Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.
21 And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand
toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of
22 Egypt, [2]even darkness which may be felt. And Moses
stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a
23 thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days; they saw
not one another, neither rose any from his place for three
days: but all the children of Israel had light in their

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[1] Heb. *made strong*. [2] Or, *so that men shall grope in darkness*

this death only] only this terribly destructive pest. The term 'death' depicts vividly the consternation which the Pharaoh feels at it.

18, 19. At Moses' entreaty, the locusts are removed.

19. *turned*, &c.] i.e. caused by a change a west wind to blow.

west wind] Heb. a *sea-wind*. The 'west' is regularly in Heb. the *sea* (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 14, &c.). The idiom must have formed itself in Palestine, where the 'sea' was on the west. It is a common fate of locust swarms to be driven away by the wind, and to perish in the sea. Cf. Joel ii. 20, with the writer's note (p. 60). Pliny (*H.N.* xi. 35) writes, 'Gregatim sublatae vento in maria aut stagna decidunt.' The swarm described by Denon (on *v.* 4) was driven back by a change of wind into the desert on the East.

20. But again, after the removal of the plague, the result was the same as before, and the Pharaoh would not let the people go. The expression, as elsewhere in E (iv. 21^{b}, ix. 35, x. 27).

21—27. The *ninth* plague. The darkness. From E and J.

21. *Stretch out*, &c.] addressed to *Moses*, as ix. 22, x. 12 (both E).

even darkness which may be felt] lit. *so that one may feel darkness* (LXX. *ψηλαφητὸν σκότος*; Vulg. *tam densae ut palpari queant*). The marg. 'feel (or grope) *in* darkness' is not favoured by the Heb.

23. *but*, &c.] What is here described is evidently miraculous: but it is said that the sand-clouds of the *Ḥamsîn* (see below) sometimes travel in streaks, so that parts of the country may escape them.

The darkness was no doubt occasioned really by a *sand-storm*, produced by the hot electrical wind called the *Ḥamsîn*, which in Egypt blows in most years intermittently,—usually for two or three days at a time,—from the S., SE., or SW. during some 50 days in spring (hence its name, *ḥamsîn*=fifty). These winds spring up for the most part suddenly: they are violent, and often as hot as 'the air of an oven';

J dwellings. | And Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said, Go 24
ye, serve the LORD; only let your flocks and your herds be
stayed: let your little ones also go with you. And Moses 25
said, Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt
offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the LORD our God.
Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be 26
left behind; for thereof must we take to serve the LORD our
God; and we know not with what we must serve the LORD,
E until we come thither. | But the LORD [1]hardened Pharaoh's 27
J heart, and he would not let them go. | And Pharaoh said 28

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[1] Heb. *made strong.*

and they frequently raise such an amount of sand and dust as to darken the sun, and even to conceal objects a few yards off. Men and animals alike are greatly distressed by the sand and heat: the sand penetrates everywhere; and while the storm lasts, people are obliged to remain secluded in their houses. On account of the sand and dust, the darkness is really such as 'can be felt.' See R. Pococke, *Description of the East* (1743), i. 195; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte* (1787), i. 55—7; *DB.* iii. 892^{a}; A. B. Edwards, *A thousand miles up the Nile*^{2} (1889), ch. v, p. 76 f.; Rosenm. *Schol. ad loc.* (a sandstorm, *c.* 1100, producing darkness so intense that it was thought the end of the world had come); Denon [above, p. 79], i. 285 f.; and a photograph in the *Ill. London News*, Feb. 17, 1906.

24—26. The Pharaoh now summons Moses again, and offers a greater concession than before (*vv.* 8—11): the entire people may go; only their flocks and herds must be left behind (as a security for their return). But Moses will not listen to such a compromise. The passage must belong to the same source as *vv.* 8—11 (J).

25. Thou also *must*, &c.] The pron. is emphatic. Pharaoh, besides letting the Israelites' cattle go, must also himself contribute to the sacrifices which will be offered. By 'sacrifices' (lit. *slaughterings*) are meant the most common kind of sacrifice, called elsewhere for distinction 'peace-offerings' (see on xx. 24): they are often, esp. in the historical books, mentioned together with burnt-offerings (see *ibid.*).

sacrifice] Heb. *do*,—used in a sacrificial sense, like ῥέζειν and *facere*, and the Ass. *epêshu*. So xxix. 36, 38, Dt. xii. 27, 1 K. iii. 15, and frequently (the instances in the OT. have been collected by the writer in *DB.* s.v. OFFER, OFFERING, No. 7, iii. 588^{b}).

26. The Israelites' own cattle must go as well: because until they reach their destination they do not know how many sacrifices will be required.

and **we** *know not*] The pron. is emphatic.

27. The result is the same as in *v.* 20.

28, 29 (J). The original sequel of *v.* 26 (J). The Pharaoh is greatly angered at Moses' persistency; and declares peremptorily that he

unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my *J*
face no more; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt
29 die. And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; I will see
thy face again no more.

11 And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet one plague more *E*
will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he
will let you go hence: [1]when he shall let you go, he shall
2 surely thrust you out hence altogether. Speak now in the
ears of the people, and let them ask every man of his
neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of
3 silver, and jewels of gold. And the LORD gave the people
favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man

[1] Or, *when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence*

will never admit him to his presence again. In the existing text of Exodus, Moses is admitted to the Pharaoh's presence again, viz. to deliver the message xi. 4—8 after he had received the command contained in xi. 1—3: the difficulty is removed by the supposition that originally xi. 4—8 was the immediate sequel of x. 28, 29, and that the connexion was interrupted by the compiler's insertion of xi. 1—3 from E.

28. *from me*] Heb. *from upon me*, i.e. from being a trouble to me; cf. Gen. xiii. 11, Nu. xx. 21, 2 S. xiii. 17 (*Lex.* p. 759^{a}). Not the 'from' [Heb. *from with* = παρὰ with a gen.] of viii. 12, 29, 30, ix. 33, x. 6, 18, xi. 8.

see my face] i.e. be admitted to my presence; cf. Gen. xliii. 3, 2 S. xiv. 24, 28, 2 K. xxv. 19.

xi. **1—8.** Announcement of the last plague. From J and E.

1—3 (E). The sequel to x. 27 (E).

1. *plague*] Heb. *néga'*, from *nāga'*, to *touch*; lit. (severe) *touch* or *stroke*, Gen. xii. 17, 1 K. viii. 37, 38, Ps. xxxix. 10; most commonly, of the severe *stroke* of leprosy (Lev. xiii.—xiv.). Not the word used in ix. 14, or xii. 13: see p. 58.

when, &c.] the marg. is preferable: when he does let you go altogether (without, for instance, keeping back the flocks and herds, x. 24), he will be glad to be rid of you, and will even *thrust you out*: see xii. 39, also xii. 33, vi. 1 Heb.

2, 3^{a}. Before the last plague comes, the Israelites are to make the request of the Egyptians, as directed in iii. 21, 22; cf. xii. 35, 36.

2. *every man*] in iii. 22 only the *women* are to make the request.

and jewels of gold] LXX. Sam. add *and raiment* (as iii. 22, xii. 35). It must be supplied, or understood, from xii. 36, to be included.

3^{a}. *gave*, &c.] according to the promise of iii. 21^{a}; cf. xii. 36.

3^{b}. Cf. Nu. xii. 3 'Now the man Moses was very meek,' &c.; also,

E Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of
Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.
J And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About midnight 4
will I go out into the midst of Egypt: and all the firstborn 5
in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh
that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the
maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of
cattle. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the 6
land of Egypt, such as there hath been none like it, nor
shall be like it any more. But against any of the children 7
of Israel shall not a dog [1]move his tongue, against man or
beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a
difference between the Egyptians and Israel. And all these 8

for 'the man Moses,' Gen. xix. 9, Jud. xvii. 5, 1 S. i. 21, 1 K. xi. 28, Est. ix 4.

was very great, &c.] on account viz. of the wonders wrought by him. The words suggest a reason why the Egyptians acceded the more readily to the Israelites' request.

4—8 (J). The sequel,—and once, probably, the immediate sequel,—to x. 28, 29 (J): see the note there.

4. *And Moses said*] viz., as *v.* 8^b shews, to the Pharaoh.

5. *the mill*] The Heb. word is a *dual*, properly, no doubt, *the two mill-stones* (though the root-meaning of *rēḥaim* is not known). The reference is to the *hand-mill*, consisting of two circular stones, 18 inches or two feet in diameter, the lower one being fixed on the ground, while the upper one is turned round by a woman—or sometimes (cf. Mt. xxiv. 41) by two women—kneeling or sitting beside it. The mill is fed by grain being poured in through an opening in the centre of the upper stone. The hand-mill is still in daily use in practically every household in an Eastern village. In the houses of the rich, the work of the mill fell to the female slaves; cf. Is. xlvii. 2 where the command to 'take the mill-stones and grind meal' is a prophecy of impending slavery. Captives were also sometimes compelled to do the same work (Jud. xiv. 21, Lam. v. 13).

of cattle] comp. on ix. 6, 19.

6. *such as*, &c.] cf. ix. 18^b, 24^b, x. 6^b, 14^b; and p. 56.

7. *shall not a dog* whet *his tongue*] A proverbial expression, implying that not only should they suffer no actual harm, but no unfriendly sound should even be heard against them. Cf. Judith xi. 19; and, with 'no man' as subject, Jos. x. 21.

that ye may know, &c.] cf. on viii. 10, and p. 56.

put a difference] in the Heb. a single word, the verb rendered 'sever' in viii. 22, ix. 4.

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[1] Heb. *whet*.

thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down *J*
themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people
that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went
out from Pharaoh in hot anger.

9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not *P*
hearken unto you: that my wonders may be multiplied in
10 the land of Egypt. And Moses and Aaron did all these
wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD [1]hardened Pharaoh's
heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go out of his
land.

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[1] Heb. *made strong.*

8. Then the Pharaoh's ministers themselves will come humbly to Moses, and beg him and his people to leave Egypt; cf. xii. 31—33.

come down] 'from the palace, where the writer thinks of the ministers as assembled, after hearing the tidings of the calamity, and which he pictures as elevated above the surrounding city and country (cf. 2 S. xi. 9, 2 K. vi. 33, vii. 17)' (Di. from Kn.).

Get thee out, &c.] simply, **Go** *out*, *thou and all*, &c.

that follow thee] Heb. *that are at thy feet*: Dt. xi. 10 Heb., Jud. iv. 10, viii. 5 Heb. *al.*

in hot anger] viz. on account of what the Pharaoh had said, x. 27, 28. The expression, as 1 S. xx. 34 *al.*

9—10. The close of P's account of the 'portents' hitherto done before the Pharaoh. They had failed to produce any effect upon the king; and more, and more convincing ones, must in consequence follow.

9. *wonders*] **portents**, as vii. 3 (see on iv. 21). The whole verse is nearly the same as vii. 4ᵃ, 3ᵇ; but, if it is in its right place, the 'portents' here can be only those which happened subsequently to the ninth plague. (The rend. as a pluperfect, *had said*, is contrary to grammar.)

10. *these* **portents**] The 'portents' described before in P (vii. 8—13, and the 'plagues' narrated by P), not those referred to in *v.* 9. 'It is only in P that Moses *and Aaron* do the signs, and that *before Pharaoh*, vii. 9, ix. 8' (Di.).

but Jehovah *hardened*, &c., emphasizing the fact that the portents had had no effect upon the Pharaoh. Cf. p. 53 f.

hardened] lit. *made strong*: P's expression (see on vii. 13).

did not let, &c.] cf. vi. 11ᵇ, vii. 2ᵇ (both P).

P And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land **12**
of Egypt, saying, This month shall be unto you the begin- 2
ning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to

CHAPTERS XII.—XIII.

The last Plague. The departure from Egypt. Laws relating to the Passover, Mazzoth, and the First-born. Journey to Etham.

Regulations for the observance of the Passover, xii. 1—13 (P), and of the feast of *Mazzoth* (i.e. Unleavened Cakes), xii. 14—20 (P); communication to the people by Moses of directions (not the same as those given to him in xii. 1—13) for the observance of the Passover, xii. 21—28 (J); the death of the Egyptian first-born, and preparations of the Israelites for the Exodus, xii. 29—36 (J and E); their journey from Rameses to Succoth, xii. 37—42 (E and P); supplementary regulations respecting the Passover, xii. 43—51 (P); the dedication of the first-born to Jehovah, xiii. 1—2 (P); promulgation by Moses to the people of directions respecting the feast of *Mazzoth*, xiii. 3—10 (J), and the dedication of the first-born, xiii. 11—16 (J); the journey from Succoth to Etham, xiii. 17—22. The double origin of the laws in this section of Exodus is particularly evident; the marks of P in the passages assigned to him are very numerous and clear; and regulations respecting the Passover, *Mazzoth*, and the first-born, are all given in duplicate. xii. 25—27ᵃ, xiii. 3, 5, 8—9, 11, 14—16 may be parenetic expansions of the original text by the compiler of JE: they approximate in style and tone to Deuteronomy. Cf. the Introd. p. xvii.

xii. **1—13.** Regulations for the Passover, according to P.

1. *unto Moses and Aaron*] Together, as often in P: *v.* 43, vii. 8, ix. 8, Nu. ii. 1 *al.*

in the land of Egypt] The locality is specified, because this and the following regulations are the only ones stated to have been given in Egypt.

2. *This month*, &c.] The 'month' is the one corresponding to our Mar.—Apr., called in J and E (xiii. 4, xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18) and Dt. (xvi. 1) 'Abib,' and in the later post-exilic writings (Neh. ii. 1, Esth. iii. 7) by its Bab. name, *Nisan*. P never, like the older pre-exilic writers, calls the months by their Canaanitish or Phoenician names, Abib (*ll.cc.*), Ziv (1 K. vi. 1, 37), Ethanim (*ib.* viii. 2), Bul (*ib.* vi. 38); but, as do the late parts of Kings (1 K. xii. 32, 33 [compiler], 2 K. xxv. 1, 3, 8, 25, 27), Jer. (i. 3, xxviii. 1, 17, xxxvi. 22 *al.*), Ezek. (i. 1, viii. 1 *al.*), Hag. (i. 1, 15, ii. 1), Zech. (i. 1, 7, vii. 1, 3), and Chron., denotes them by *numbers* (Ex. xvi. 1, xix. 1, xl. 1, Lev. xvi. 29, &c.). The old Hebrew year began in *autumn* (Ex. xxiii. 16; cf. xxxiv. 22, 1 S. i. 20); and P here refers the later custom of beginning it in spring (see Jer. xxxvi. 22) to the time of the institution of the Passover in Egypt. The Bab. year began in spring; but whether the Hebrew

3 you. Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, *P*
In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to them every
man a [1]lamb, according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for
4 an household: and if the household be too little for a lamb,
then shall he and his neighbour next unto his house take
one according to the number of the souls; according to
every man's eating ye shall make your count for the lamb.

[1] Or, *kid*

custom was due to Bab. influence is uncertain. The earliest *clear* cases of the Heb. year beginning in spring are in the dates quoted above from Kings and Jer.; but 2 K. xix. 29 (=Is. xxxvii. 30) perhaps presupposes it. As the passages from Kings and Jer. shew, the reckoning from spring was more than a merely *ecclesiastical* calendar, it was used also for dating civil events. See further Nowack, *Arch.* i. 217 ff., *DB.* iv. 764; *EB.* iv. 5365 f.; König, *ZDMG.* lvi. (1906), p. 624 ff. There is a survival in P of the old mode of reckoning in the first day of the *seventh* month being celebrated as New Year's day (Lev. xxiii. 24).

3. *the congregation*] P's standing expression for Israel, as an organized religious community, or 'church.' It occurs in P more than 100 times, usually alone ('the congregation'), sometimes with the addition of 'of Israel' (as here, *vv.* 6, 47, Lev. iv. 13), or 'of the children of Israel' (xvi. 1, 2, &c.). Except in P and the allied narrative of Jos. xxii., it occurs in the historical books only in Jud. xxi. 10, 13, 16, 1 K. viii. 5 (not in LXX.) =2 Ch. v. 6, 1 K. xii. 20.

the tenth day] perhaps (Di. Bä.) some sanctity attached to the day which closed the first decade of the month: the 10th day of the seventh month was the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxiii. 27); in Islam, also, as Di. observes, the 10th day of the 12th month is the day of the great sacrifice at the Mecca pilgrimage; cf. Benzinger, *Arch.*^{2} p. 169.

a lamb] The Heb. *seh* denotes a single head of the *tsōn*, or smaller cattle (including both sheep and goats), without reference to age or sex; and may be used of either a sheep or a goat (hence RVm.): see *v.* 5^b; and comp. Nu. xv. 11^b (*lit.* 'or for a *seh* among the lambs or the goats'), Dt. xiv. 4^b (*lit.* 'the *seh* of lambs and the *seh* of goats').

fathers' houses] A 'father's house' is a common expression in P and Chr. for a *family*: see on vi. 14.

a lamb for an household] The Passover was to be a *domestic* institution: each lamb was to be partaken of only by members of one family, or (in the case provided for in *v.* 4) of two families living side by side.

4. *too little for a lamb*] According to the later Jews, fewer than ten (cf. Jos. *BJ.* vi. 9. 3; and Targ. Ps.-Jon. here), in accordance with the Rabb. exegesis of Nu. xiv. 27, that ten was the smallest number that could constitute a 'congregation' (the 'congregation' there being interpreted of the ten murmuring spies).

according to every man's eating, &c.] In determining the number of

P Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: 5
ye shall take it from the sheep, or from the goats: and ye 6
shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month:
and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall

persons sufficient for one lamb, you are to be guided by the usual measure or amount of their eating,—according, for example, as they are adults or children, healthy or infirm, &c.

5. Characteristics of the animal chosen: it is to be (1) *without blemish* (like sacrificial animals in general, Dt. xvii. 1, Lev. xxii. 19, 21 [H]); (2) a *male*, as superior to a female, and therefore more appropriate as an offering to Jehovah (so for burnt-offerings, in H and P, Lev. i. 3, 10, xxii. 19: for peace- and sin-offerings females were allowed); (3) one year old (cf. the same regulation xxix. 38, Lev. ix. 3, and elsewhere); (4) either a lamb or a kid (cf. on *v.* 3); later usage declared in favour of a lamb.

of the first year] Heb. 'the son of a year.' The meaning is disputed. The Rabbis interpret *of the first year*, i.e. from 8 days old (Lev. xxii. 27 H) to a full year; modern commentators generally, *a year old* (LXX. ἐνιαύσιος). The Hebrew idiom (of human beings as well as of animals) occurs constantly (Gen. xxi. 4, 5, xxv. 26, &c.): the same age as here is appointed for sacrifices, esp. for burnt-offerings, Lev. ix. 3, xii. 6 ('a son of *its* year'), xxiii. 12, 18, 19, and elsewhere.

6. *ye shall keep it up*] Heb. *it shall be to you for a keeping*: cf. xvi. 23, 32—34, Nu. xvii. 10 [Heb. 25], xix. 9.

the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel] Cf. for the pleonasm Nu. xiv. 5.

between the two evenings] one of P's technical expressions: of the Passover, as here, Lev. xxiii. 5, Nu. ix. 3, 5, 11; of the time for offering the evening burnt-offering, Ex. xxix. 39, 41, Nu. xxviii. 4, 8; of the time for lighting the lamps in the Tabernacle, Ex. xxx. 8; and Ex. xvi. 12†. The meaning is disputed. (1) Onkelos renders בין שמשיא 'between the two suns,' which is explained in the Talm. to mean the time between sunset and the stars becoming visible; cf. Ibn Ezra (as cited by Kalisch), 'We have two evenings; the first, sunset, the second, the ceasing of the light which is reflected in the clouds; and the interval between them is about an hour and 20 minutes' (so Ges. Keil). The Italian astronomer, Schiaparelli (*Astronomy in the O.T.*, 1905, p. 92 f.), arrives at nearly the same explanation. He supposes that the expression arose out of the custom of watching for the first appearance of the crescent moon to mark the beginning of the new month; and thinks that the 'first' evening would be the half-hour between sunset and the average time at which in the latitude of Palestine the crescent moon would appear, and that the 'second' evening would be the hour afterwards, from the appearance of the crescent to complete darkness: '*between* the two evenings' would thus mark the time about half-an-hour after sunset. Cf. Dt. xvi. 6, where the Passover is to be sacrificed 'at

7 kill it [1]at even. And they shall take of the blood, and put *P*
it on the two side posts and on the lintel, upon the houses
8 wherein they shall eat it. And they shall eat the flesh in
that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; with

[1] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

the going down of the sun,' i.e. at sunset. (2) Saadiah (d. A.D. 942), Rashi and Kimchi understand the 'first' evening to be the time when the sun first begins to decline to the west, and the shadows begin to lengthen, and the 'second' evening to be the beginning of night. But this interpretation gives a very forced sense to the 'first' evening. (3) The traditional explanation, adopted by the Pharisees and the Talmudists (*Pesāḥim* 61^a) was that the 'first' evening was when the heat of the sun begins to decrease, about 3 P.M., and that the 'second' evening began with sunset. So Josephus (*BJ.* vi. 9. 3) says that in his day the Passover was sacrificed 'from the 9th to the 11th hour' (i.e. from 3 to 5 P.M.). The Mishna (*Pesāḥim* v. 1) seems to imply that the Passover was usually killed half-an-hour after the 8th hour, i.e. at 2.30 P.M.[1]: the time however appears to have been variable; for *ibid.* § 3 it is merely said that if offered 'before *noon*,' it was not valid. (1) is the most natural explanation of the Heb. expression, and has also the support of Dt. xvi. 6: but (3) is certainly the sense that was traditionally attached to it.

7. The blood of the slain lamb to be applied to the doorposts and lintel of the house in which it is eaten,—as it were, to consecrate the house, and protect its inmates against destruction. This rite is probably a survival of an earlier, perhaps pre-Yahwistic stage, of usage. The Bedawin of the present day, when a new house is dedicated, sprinkle its doors and front with the blood of a goat slaughtered at the ceremony. See p. 411; and Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (1909), p. 180.

8. *in that* (Heb. *this*) *night*] the night between the 14th and the 15th.

roast with fire] over the fire, on a spit, not in an oven.

unleavened **cakes**] not 'bread,' for the Heb. word is *plural.* They were a kind of biscuit, which could be baked rapidly, as for an unexpected visitor (Gen. xix. 3, Jud. vi. 19—21, 1 S. xxviii. 24), or when there was no time to use leaven (below, *v.* 39); and they are still the ordinary food of the Bedawin. They were used in other ritual besides that of the Passover (*v.* 15, xxix. 2, Lev. ii. 4, vii. 12, Nu. vi. 15 *al.*). Unleavened cakes are now usually made in Syria by the thin dough being clapped on to the heated interior side of the *tannūr* (viii. 3), after the embers have been removed: they may be thinner than pasteboard, and 1–1½ ft. in diameter (*EB.* s.v. BREAD; *L. and B.* iii. 219). The unleavened cakes made by modern Jews for the Passover are round, about ¼ in. thick, and 12 in. in diameter (*Jewish Encycl.* viii. 394).

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[1] In Ex. xxix. 39, 41 'between the two evenings' is also assigned as the time at which the daily burnt-offering was to be offered: when the two collided, the daily burnt-offering was offered an hour earlier (slaughtered, half-an-hour after the 7th hour, and sacrificed half-an-hour after the 8th hour), *Pes.* v. 1.

P bitter herbs they shall eat it. Eat not of it raw, nor sodden 9
at all with water, but roast with fire; its head with its legs
and with the inwards thereof. And ye shall let nothing of 10
it remain until the morning; but that which remaineth of it
until the morning ye shall burn with fire. And thus shall ye 11

For the probable reason why leavened bread was avoided, see on xxiii. 18^{a}. In Dt. xvi. 3 the unleavened cakes (of the Passover and *Maẓẓoth* together) are called the 'bread of affliction,' and explained symbolically as a memorial of the mingled hurry and alarm (*ḥippāẓōn*) with which the Israelites left Egypt (cf. below, *vv.* 11, 34, 39), and as adapted to lead Israel to a grateful recollection of its deliverance.

bitter herbs] only besides Nu. ix. 11 (also of the Passover); and Lam. iii. 15 (fig. of severe suffering). LXX. *πικρίδες*, which is differently explained by the ancients (see Kn. *ap.* Di.; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 173) as meaning either *wild lettuce* (cf. Vulg. *lactuca agrestis*) or *wild endive*,—both plants indigenous in Egypt and Syria. The Mishna (*Pes.* ii. 6) mentions five species of herbs any one of which would satisfy the present injunction: lettuce, wild endive, garden endive (?), nettles, and bitter coriander (?). The intention of the bitter herbs is uncertain: perhaps they were meant simply as a condiment, or salad: the later Jews (Gamaliel in *Pesāḥim* x. 5; Rashi) explained them as a memorial of the Israelites' lives being 'made bitter' in bondage (ch. i. 14).

9. *Eat not of it raw*] lest the blood should be eaten at the same time, against the standing prohibition, Lev. vii. 26 f., xvii. 10—12, &c.

nor **boiled** *at all with water*] Sacrifices partaken of by the worshipper are elsewhere regularly represented as boiled: see (in P) Ex. xxix. 31, Lev. vi. 28, viii. 31, Nu. vi. 19; cf. also 1 S. ii. 15, Zech. xiv. 21, and the 'boiling-places' in Ezekiel's restored Temple, Ez. xlvi. 20, 24: there must thus be some reason for roasting being here so emphatically enjoined. What the reason was must remain matter of conjecture. Di. thinks that it was because in this case the fat (which might not be eaten, Lev. iii. 17, vii. 23—25, and had not, as in the case of the peace-offering, been removed previously, and burnt upon the altar, Lev. iii. 3—5, 9—11, 14—16) might drip down and be consumed in the fire. G. F. Moore, art. SACRIFICE in *EB.* iv. 4187, thinks it a survival of archaic usage. 'In the earliest times the carcase of the victim was probably roasted whole either over an open fire, or in a pit in the earth (as by the modern Samaritans), and the flesh sometimes eaten half raw or merely softened by fire. Dt. xvi. 7 (see RVm.) prescribes that it shall be boiled, like other sacrifices partaken of by the worshipper. This, however, did not prevail; and P preserves the primitive custom.'

its head with, &c.] i.e. it is not to be divided (like the burnt-offering, for instance, xxix. 17, Lev. i. 8, 9), but to be roasted whole (cf. *v.* 46).

10. Nothing of it to be left over to the morning. An injunction given generally in the case of sacrifices, and intended to guard against

eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, *P*
and your staff in your hand: and ye shall eat it in haste:
12 it is the LORD's passover. For I will go through the
land of Egypt in that night, and will smite all the first-
born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and
against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgements:
13 I am the LORD. And the blood shall be to you for a
token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the
blood, I will pass over you, and there shall no plague be

profanation of the sacred flesh: xxiii. 18=xxxiv. 25; Dt. xvi. 4 (of the Passover); Lev. vii. 15 (cf. *v.* 17).

11. The Israelites are to partake of the Passover completely prepared for their departure.

your loins girded] The long and loose robes of Orientals, when they wish to move rapidly, are fastened up round the waist with a strong girdle: cf. 1 K. xviii. 46, 2 K. iv. 29, ix. 1.

your **sandals** *on your feet*] ready for a journey. Sandals were not worn in the house.

your staff in your hand] a staff was regularly used in walking.

and ye shall eat it in **trepidation**] in mingled hurry and alarm. 'Haste' alone is not adequate: notice the cognate verb in Dt. xx. 3 ('tremble'), 1 S. xxiii. 26, Ps. xlviii. 5 (RVm.). Cf. the same word in Dt. xvi. 3, and Is. lii. 12 (where the coming exodus from Babylon is *not* to be 'in trepidation').

it is a passover (Heb. *pésaḥ*) *to* **Jehovah**. The form of sentence, as *vv.* 27, 42, xxix. 18^a, 18^b, xxx. 10, &c. In *vv.* 13 (see note), 23, 27, the term *pésaḥ* is explained by means of the cognate verb in the sense of *a passing over* (cf. Aq. here ὑπέρβασις); but it is uncertain whether this is the original meaning of the term. The LXX. render by πάσχα, 'pascha,' from the Aramaic form of the word: so in NT. (e.g. Mt. xxvi. 17). The Vulg. has in the OT. *Phase*, in the NT. *Pascha*; hence our adj. 'Paschal.' On the Heb. word, see further p. 408.

12. **And** *I will go through*, &c.] cf. xi. 4.

and against, &c.] cf. Nu. xxxiii. 4 (P); for 'judgements,' also, see on vi. 6.

13. *pass over*] The Heb. is *pāsaḥ*, cognate with *pésaḥ*, 'passover.' Except here, and *vv.* 23, 27, the word occurs only in Is. xxxi. 5 'As birds flying, so will Jehovah protect Jerusalem: he will protect and deliver, he will *pass over* and rescue.' The word is not found in this sense in the cognate languages: there is a presumption that it is the same word as *pāsaḥ*, to *limp* (1 K. xviii. 21, 26); see p. 408.

a token] Cf. xiii. 9, 16, xxxi. 13, 17; Gen. ix. 12, 13, 17, xvii. 11; Jos. ii. 12.

plague] Heb. *négeph* (lit. a *striking* or *blow*), usually of a calamity inflicted on those who have aroused God's anger: xxx. 12, Nu. viii. 19, *P* upon you [1]to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.

And this day shall be unto you for a memorial, and ye shall keep it a feast to the LORD: throughout your generations ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever. 14

[1] Or, *for a destroyer*

xvi. 46, 47, Jos. xxii. 17 (all P). Cf. the cogn. verb ('smite'), *vv.* 23, 27, viii. 2, xxxii. 35, Jos. xxiv. 5 ('plagued'). Not the word rendered 'plague' in xi. 1; but cognate with *maggēphāh*, ix. 14: see p. 58.

to destroy you] This is a paraphrase: the Heb. may be rendered either (RVm.) *for a destroyer* (cf. *v.* 23), or *for destruction* (cf. Ez. v. 16, ix. 6 RVm.). As P regards Jehovah as the destroyer (*v.* 12), the latter rend. is preferable (Di.).

On the history and significance of the Passover, see further p. 405 ff. By Di. and others the Passover is thought to have been originally a pre-Mosaic spring-offering of propitiation and communion with the Deity, offered annually for the purpose of protecting tents and flocks from pestilence or other misfortune during the coming year, and of renewing by the common sacred meal a sense of communion with the Deity: the observance was gradually associated by tradition with the deliverance of Israel from the plague which attacked the Egyptians; and it thus became an annual commemoration of the Exodus.

14—20. Regulations for the pilgrimage of *Maẓẓoth* (or Unleavened Cakes) according to P. Unless the writer has expressed himself loosely, *vv.* 14—20 can hardly be the original sequel of *vv.* 1—13: as Di. observes, not only is there nothing in *vv.* 1—13 to which 'this day' in *vv.* 14, 17 can refer, but a memorial day (*v.* 14) would not be appointed before the event which it was to commemorate had taken place, and *v.* 17 speaks of this as *past*: it is possible, therefore, that in the original text of P *vv.* 14—20 stood somewhere after *v.* 41, perhaps before *v.* 50. The feast of *Maẓẓoth*, though it followed immediately after the Passover, was quite distinct from it (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6): it lasted (*v.* 15) seven days. Its original intention was in all probability to celebrate the beginning of harvest: cf. p. 241, and on xxiii. 15[a].

14. *this day*] not, as might seem at first sight, the 14th of the month, the day on which the Passover was observed, but the 15th, the first day of the feast of *Maẓẓoth*.

a memorial] viz. of the Exodus (*v.* 17): 'memorial,' as Nu. xvi. 40, Jos. iv. 7.

a feast] *a* **pilgrimage** (see on v. 1): as xxiii. 15, 17 shew, a pilgrimage to a sanctuary was an essential feature in the feast of *Maẓẓoth*.

throughout your generations...an ordinance for ever] both standing expressions of P. 'Ordinance for ever' (*ḥoḳ 'ōlām*, also rendered 'statute for ever,' 'perpetual statute') recurs *v.* 17, xxvii. 21, xxviii. 43, xxix. 9, and 17 times in Lev., Nu. 'Generations' (*dōrōth*) means *successive* generations: cf. *v.* 42, xxvii. 21, xxx. 10, 21, xxxi. 13, 16, xl. 15.

15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first *P*
day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for who-
soever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the
16 seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. And in

15. *Seven days*] from the 15th to the 21st of the first month.

unleavened **cakes**] See on *v.* 8. So *vv.* 17, 18, 20 (on *v.* 39, see note).

even] rather, **surely**: cf. in the Heb. xxxi. 13, Lev. xxiii. 27, 39, Nu. i. 49.

put away] Heb. *make to cease.* The later Hebrews were very punctilious in carrying out this injunction; and even before the Passover (which was also eaten with unleavened cakes, *v.* 8), the house was elaborately searched with candles in order to discover and remove any 'leaven' (i.e. fermented dough, or certain articles made of fermented grain: see *EB.* iii. 2753) that might be in it (*Pesāḥim* i.—iii.). See an illustration of the search for leaven, from a drawing of 1725, in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ix. 548; or, on a smaller scale, in Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (1907), p. 210.

leaven] Heb. *s^{e}'ôr*,—in practice (see LEAVEN in *EB.*; cf. i. 604), a piece of sour (i.e. fermented) dough, reserved for the purpose from the previous day's baking.

Leaven was regarded as produced by corruption (cf. on xxiii. 18^{a}, and Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 109 'Now leaven is itself the offspring of corruption, and corrupts the lump (*φύραμα*) with which it is mixed'); and so in the NT. it becomes a figure of corrupt teaching or practice, Mt. xvi. 6 (=Mk. viii. 15=Lk. xii. 1), 11: St Paul twice quotes the saying, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump' (1 Cor. v. 6, Gal. v. 9), with reference to moral corruption: and in 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, with evident reference to the injunction here, bids Christians 'clear away the old leaven,' and 'keep the feast' of their Passover, Christ (i.e. live the Christian life), with the 'unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

that soul shall be cut off from Israel] a formula, with slight variations (as *he* or *that man* for *that soul*; and *from his father's kin* or *from the congregation* for *from Israel*), very common in P: *v.* 19, Gen. xvii. 14, Ex. xxx. 37, 38, xxxi. 14, Lev. vii. 20, 21, 25, 27, xvii. 4, 9, xviii. 29, xix. 8, xx. 17, 18, xxii. 3, xxiii. 29, Nu. ix. 13, xv. 30, 31, xix. 13, 20† (cf. with the first person, *I will cut off*..., Lev. xvii. 10, xx. 3, 5, 6†; *I will destroy*..., Lev. xxiii. 30†). The offence for which this is the penalty is usually neglect of some ceremonial observance, and only occasionally a moral offence, or idolatry. The punishment intended is not death by the civil power (which would be out of the question in many of the cases in which 'cutting off' is prescribed, and which is moreover denoted regularly by the formula, 'shall be put to death'), but excommunication (cf. Ezr. x. 8), combined with a threat of divine interposition to root out the evil-doer, as is clear from the variants in which the first person is used (Di. on Gen. xvii. 14).

P the first day there shall be to you an holy convocation, and
in the seventh day an holy convocation; no manner of work
shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat,
that only may be done of you. And ye shall observe the 17
feast of unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I
brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall
ye observe this day throughout your generations by an
ordinance for ever. In the first *month*, on the fourteenth 18
day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread,
until the one and twentieth day of the month at even.
Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: 19
for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, that soul shall
be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be

16. On the first and seventh day there was also to be a 'holy convocation,' i.e. an assembly at the sanctuary for religious purposes. The expression occurs besides only in the two calendars of P, Lev. xxiii. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37, Nu. xxviii. 18, 25, 26, xxix. 1, 7, 12; and, without 'holy,' Is. i. 13, iv. 5 (EVV., each time, 'assemblies'). The assembly was 'called' together by silver trumpets (see Nu. x. 2 [where 'calling' is in the Heb. the same as 'convocation' here], 3, 7, cf. 10): Kalisch reminds us how in Mohammedan countries festivals are announced by heralds from conspicuous places, especially the towers of mosques.

save that which, &c.] The prohibition of work was thus not as strict as for the sabbath (xvi. 23, xxxv. 3), or the day of atonement (Lev. xxiii. 28). Cf. Lev. xxiii. 7, 8.

17—20. The essential parts of the institution repeated and insisted on again, in P's manner; see on vi. 27.

17. *selfsame day*] A peculiar expression,—lit. *the bone* (i.e. *the substance*) *of the day*, the day itself, the very day (cf. xxiv. 10 'the heaven *itself*,' and Job xxi. 23 Heb.),—found only in P (*vv.* 41, 47, 51, Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23, 26 *al.*) and Ezek. (ii. 3, xxiv. 2, xl. 1).

have I brought forth, &c. The pilgrimage is to be observed in commemoration of the day of the Exodus from Egypt. Cf. *v.* 14^{a}.

your hosts] P pictures the Israel of the Exodus as a vast army: see on vi. 26.

throughout, &c.] as *v.* 14^{b}.

18. The more precise determination of the '7 days' of *v.* 15. They were to begin with the evening of the day on which the Passover was killed, and to last till the evening of the 21st day.

19. Repeated, with slight alterations of phraseology, from *v.* 15, and with the new regulation that what has been laid down is to apply equally to the 'sojourner,' or resident foreigner (see on *v.* 48), and to the native Israelite.

20 a sojourner, or one that is born in the land. Ye shall eat *P*
nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.

21 Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said *J*
unto them, [1]Draw out, and take you [2]lambs according to
22 your families, and kill the passover. And ye shall take a
bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the

[1] Or, *Go forth* [2] Or, *kids*

20. *in all your habitations*] i.e. throughout the land generally. Another of P's standing expressions: xxxv. 3, Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xxiii. 3, 14, 21, 31, Nu. xxxv. 29; cf. Ez. vi. 6, 14.

21—27 (J). Moses gives the people directions for the observance of the Passover. As Di. has shewn, the passage cannot be the real sequel to *vv.* 1—13. Moses does not here repeat to the elders, even in an abridged form, the injunctions before received by him; but while, with the one exception of the application of the blood to the lintel and side posts of the door, nearly all of the many particulars laid down in *vv.* 1—13 are omitted, *fresh* points (the hyssop, the basin, none to leave the house till the morning), not mentioned before, are added. The inference is irresistible that xii. 21—23 is really part of a different account (i.e. J's) of the institution of the Passover, which 'stands to xii. 3—13 in the same relation in which the regulations respecting *Mazzoth* in xiii. 3—10 stand to those in xii. 14—20' (Di. p. 100; ed. 2, p. 111).

21. *Draw out*] viz. out of the folds. The intrans. sense *Move along* (RVm. 'Go forth' is much too free), viz. (Di.) to your several homes, to get the lambs, found in Jud. iv. 6, v. 14 (perhaps), xx. 37, Job xxi. 33, is here scarcely suitable.

lambs] Marg. Or, *kids*. See on *v.* 3.

according to your families] If the writer were the same as in *vv.* 1—13, it is hardly likely that he would represent Moses, when communicating his instructions to the people, as taking no notice of the particulars on which such stress is laid in *vv.* 4—6.

the passover] See on *v.* 12. The word is introduced here as if the institution were already well known.

22. *hyssop*] A small plant, growing out of walls (1 K. iv. 33), a wisp of which was well adapted for sprinkling, and is accordingly prescribed to be used in various purificatory rites (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 49—51, Nu. xix. 6, 18 [Heb. ix. 19]: cf. Ps. li. 7). What plant the 'hyssop' is, is, however, disputed; but it is in any case not our hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*, Linn.), which is not a native of Palestine. Saadiah (10 cent.) rendered by *ṣa'tar*, i.e. some species of *satureia*, or (as Kimchi explains) *origanum*, marjoram; so also Abul-Walid, Maimonides, Kimchi; and this explanation is adopted by Ges., Di., and others. The Pesh. *zupha* also means the same plant (Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 93)[1].

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[1] In the Talm. (*Shabb.* 109^{b}), also, the Heb. *'ēzōb* is identified with the Arab. *sumsaḳ*, or marjoram.

J bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the
blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out of
the door of his house until the morning. For the LORD will 23
pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the
blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the LORD
will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to
come in unto your houses to smite you. And ye shall 24
observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons
for ever. And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to 25
the land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath

Post (*DB.* s.v.) thinks that the particular species meant is the *Origanum Maru*, Linn. This grows in clefts of rocks, in chinks of old walls, and on the terrace walls throughout Palestine: it has straight, slender, leafy stalks, with small heads, several of the stalks growing from one root, so that a bunch or wisp suitable for sprinkling a liquid with could readily be broken off. Tristram (*NHB.* 456 ff.) argues in favour of the Caper (*Capparis spinosa*), a bright green creeper, which climbs out of fissures of rocks in the Sinaitic valleys, and hangs in abundance from the walls of Jerusalem, and the stalks of which, bearing from three to five blossoms each, would likewise be suitable for the same purpose; but the former interpretation has very strong support in ancient tradition, and there appears to be no sufficient reason for deserting it[1].

strike the lintel...with, &c.] rather, **apply** *some of the blood* **to** (lit. *make* it *draw near to* or *touch*, as iv. 25) *the lintel* &c.

and none of you, &c.] So as to enjoy the protection of the house sprinkled with the blood. A direction not contained in *vv.* 1—13.

door] Heb. *entrance* (lit. *opening*). So *v.* 23, xxvi. 36, and often.

23. *pass over*] The verb is cognate with *pésaḥ*. See on *v.* 13.

the destroyer] The destroying angel: cf. esp. 2 S. xxiv. 16; also Is. xxxvii. 36. LXX. ὁ ὀλεθρεύων: cf. Heb. xi. 28; and (with allusion to Nu. xvi. 46—50) Wisd. xviii. 25, 1 Cor. x. 10 (ὁ ὀλοθρευτής).

24. The ceremonies prescribed in *vv.* 21, 22 ('this thing') are to be observed in perpetuity, year by year.

25—27^{a}. How, in future years, when Israel is in Canaan, the memory of the deliverance is to be kept alive: the children of successive generations, at the time when the Passover is celebrated, are to be instructed respecting its origin. The verses form one of the parenetic passages in

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[1] The Arab. *'aṣaf*, which Tristram (*NHB.* 457) quotes in support of the caper, does not correspond phonetically to the Heb. *'ēzōb*. In support of marjoram, see esp. Löw's learned discussion in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy (phil. and hist. Classe), 1909, Abh. III.

John xix. 29 ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες (where Mt. xxvii. 48 = Mk. xv. 36 have περιθεὶς καλάμῳ) does not seem to have any bearing on the question which plant is meant. Different traditions may have been current; or the term 'reed' may have been used widely to denote the stalk of either marjoram, which may reach to 3 ft. (Löw, p. 16), or the caper.

26 promised, that ye shall keep this service. And it shall come *J*
to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean
27 ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the
Lord's passover, [1]who passed over the houses of the children
of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and
delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and
28 worshipped. | And the children of Israel went and did so; *P*
as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did
they.

29 And it came to pass at midnight, that the Lord smote *J*
all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of
Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the
captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of
30 cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his
servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry
in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not

[1] Or, *for that he passed*

Exodus (cf. xiii. 8—10, 14—16, xv. 26; and see p. 87), which in style and tone approximate to Deuteronomy, and may be additions due to the compiler of JE.

The injunction contained in these verses is still observed by the Jews, in the part of the Passover service called the Haggādāh, or 'telling': see Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.* p. 359 ff.

26, 27^{a}. For the instruction of the children, cf. x. 2, xiii. 8, Dt. iv. 9^{b}, vi. 7 (=xi. 19); and esp. the similarly worded passages, Ex. xiii. 14—15, Dt. vi. 20 ff., Jos. iv. 6—7 (J), 21—24 (D^{2}).

27^{b}. *bowed the head and worshipped* (iv. 31)] In acknowledgement of the promises of protection and deliverance given in *vv.* 21—23.

28. How the people carried out the instructions given to them (*vv.* 1—13). The verse, as its style and form shew (see on vii. 6), belongs to P; and perhaps formed originally the conclusion to *vv.* 1—13.

29—36. The death of the Egyptian first-born; and preparations of the Israelites for their departure.

29. Execution of the threat of xi. 4 f. (J).

the captive, &c.] In xi. 5 '*the bondmaid that is behind the mill.*'

30. *a great cry in Egypt*] cf. xi. 6 (J).

The tenth plague, like the preceding ones, has also its connexion with the natural conditions of the country. Malignant epidemics are of not unfrequent occurrence in Egypt; and Di. quotes from Kn. (see also *DB.* iii. 892^{b}) numerous references to travellers and others, who state that they usually break out in spring, and are often worse at the time of the *Ḥamsîn* wind (see on x. 23; and cf. Lane, *Mod. Eg.*^{5} i. 2); they are also sometimes accompanied by very great mortality. But, as Di.

J one dead. And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, 31
and said, Rise up, get you forth from among my people,
both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD,
as ye have said. Take both your flocks and your herds, as 32
ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also. And the 33
Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out of
the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men. And 34
the people took their dough before it was leavened, their
kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their
E shoulders. | And the children of Israel did according to 35
the word of Moses; and they asked of the Egyptians jewels

continues, 'the plague here, by its momentary suddenness, as also by its carrying off as its victims exclusively the first-born of the Egyptians, bears a wholly supernatural character. This particular form of the tradition (*Sage*) evidently first arose partly through the influence of the Isr. spring-offering of the Passover, partly through that of the Isr. custom of dedicating the first-born, which together brought into the tradition the sparing of the houses and first-born of the Israelites, and transformed the Egyptians who perished in the plague into first-born' (Di. on *v.* 29, slightly abridged). Cf. pp. 410, 412.

31, 32. The Pharaoh hastily summons Moses and Aaron, and gives permission for the people to go and serve Yahweh with their flocks and herds, as they had requested. 'The passage has sometimes been deemed inconsistent with x. 29. But there is a difference between seeking an audience to demand leave to depart or threaten chastisement, and response to the urgent summons of the stricken king' (C.-H.).

31. *as ye have said*] iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16 (all J). It seems therefore (Di.) that the Pharaoh only gives leave for a temporary absence.

32. *as ye have said*] See x. 9, 26 (J).

and bless me also] viz. at the festival which you are about to hold: include me as well as yourselves in the blessings which you will then invoke.

33. *We be all dead men*] cf. (though the terms are milder) x. 7.

34. The people had not time to leaven their dough, but took it with them before it was leavened. The notice, taken in conjunction with the one in *v.* 39, is evidently intended as an explanation of the origin of the *Mazzoth*-feast: cf. Dt. xvi. 3; and p. 91, above.

their kneading-**bowls**] See on viii. 3.

in their clothes] rather, *in their* **mantles**. The *simlāh* was the large square outer garment, made of woollen cloth, which served as a covering by night (ch. xxii. 26 f.), and was also often used for carrying things in (Jud. viii. 25, Ru. iii. 15). See DRESS 3 *b* in *DB.* (i. 625).

35, 36. Carrying out of the instructions given in iii. 21, 22 (cf. xi. 2).

35. *did* &c.] **had done**..., **and asked**,—before viz. the events just narrated (*vv.* 29—34). Cf. xi. 3.

36 of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and the LORD *E*
gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that
they let them have what they asked. And they spoiled the
Egyptians.

37 And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to *P*
Succoth, | about six hundred thousand on foot that were *J*

36. *let them have*] lit. *let them ask* (viz. successfully), i.e. *granted them*, *let them have*, not necessarily 'lent' them. So 1 S. i. 28 (lit. '*let* one *ask him for Jehovah*'), the correlative of 'ask' in *vv.* 17, 27, as of the same word here in *v.* 35. Still, it is remarkable that the ordinary word for 'gave' is not used: and it cannot be denied that 'let ask' *may*, as in Syriac (Luke xi. 5 Pesh.), have had in Heb. the meaning *lend.* In this case, we must suppose that the things were 'lent' for use at the festival in the wilderness; Pharaoh's subsequent pursuit of the Israelites put their return out of the question, and so they 'spoiled' the Egyptians (Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 66). Dillm. writes: 'In reality the fundamental idea of the narrative is this: God, in His contest for the oppressed and against the oppressor, brings it about by His judgements that the enemy is obliged not only to allow the people to hold their festival in the wilderness, but also at their request to provide them willingly with garments and ornaments to wear at it (cf. on iii. 21 f.); and eventually even to give these things up to them, as lawful spoil, and also, probably, as a reward for long and hard service (so Jubilees xlviii. 18, Philo, *Vit. Mos.* i. p. 103, Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. p. 345, Iren. iv. 49, and other Fathers), and as partial compensation for what the Hebrews left behind them in Egypt.'

37—42. The departure from Egypt.

37. *journeyed*] lit. *plucked up* (viz. tent-pegs), a metaphor from breaking up camp. So regularly, as xiii. 20, xvi. 1, &c.

Ra'meses] Very possibly (p. 4) Tell er-Reṭābeh, 10 m. W. of Succoth.

Succoth] No doubt the Eg. *Thke*, with the determinative of a foreign place, prob. (Griffith) a foreign name, the sing. of *Succoth*, 'Booths,' and to be read *Thukke.* Thukke is often mentioned in inscriptions found at Tell el-Maskhuṭa (=Pithom: see on i. 11); and seems to have been both a name of Pithom itself, the capital of the nome (so in these inscriptions, and in the geographical lists), and also to have denoted the region surrounding Pithom (so in the Anastasi papyri, dating from Dyn. xix., in which it has moreover the determinative of a borderland inhabited by foreigners): see Naville, *Pithom*, ed. 4, pp. 6, 7^b; cf. W. Max Müller, *EB.* ii. 1436, and s.v. PITHOM. Indeed Dillm. (on Ex. xiv. 2) had already, before Naville's discoveries, pointed out that this was the situation required for Succoth.

six hundred thousand] The same number is given in Nu. xi. 21 (also J). If it stood alone, it might be understood as a round number, current traditionally, for a very high figure: but P commits himself to

J men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up 38
also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much
cattle. And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough 39
which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not
leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could
not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any
P victual. | Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, 40
which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty
years. And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and 41

details, giving the numbers of the various tribes, the whole number being, at the first census in the wilderness (Nu. i. 46), 603,550 males above 20 years old, besides 22,000 Levites above one month old, or 8580 between 30 and 50 years old (Nu. iii. 39, iv. 48). 600,000 men implies a total, including women and children, of at least 2,000,000 souls. These numbers are incredible: they are not consistent either with the limits of Goshen[1], or (as has been most recently shewn by Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 1907, pp. 206—8) with the number that could be maintained in the Sinaitic Peninsula (similarly Di. *Numbers*, p. 6)[2]: the details given by P are, moreover, inconsistent and impossible in themselves (see G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 12—15). The figures do not come to us from eye-witnesses; and tradition, in the course of years, greatly exaggerated the numbers of the Israelites at the Exodus.

children] Heb. *ṭaph*, lit. *those taking short, tripping steps*, here including women, as x. 10, 24 *al.*

38. *a* **great** *mixed multitude*] cf. Nu. xi. 4 (the Heb. word different). Non-Israelites (cf. the same word in Neh. xiii. 3) of various kinds are meant: e.g. Egyptians who had intermarried with Israelites (cf. Lev. xxiv. 10), other Semites who had found their way into Egypt, and prisoners taken in war who had been employed in the *corvée* (i. 9).

flocks and herds] cf. *v.* 32, x. 26.

39. Cf. *v.* 34; and for *unleavened cakes* see on *v.* 8. Here, however, there is an independent word for 'cakes,' the one found in Gen. xviii. 6, 1 K. xix. 6 *al.*, and probably denoting cakes baked rapidly by being placed on the 'hot stones' (1 K. *l.c.*),—i.e. stones heated by a fire having been made upon them (*EB.* i. 604),—and covered with the hot ashes: LXX. ἐγκρυφίαι, Vulg. *subcinericii panes.*

thrust out] vi. 1 (Heb.), xi. 1.

40, 41. The length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt.

40. *four hundred and thirty years*] cf. the round number 400 in Gen. xv. 13 (hence Acts vii. 6, Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9. 1, *BJ.* v. 9. 4).

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[1] So Sayce, *EHH.* 212.

[2] Petrie's own solution of the difficulty (that *'eleph* in the lists in Numbers has been understood wrongly in the sense of 'thousand' instead of in that of 'family') is improbable in itself (*'eleph* itself meaning 'clan' rather than 'family,' and even in that sense being very rare, and never occurring in statistical lists), besides leaving many passages unexplained. See also McNeile, p. 75; and *Numbers* (*Camb. Bible*), p. 7 f.

thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all *P*
42 the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt. | It *J*?
is [1]a night to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing
them out from the land of Egypt: | [2]this is that night of the R^P?
LORD, to be much observed of all the children of Israel
throughout their generations.

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[1] Or, *a night of watching unto the LORD*

[2] Or, *this same night is a night of watching unto the LORD for all &c.*

Whether it is historically correct is more than we can say: not only is Egyptian chronology itself uncertain, but we do not know the Eg. king under whom Jacob went down into Egypt; hence we have no independent data for fixing with precision the interval between Jacob's migration into Egypt and the Exodus. The chronology of P (from whom all systematic dates in the Pent. are derived) is artificial, and in many of its particulars entirely undeserving of confidence: still this figure may itself be correct. It is however inconsistent with the many passages of P (see on vi. 27), which place Moses and his contemporaries in the fourth generation from Jacob's sons. P himself may have been unconscious of the inconsistency; for he may have reckoned—of course, falsely—a generation at 100 years (cf. Gen. xv. 16, comp. with 13). In a later age it appears to have been noticed; and in all probability the reading of LXX. Sam. here 'in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan*, was 430 years,' originated in an endeavour to lessen it: for, as the period from Abraham's migration into Canaan to Jacob's descent into Egypt was (according to P) 215 years (Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9), this reading reduces the period of the sojourn in Egypt to half of that stated in the Heb. text. The reading of Sam. LXX. was followed by St Paul in Gal. iii. 17, by Jos. *Ant.* ii. 15. 2, and by many ancient Jewish and Christian authorities; but it cannot be the original text; not only has Israel's sojourn in Egypt alone to do with the present context, but until the birth of Jacob's sons there were no 'children of Israel' to dwell in Canaan at all. Cf. the Introd. p. xlv.

41. *the selfsame day*] See on *v.* 17.

the hosts of **Jehovah**] cf. *v.* 17; and see on vi. 26.

42. The night is to be observed in perpetuity as a *night of watching*, or of vigil, unto Jehovah; cf. Is. xxx. 29. Both the margins are preferable to the text. ל, however, cannot mean *for* (i.e., apparently, *in return for*), though it might mean *with regard to*; but its natural meaning here would be *in order to*; hence Bu. Bä. may be right in rendering, *A night of watching was it for Yahweh* **to bring** *them out*, &c.; Jehovah Himself was on the watch that night to protect His people from the destroyer, and to bring them safely out of Egypt: *v.* 41^b^ will then be a later addition, transforming the night of vigil kept *by* Jehovah, into a night of vigil kept *to* Him (cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 149).

throughout your generations. See on *v.* 14.

P And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the 43
ordinance of the passover: there shall no alien eat thereof:
but every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou 44
hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. A sojourner 45
and an hired servant shall not eat thereof. In one house 46
shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the

43—51 (P). Regulations respecting the Passover, supplementary to those in *vv.* 1—13, and intended principally to define what persons were or were not authorised to eat it. No foreigner, temporary 'settler,' or (foreign) hired servant is to eat of it: a slave, and a 'sojourner,' i.e. a protected foreigner, when they have been circumcised, may eat of it (*vv.* 43—45, 48 f.).

43. *no alien*] or **foreigner**, i.e. a foreigner temporarily resident in Israel. It was a distinctively Israelitish observance.

44. But a foreigner, bought as a slave into an Israelitish family, may eat of it, if he is made a member of the Isr. community by circumcision. Slaves were regarded as members of the family, and, as such, were circumcised (Gen. xvii. 12, 13, P), so that they might join in the family religious rites. 'That is bought for money' distinguishes the slave here referred to from the slave 'born in the house' (cf. Gen. xvii. 12, 23, 27), i.e. born of parents who were themselves slaves in the same establishment: a slave of the latter kind would, as a matter of course, be circumcised, and have a right to partake of the Passover.

45. The **settler** (*tôshāb*) and *hired servant* are not to eat of it. The technical distinction between the *tôshāb* and the *gêr* (*v.* 48) is not altogether clear. To judge from the etymology, the *tôshāb* was a foreigner, more permanently 'settled' in Israel than an ordinary *gêr*, and also perhaps (Lev. xxii. 10, xxv. 6) more definitely attached to a particular family (LXX. usually πάροικος), but, like the *gêr*, without civil rights, and dependent for his position on the good-will of his *patronus* (cf. Gen. xxiii. 4, Lev. xxv. 23, Ps. xxxix. 12, 1 Ch. xxix. 15): the word also occurs Lev. xxv. 35, 40, 45, 47 (twice), Nu. xxxv. 15. RV. 'sojourner,' except Lev. xxv. 6, 45 'stranger.' See further Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Isr. zu den Fremden* (1896), p. 157 ff. (cf. 172 f.), Bä. p. 107, *EB.* iv. 4818. The 'hired servant' is associated, as here, in Lev. xxii. 10, xxv. 6, 40, with the *tôshāb*, and in Lev. xxii. 10 with the *gêr* as well, as having both similar disqualifications, and (xxv. 39 f.) similar rights; evidently he is to be thought of as a foreigner (cf. Lev. xxv. 6 'that *sojourn* with thee'), whose rights are limited, and who is hired by his master, for fixed wages, for a longer or a shorter time. Why the same permission is not given to the 'settler' as to the 'sojourner' (*v.* 48) to partake of the Passover, if he is circumcised, is not apparent; perhaps (cf. Bertholet, 159) he is included in *v.* 48 in the more general term *gêr* (cf. Lev. xxv. 6 *end*).

46. Three regulations designed to emphasize the *unity* of the company partaking of each passover (cf. *vv.* 4, 9; 1 Cor. x. 17): one lamb was

flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone *P*
47 48 thereof. All the congregation of Israel shall [1]keep it. And
when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the
passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and
then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one
that is born in the land: but no uncircumcised person shall
49 eat thereof. One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and

[1] Heb. *do it.*

always to be eaten in *one* house; no part of the flesh was to be carried out of the house; and (in dressing the Paschal lamb) no bone in it was to be broken (cf. Nu. ix. 12; also John xix. 36, Ps. xxxiv. 20).

47. *All* Israelites are to keep the Passover (cf. Nu. ix. 13).

hold *it*] Heb. *do it*: not in the sacrif. sense noticed on x. 25, but in that of *hold, keep*: so *v.* 48, Nu. ix. 2—6, Dt. xvi. 1 *al.*, and ποιεῖν Mt. xxvi. 18, Heb. xi. 28; cf. with *pilgrimage*, ch. xxxiv. 22, Dt. xvi. 10, 13, 1 K. viii. 65, and with *sabbath*, ch. xxxi. 16, Dt. v. 15.

48. The 'stranger,' or, better, **sojourner**, Heb. *gêr*, i.e. the *protected foreigner*, if he is circumcised, may keep the Passover. The *gêr* was like the Arab *jâr*, i.e. 'a man of another tribe or district, who coming to sojourn in a place where he was not strengthened by the presence of his own kin, put himself under the protection of a clan or of a powerful chief' (W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, p. 75 f.; cf. his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 41—43). 'Stranger' is the conventional rendering of *gêr*; but it is inadequate: a better word would be **sojourner**, which would also preserve the connexion with the corresponding verb in such passages as *v.* 49, Gen. xii. 10, xix. 9, xlvii. 4. In the legislation of JE and Deut. the *gêr* has no legal status in Israel, and is represented as liable to oppression (Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9, Dt. i. 16, &c.): in P (cf. Ez. xlvii. 22) he is placed on practically the same footing as the native Israelite, he enjoys the same rights (Nu. xxxv. 15 'for the *sojourner* and for the settler' [above, on *v.* 45]; Lev. xix. 34 'thou shalt love him as thyself'), and is bound by the same laws (ch. xii. 19, Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, xviii. 26, xx. 2, xxii. 18, xxiv. 16); the principle, 'One law shall there be for the homeborn and for the *gêr*,' is repeatedly affirmed (ch. xii. 49, Lev. xxiv. 22, Nu. ix. 14, xv. 15, 16, 29). Indeed, in P the term is already on the way to assume the later technical sense of 'proselyte,' the foreigner who, being circumcised and observing the law generally, is in full religious communion with Israel.

come near] to take part in the sacred rite. So often in P, as xl. 32, Lev. ix. 5, 7, 8 (EVV. '*draw* near'), xxi. 17 f. ('approach'), Nu. xvi. 40.

one that is born in] lit. *a native of*; the word, when standing alone, is rendered *homeborn* (*v.* 49). It denotes the native Israelite, as distinct, especially, from the *gêr*, or foreigner settled in Israel; cf. *v.* 19, Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 15, xviii. 26, xix. 34, xxiii. 42, xxiv. 16, 22, Nu. ix. 14, xv. 13, 29, 30.

P unto the stranger that sojourneth among you. Thus did all 50
the children of Israel; as the Lord commanded Moses and
Aaron, so did they. And it came to pass the selfsame day, 51
that the Lord did bring the children of Israel out of the
land of Egypt by their hosts.

P And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify unto 13
me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among 2
the children of Israel, both of man and of beast: it is mine.

49. Cf. Lev. xxiv. 22, Nu. ix. 14, xv. 15, 16, 29.

50. *Thus did*, &c.] The words seem unsuitable where they stand; for as the passover had been already eaten (*v.* 28), the injunction given in *vv.* 43—49 could not possibly now be at once carried out. Perhaps (Di.) they were once preceded by *vv.* 14—20 (see on these verses).

51. A repetition of the substance of *v.* 41^b (cf. vi. 30 repeated from vi. 12), intended seemingly to close the account of the departure from Egypt.

xiii. **1, 2.** P's law of the sanctity of the firstborn. The firstborn in Israel, both of men and cattle, were sacred to Jehovah. Here the principle is stated in its most general form: special details, not always consistent, are given elsewhere. In the 'Book of the Covenant' (E), see xxii. 29^b, 30: in xiii. 12 f. (‖ xxxiv. 19 f.: both J), it is provided that only firstborn *males* are to be Jehovah's, that the firstborn among men are to be redeemed, and the firstling of an ass (as an unclean animal) to be either redeemed by a lamb or killed; other firstlings are sacrificed to Jehovah (*v.* 15). In Dt. xv. 19—23, the firstling males of the herd and of the flock, if free from defect, are to be sacrificed at the central sanctuary, and the flesh eaten by the owner and his household at a sacred meal (cf. xii. 6 f., 17 f., xiv. 23): in Nu. xviii. 15—18 (P) the firstborn of men and unclean beasts generally are to be redeemed, the former at 5 shekels a head; the firstling of ox, sheep, or goat is to be sacrificed, the flesh being—not the owner's, as in Dt. xv. 19—23, but—the *perquisite of the priests*: the two laws evidently reflect the usage of two different periods of the history (see the writer's *Deut.* p. 187). According to the (unhistorical) representation of P, the Levites, at the first census in the wilderness, were taken by Jehovah in lieu of the firstborn of the other tribes, Nu. iii. 11—13, 40—51, viii. 16—18. Both J (or R^{JE}) and P assign as the ground of the custom the fact that Jehovah slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, both man and beast (xii. 12, 29), at the Exodus,—the former (ch. xiii. 15) making it a memorial of the event, and the latter stating that Jehovah then 'sanctified' to Himself all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast, Nu. iii. 13, viii. 17 (P). On the question whether this was the real origin of the custom, see p. 409 f.

2. *whatsoever openeth*] i.e. *first* openeth; Heb. *péṭer*, a technical term: so *vv.* 12, 13 (‖ xxxiv. 19, 20), 15; Nu. iii. 12, viii. 16, xviii. 15; Ez. xx. 26†. The law is cited (but not verbally) in Luke ii. 23.

3 And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day, *J*
in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of
[1]bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD brought you
out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten.
4 This day ye go forth in the month Abib. 5 And it shall be
when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the
Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the
Hivite, and the Jebusite, which he sware unto thy fathers to
give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou

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[1] Heb. *bondmen*.

3—16. Moses' promulgation to the people of directions respecting (*a*) *Mazzoth*, *vv.* 3—10, and (*b*) the sanctity of the firstborn, *vv.* 11—16. Both passages approximate in style and tone to Deuteronomy (cf. on xii. 25—27^{a}); and it is probable that they are both parenetic expansions, by the compiler of JE, of a simpler original in J, contained perhaps in *vv.* 3^{a} (to *people*), 4, 6—7, 10, 12—13.

(*a*) **3—10.** *Mazzoth.* Regulations respecting *Mazzoth* have already been given to Moses by Jehovah in xii. 14—20 (P); but the differences, both material (no mention of a 'holy convocation,' with restrictions from work, on the 1st and 7th days; different name, 'Abib,' for the month; the 7th, not the 1st day, the 'pilgrimage') and linguistic, shew that the regulations found here cannot be by the same writer, but that they have been taken by the compiler from the source J. Cf. the note on xii. 21—27.

3—4. No leavened bread to be eaten on the day of the Exodus.

3. *this day*] i.e. the 15th of Abib.

house of bondage (lit. of *bondmen* or *slaves*)] so *v.* 14, xx. 2; and hence often in Dt. (v. 6 [=Ex. xx. 2], vi. 12, vii. 8, viii. 14, xiii. 5, 10), and Jos. xxiv. 17 (D^{2}); also Mic. vi. 4†. The expression means a place in which slaves are confined (Lat. *ergastulum*), such as Egypt was to the Hebrews in bondage.

strength of hand] so *vv.* 14, 16†. The usual expression is a *strong hand* (*v.* 9): see on vi. 1.

4. *ye go forth*] lit. **are going** *forth.* The Exodus is represented as in process of taking place. The participle is constantly used similarly in Deuteronomy.

the month of Abib, i.e. the month of *fresh young ears* (Lev. ii. 14 Heb.); mentioned again in xxiii. 15=xxxiv. 18, Dt. xvi. 1†. It is the old Canaanitish name of the month called by P the 'first month' (see on xii. 2).

5—7. How *Mazzoth* is to be kept, after the Israelites have entered Canaan.

5. *And it shall be*, &c.] so *v.* 11; cf. Dt. vi. 10, vii. 1, xi. 29.

the Canaanite, &c.,...*flowing with milk and honey*] See on iii. 8.

which he sware, &c.] See Gen. xxiv. 7 (cf. xv. 18); and comp. the

J shalt keep this service in this month. Seven days thou 6
shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be
a feast to the LORD. Unleavened bread shall be eaten 7
throughout the seven days; and there shall no leavened
bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen
with thee, in all thy borders. And thou shalt tell thy son in 8
that day, saying, It is because of that which the LORD did
for me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for 9
a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial

references in Gen. l. 24, Ex. xiii. 11, xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 1, and constantly in Dt., as i. 8, vi. 10, 18, &c.

this service] as prescribed in *vv.* 6, 7.

6. Unleavened cakes to be eaten for 7 days (xii. 15), with a *ḥag* on the 7th day. In P the *ḥag* is on the first day, and there is a 'holy convocation,' with restrictions from work, on the 1st and 7th days: xii. 14, 16, Lev. xxiii. 6—8. On the use of unleavened cakes in general, see on xii. 8; on their use in this observance, see pp. 241, 242.

8. The children to be instructed (cf. on xii. 26) on the meaning of the festival: it is to remind Israel in perpetuity of the duties which it owes to Jehovah, in gratitude for its deliverance out of Egypt.

9. It is to have the same value as a religious mark branded or tattooed upon the hand, or as a memorial-token marked (or worn) upon the forehead, to keep Jehovah's law in Israel's continual remembrance, and remind Israel of its duty towards Him; cf. *v.* 16. The reference here and *v.* 16 being to *observances*, the expressions cannot be meant literally (cf. Prov. i. 9, iii. 3, vi. 21, vii. 3): on Dt. vi. 8, xi. 18, see below, on *v.* 16.

sign] The allusion is doubtless to the practice, not uncommon among primitive races, of 'tattooing or branding various parts of the body with the name or symbol of the deity to whom one wishes to dedicate oneself, and whose protection it is desired to secure' (*DB.* iii. 871^{b}): cf. Hdt. ii. 113 (στίγματα ἱερὰ on a person taking asylum, as a mark of dedication to the deity), 1 K. xx. 41, Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 59 (στίγματα on the neck and wrists of the priests), 3 Macc. ii. 29; and expressions suggested by the same custom in Is. xliv. 5 (RVm.), xlix. 16^{a}, Ez. ix. 4, 6 (hence Psalms of Sol. xv. 8, 10), Gal. vi. 7 (στίγματα), Rev. vii. 3 f., xiii. 16 f.: see further CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH (Lev. xix. 28, xxi. 5) in *DB.* or *EB.* In Israel the regular observance of *Maẓẓoth* is to serve the same purpose as such a religious mark in other ancient cults: it is to be an outward and visible token of the connexion subsisting between Israel and its God.

memorial] This might either be a synonym of 'sign,' or denote some sacred badge *worn* upon the forehead ('between the eyes,' as Dt. xiv. 1). The word is often used of an object employed to preserve a religious

between thine eyes, that the law of the Lord may be in thy *J*
mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee
10 out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in
its season from year to year.

11 And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the
land of the Canaanite, as he sware unto thee and to thy
12 fathers, and shall give it thee, that thou shalt [1]set apart unto
the Lord all that openeth the womb, and every firstling

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[1] Heb. *cause to pass over.*

relation in remembrance: xxviii. 12, 29, xxx. 16, Nu. x. 10, xvi. 40 (‖ 'sign,' *v.* 38), Is. lvii. 8.

in thy mouth] that thou mayest be ever talking of it (cf. for the thought Dt. vi. 7, xi. 19, Jos. i. 8 [D^2]). The passage cannot refer simply to *vv.* 6, 7, but must have been written at a time when a considerable body of 'Jehovah's law,' or 'direction' (see p. 161 f.), existed.

for &c.] and consequently has the strongest claims upon thy obedience.

10. *Thou shalt therefore keep*] Heb. **And thou shalt keep.**

in its season] in the month of Abib (*v.* 4); cf. xxiii. 15, where the same Hebrew word is rendered 'in the *time appointed* of the month of Abib.'

from year to year] מימים ימימה: so Jud. xi. 40, xxi. 19, 1 S. i. 3, ii. 19†.

(*b*) **11—16.** Firstborn males, both of man and beast, to belong to Jehovah. The firstling of an ass is to be either redeemed by a lamb or killed; the firstborn of men are also to be redeemed: other firstlings were sacrificed to Jehovah. Like *vv.* 3—10, an older law of J (*v.* 12 f., cf. xxxiv. 19 f.) in a parenetic setting. 'The passage is related to *v.* 1 f. (P) as *vv.* 3—10 (J) are related to xii. 14—20 (P), and xii. 21—27 (J) to xii. 2—13 (P)' (Di.).

11. See on *v.* 5.

12. *thou shalt* **cause to pass over** *unto* **Jehovah**] The word is not the ordinary Heb. for 'set apart'; and its use here is remarkable. In Nu. xxvii. 7 f. (P), cf. 2 S. iii. 10, it is indeed used in the simple sense of *transferring* or *making over* (an inheritance): but it is also the word regularly used of *causing to pass over* children in fire to Molech (2 K. xvi. 3, Ez. xx. 31 *al.*), and with 'to Molech' alone, Lev. xviii. 21 (H), Jer. xxxii. 35, cf. Ez. xvi. 21, xxiii. 37 ('to them,' i.e. to the idols), and esp. xx. 25, 26 (the same expression as here) 'in that they *caused to pass over* (viz. in the fire) *all that first openeth the womb.*' It may be (cf. p. 409) that this heathen practice determined the use of the same verb here: Jehovah claimed the firstborn; and the Israelite was to *cause* his firstborn *to pass over* to Him: the child was not, however, retained by Him, or offered to Him as a sacrifice, but was to be 'redeemed' by its father (*v.* 13).

J which thou hast that cometh of a beast; the males shall be
the LORD's. And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem 13
with a [1]lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou
shalt break its neck: and all the firstborn of man among
thy sons shalt thou redeem. And it shall be when thy son 14
asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou
shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought

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[1] Or, *kid*

and every firstling, &c.] lit. *and all that first openeth* [the womb], (even) *the casting* (שגר) *of beasts, that thou shalt have*: *shéger* (the root is preserved in the Aram. *sh*^{e}*gar*, to 'cast'), denotes a newly born animal, Dt. vii. 13, xxviii. 4, 18, 51†. The 'beasts' meant (as the parallel, xxxiv. 19, states explicitly) are ox and sheep.

13. The ass, not less than the ox and sheep, was a common domestic animal (xx. 17, xxii. 9, 10, &c.): but it was regarded as 'unclean' (the terms of Lev. xi. 3 P exclude it from the 'clean' animals), and could not consequently be either eaten, or offered in sacrifice (Lev. i. 2, xxii. 19). Nevertheless its firstling was claimed by Jehovah, and could only be retained for its owner's use by being redeemed with a lamb. 'The present law must date from a time when the ass was the only unclean domestic animal: the later, but juristically more exact P, puts for it (Lev. xxvii. 27, Nu. xviii. 15) *unclean beast* generally' (Di.). The lamb would be of less value than the ass: the provision of Lev. xxvii. 27, which prescribes that the firstling of an unclean animal, unless it is sold, is to be valued, and redeemed at 1⅛ of its valuation, is more favourable to the priests.

redeem] Heb. *pādāh* (not *gā'al*, as vi. 6), the word used regularly of redeeming a person, or animal, from death or servitude (cf. xxi. 8, and, as here, Nu. xviii. 15—17, Lev. xxvii. 27^{a}; also 1 S. xiv. 45, Ps. xlix. 7, 15).

lamb] marg. Or, *kid*: see on xii. 3.

break its neck] Unless redeemed, it could not be retained for use by its owner. It was not to be killed by shedding of blood, because in old Israel 'the slaughter of an animal in the ordinary way implied a sacrifice, which was impossible in the case of an ass' (Bä.).

all the firstborn of man, &c.] The price of their redemption is not fixed: perhaps in early times it varied (as offerings also did, Dt. xvi. 10, 16 f.), according to the position and circumstances of the father. In a later age, the price was fixed definitely at 5 shekels a head (Nu. xviii. 15, cf. iii. 12, viii. 18,—all P).

14—15. The children to be instructed (as in *v.* 8) on the meaning of the observance: it is a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt, and of Jehovah's slaughter of the firstborn of the Egyptians at the time.

14. *in time to come*] Heb. *to-morrow*: so Gen. xxx. 33, Dt. vi. 20, Jos. iv. 6, 21, xxii. 24, 27, 28†.

By strength of hand, &c.] See on *v.* 3.

15 us out from Egypt, from the house of [1]bondage: and it J
came to pass, when Pharaoh [2]would hardly let us go, that
the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both
the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore
I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the womb, being
16 males; but all the firstborn of my sons I redeem. And it
shall be for a sign upon thine hand, and for frontlets
between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD
brought us forth out of Egypt.

[1] Heb. *bondmen*. [2] Or, *hardened himself against letting us go*

15. *would hardly*, &c.] Heb. *dealt hardly in letting us go* (or *made* it *hard to let us go*), i.e. made difficulties in letting us go: cf., for the Heb., Gen. xxxv. 16.

that **Jehovah** *slew*, &c.] cf. Nu. iii. 13, viii. 17 (P).

16. Like *Maẓẓoth* (*v.* 9), the redemption of the firstborn is to serve the same purpose as a ritual mark, or badge, in reminding Israel constantly of what Jehovah had done for them.

frontlets] Heb. *ṭōṭāphōth* (properly, perhaps,—from the Arabic *ṭāfa*, to *make a circuit*,—*circlets* or *headbands*[1]): Dt. vi. 8, xi. 18†. The word takes the place of the 'memorial' in *v.* 9. Originally, as the comparative study of religions makes probable, the 'frontlet' was some kind of badge worn upon the forehead as a mark of belonging to the national Deity, by which he might know who were his, and (like an amulet) guaranteeing them his protection, and also reminding those who bore it of their ceremonial duties towards him. Here it is merely said that the redemption of the firstborn is to *be for* (i.e. to serve the same purpose as) a 'sign,' or ritual mark (see on *v.* 9) upon the head, and 'frontlets' on the forehead, in reminding Israel of its duties towards Jehovah. In Dt. vi. 8, xi. 18, where the same two expressions are used, but the reference is to *words*, it has been generally supposed that material objects are meant (see, however, against this view the strong arguments of A. R. S. Kennedy, art. *Phylacteries* in *DB.* p. 871 f.: it is not clear that 'these words' in vi. 6 refer to *vv.* 4, 5 alone; cf. xi. 18[2]); and the later Jews gave effect to this interpretation of the passage by inscribing Ex. xiii. 1—10, 11—16, Dt. vi. 4—9, xi. 13—21 on small scrolls of parchment, which were enclosed in cases, and bound with leathern thongs to the forehead and left arm. These are the *t*^{e}*phillin*,

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[1] This meaning is not certain; but the sense *drop*, *jewel* (worn as an amulet) does not seem established by *Shabb.* vi. 1, 5, quoted for it by Kennedy (*DB.* iii. 872). *Ṭōṭépheth* certainly denotes there something worn by women; but the Gemara *ibid.* interprets of a band 'going round from ear to ear.' The word is extremely rare: Levy (*NHWB.* s.v.) states that he knows no other occurrence in post-Bibl. Heb. literature. In 2 S. i. 10 Targ. it is used of the *armlet* worn by Saul.

[2] LXX. also (in Dt. as well as in Ex.) interpret figuratively, *ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου*, i.e. 'something immoveably fixed before [not 'between'] thine eyes,' ever present to thy thoughts.

E And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people 17
go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the
Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest
peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they
return to Egypt: but God led the people about, by the way 18
of the wilderness by the Red Sea: and the children of Israel

'prayers,' of the later Jews, the φυλακτήρια (i.e. *preservatives* against demons, amulets: cf. Targ. on Cant. viii. 3, where protection against demons is expressly said to be the object of binding on the *t*^{e}*phillin*), mentioned in Mt. xxiii. 5 (see further *DB. l.c.*).

17—22. Journey from Succoth (xii. 37) to Etham.

17, 18. Why Israel did not take the shortest route to Canaan, which was also the one usually followed by both caravans and armies, across the North end of the isthmus of Suez, and then along the sea-coast, to Gaza, the most south-westerly of the Philistine cities, here called, 'the way **to** the land of the Philistines.' Because the Philistines were a warlike and aggressive people, it was feared that Israel might be alarmed at meeting them, and be tempted to return to Egypt. Whether, however, the alleged reason was the real reason, is very doubtful: the Philistines in point of fact do not appear to have settled in Canaan till the reign of Rameses III (*EB.* iii. 3717 f.; Sayce, *EHH.* 291 f.; Wade, *OT. Hist.* 108): the use of the term here is consequently an anachronism (cf. Gen. xxi. 34, xxvi. 1). It is remarkable that no mention is made of the forts and guards (pp. 127, 141), which might have formed a real obstacle to the Israelites leaving Egypt by the isthmus.

17. *the way of*, &c.] We say idiomatically *the way* **to**, which ought to be read similarly in *v.* 18, Gen. iii. 24 (cf. xvi. 7 RV.), Nu. xxi. 33 (cf. *v.* 4 RV., and the ‖ Dt. iii. 1), Dt. i. 2, &c. E emphasizes elsewhere also the providence of God: cf. Gen. xlv. 5, 7 f., l. 20.

18. Instead of leading them straight on, across the N. part of the isthmus of Suez, by the direct route mentioned above, *God led the people about* (or *round*), **in the direction of** *the wilderness*,—i.e. the *Egyptian* wilderness, S. of the Wādy Ṭumīlāt, and *West* of the N. end of the Gulf of Suez (a shallow extension of which reached perhaps at this time as far N. as L. Timsāḥ: see p. 125 ff.),—**to** *the Red Sea* (the Gulf of Suez, or its ancient Northern extension, just referred to).

the Red Sea] Heb., as always, *the Sea of sūph*; probably, *the* **Sea of reeds**. The origin of the name is uncertain. *Sūph* (outside this expression) is used of reeds or rushes (cf. Luther's *Schilfmeer*, 'Reed-sea') growing along the Nile (ii. 3 [see note], 5, Is. xix. 6†), and of seaweed (Jon. ii. 6†): it seems also to correspond to the late Eg. *thuf*, Copt. *joouf*, 'papyrus.' Reeds or rushes however do not grow in the salt water of the Red Sea, though (Di.) clumps of them have been found on spots S. of Suez, where fresh water mixes with the salt; but they abound in Lake Timsāḥ. 'This lake with its large marshes full of reeds, exactly at the entrance of Goshen, would fulfil all con-

19 went up armed out of the land of Egypt. And Moses took *E*
the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the
children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye
20 shall carry up my bones away hence with you. | And they *P*
took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in
21 the edge of the wilderness. | And the LORD went before *J*
them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and
by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; that they

ditions for the Exodus and for the Heb. name' (W. M. Müller, *EB.*, RED SEA). If it is true that there was once a shallow extension of the Gulf of Suez reaching to L. Timsāḥ, it is possible that it was called by the Hebrews, from these growths, the 'Sea of reeds'; and that afterwards the name was extended to the 'Red Sea' generally (so Di. as well as W. M. Müller).

armed] The Heb. word is a rare one (Jos. i. 14, iv. 12, Jud. vii. 11†; read also conjecturally by many in Nu. xxxii. 17), and its precise meaning is uncertain. It in any case implies that the Israelites were prepared for hostile encounters.

19. See Gen. l. 25; and cf. Jos. xxiv. 32.

20. The form of the verse is that usual in P's itineraries: cf. xvii. 1, xix. 2, Nu. xxi. 10 f., xxii. 1, and esp. xxxiii. 5—49.

Etham] On the 'edge (lit. *end*) of the wilderness,' i.e. of the wilderness on the *East* of the Isthmus of Suez (in Nu. xxxiii. 8 [P] called the 'wilderness of Etham,' in which the Israelites journeyed for three days *after* the passage of the Red Sea); the 'edge' of this wilderness here meant will be the N. part of what we call the Isthmus of Suez. The precise site of Etham on this 'edge' is, however, quite uncertain, as the name has not been satisfactorily identified. *Khetem* in Egyptian means a 'closed place, fortress, castle'; and there was a 'Castle (*Khetem*) in Zaru (*or* Zalu),' corresponding to the *Selle* of the Roman itineraries, often mentioned in the Inscriptions as passed by the Eg. kings on their expeditions into, or return from, Asia (see Maspero, ii. 122, 123, 370; and cf. the writer's essay, with citation of inscriptions, in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 58—61), which has been supposed to be the place meant. Selle is the modern Tell Abu-Sêfeh, at the N. end of L. Ballāḥ, 18 miles N. of L. Timsāḥ (Masp. i. 75, 201 *n.* 4: see further reff. in *DB.* s.v. *Shur*). This however seems to be too far to the N.: a stronger guttural than א would also have been expected at the beginning of ''Etham,' if it had been the transcription of the Eg. *khetem*. A site more to the S. seems to be more probable: Di. suggests the E. end of the sand-ridge el-Gisr, 3 miles N. of L. Timsaḥ (see p. 126); Dawson and Naville the N. end of L. Timsāḥ.

21, 22. How Jehovah, in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night, guided the Israelites in their journeyings. For cloud, and fire, as symbols of the Divine presence, cf. on iii. 2, ix. 28, xix. 9, 18,

J might go by day and by night: [1]the pillar of cloud by day, 22
and the pillar of fire by night, departed not from before the
people.

[1] Or, *he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.*

xx. 18. The Pent., however, contains *three* representations of the Divine presence in the cloud, corresponding to the three sources: in J the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night *precedes* the Israelites continuously to guide them in the way (so here, xiv. 19^b, 24^a, Nu. xiv. 14^b, Dt. i. 33; comp. Neh. ix. 12, 19, Ps. lxxviii. 14): in E the pillar of cloud is not spoken of as a guide, but it descends from time to time and 'stands' at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting, and Jehovah speaks in it to Moses (so Ex. xxxiii. 9 f., Nu. xi. 25, xii. 5, Dt. xxxi. 15; cf. Ps. xcix. 7): in P (who does not speak of a 'pillar') the cloud covers the Tent of Meeting immediately upon its erection, and remains there, with fire in it by night, till the camp is to be moved, when it is lifted up above it (xl. 34—38, Nu. ix. 15—22, x. 11 f.: cf. *v.* 34, xiv. 14 [the words, 'and thy cloud standeth over them': comp. Ps. cv. 39; also Is. iv. 5], Lev. xvi. 2, Nu. xvi. 42, and on Ex. xvi. 10). The fiery cloud thus formed an imposing visible symbol of the spiritual presence of God, guiding (J), protecting (P), or (E) speaking in Israel, during its journey through the wilderness. But, as in other cases, the symbolism had no doubt some natural basis; and it is thought by Di., McNeile and others that it was suggested by the variously attested custom of a brazier filled with burning wood being borne along at the head of a caravan of pilgrims, or an army (see reff. in Di. and McN.), or of a chief having a fire blazing before his tent (T. H. Weir, *Expositor*, July 1910, p. 81 f.), or carried before him (cf. Ebers, *Gosen*, 530, ^{2}544).

21. *went*] In the Heb. a ptcp., implying 'went *continually*.'

22. *departed not*] The tense used expresses what was *habitual* (cf. xxxiii. 7—11). The marg. is not necessary: cf. xxxiii. 11 Heb.

CHAP. XIV.

The passage of the Red Sea.

The narrative is composite, and shews the same, or similar, characteristics to that of the Plagues. It may suffice here to point to some of the features which connect the parts assigned to P with each other, or with P's narrative elsewhere: *v.* 1 *And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying*, as vi. 10, 29, xiii. 1, xxv. 1, and frequently; *vv.* 2, 15 *Speak unto the children of Israel*, as xxv. 2, Lev. i. 2, iv. 2, &c.; *vv.* 4, 8, 17 *ḥizzēḳ* for 'harden' as vii. 13, &c.; *get me honour*, *vv.* 4, 17, 18, Lev. x. 3; *vv.* 4, 18 *and...shall know*, as vi. 7, vii. 5, xvi. 12; *vv.* 9, 23 *and the Egyptians pursued*; *vv.* 22, 29 'the dry ground' and 'the wall'; *vv.* 16, 21 *divide*; the repetitions, in the manner of P, in *vv.* 17, 18 as compared with *v.* 4, in *v.* 28^a as compared with *v.* 23, and in *v.* 29 as compared with *v.* 22.

14 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto *P*
2 the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp
before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before
Baal-zephon: over against it shall ye encamp by the sea.
And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are
3 entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.

The two principal narrators, while agreeing with each other and with the Song in the main facts, viz. that the Israelites passed safely, while the Egyptians perished in the waters, give different representations of some of the details. In particular, in effecting the parting of the waters, Jehovah in J acts through natural causes: by a strong east wind (*v.* 21^{b}) He drives along the waters of the Red Sea, so that a part of the bottom is laid bare; in the morning the sea returns to its wonted flow, and the pursuing Egyptians are drowned in it (*v.* 27^{b}): in P Moses lifts up his hand, as in E (*v.* 16^{a}) his rod, and at the signal the waters divide automatically, forming a pathway, with a wall of water on each side; upon the signal being given a second time, the waters reunite, and close upon the Egyptians (*vv.* $21^{a,c}$, 22, 27^{a}, 28^{a}). In P,—and also in E probably (for but little of E has been preserved),—the miracle is thus much greater than in J. The Song (ch. xv.) agrees with J in emphasizing the operation of the wind (*v.* 8, cf. *v.* 10): whether the expressions in *v.* 8 about the waters standing up as a heap are to be taken literally, and regarded as supporting the representation of P, may be doubted: the language may be hyperbolical; nor is it certain (see p. 130 f.) that the poem is contemporary with the events. See further p. 123 ff.

1—4 (P). The sequel in P to xiii. 20 (P). In Etham the Israelites are bidden turn back, and encamp on the W. side of the sea (i.e. either of the Gulf of Suez, or of an ancient northern extension of it: see p. 126 f.) in order that the Pharaoh, seeing them shut in, with the sea in front of them, may be tempted to pursue after them, and that God may get Him glory by his overthrow.

2. *turn back*] viz. from the route past Etham, straight on to Palestine. The 'turn' is the same as that mentioned by E in xiii. 18. The motive assigned for it is however a different one: in xiii. 17 fear lest the Israelites should shrink from facing the Philistines; here (*v.* 4), that Jehovah might get Himself glory by the overthrow of the Egyptians. See further the last note on *v.* 4.

Pi-haḥiroth, &c.] None of these places have been as yet identified: they consequently afford no help in determining the place where the passage of the Red Sea took place. M. Naville's identification of Pi-haḥiroth with Piḳereḥet, which he argues was on the SW. edge of Lake Timsāḥ, depends upon most precarious grounds (see p. 122). And no independent data whatever exist for determining the sites of Migdol and Baal-ẓĕphōn: their sites can only be fixed conjecturally, after the place of the passage has been already fixed upon other grounds.

3. *entangled*, &c.] rather, **perplexed, confused** (Est. iii. 15, Joel

P And I will [1]harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall follow after 4
them; and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon
all his host; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the
J LORD. And they did so. | And it was told the king of 5
Egypt that the people were fled: and the heart of Pharaoh
and of his servants was changed towards the people, and
they said, What is this we have done, that we have let Israel
go from serving us? And he made ready his [2]chariot, and 6
took his people with him: and he took six hundred chosen 7
chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all
P of them. | And the LORD [3]hardened the heart of Pharaoh 8

[1] Heb. *make strong*. [2] Or, *chariots* [3] Heb. *made strong*.

i. 18) *in the land*: they do not know which way to turn in order to escape: *the wilderness* (the Egyptian wilderness, S. of Wādy Ṭumīlāt) *hath shut them in*: the implicit thought being, They will not dream of crossing the sea; so we have but to follow them (*v.* 4), and they will be in our power.

4. *harden*] lit. *make strong* or *firm*: P's regular word (on vii. 13).

follow] better, **pursue**, as *vv.* 8, 9, 23.

get me honour (or **glory**)] viz. by Pharaoh's overthrow: cf. especially Ez. xxviii. 22, xxxix. 13 (EVV. 'will be glorified'). So *vv.* 17, 18.

and the Egyptians shall know, &c.] as vii. 5. Cf. on vi. 7.

V. 4 is not to be understood as giving the actual reason why the Israelites 'turned back' (for which see xiii. 17): rather (Di.) 'it gives merely the *ideal* ground, deduced correctly from the event, that God would get Him glory by the Egyptians' overthrow.'

5—7 (J). The Pharaoh prepares to follow after them.

5. *were fled*] i.e. were not gone merely on a pilgrimage, to 'serve' Jehovah (iv. 23, vii. 16, &c.), but had departed altogether.

the heart...was changed] i.e. their mind, or opinion, was altered; they regretted that they had given the permission of xii. 31 f.; they felt that they had lost the services of the Israelites, and wished, if possible, to get them back.

from serving us] ch. v., &c.

6. *made ready*] Heb. *bound*, i.e. attached to the horses (Gen. xlvi. 29 *al.*).

chariot] marg. 'Or, *chariots*.' The Heb. word may be used either of an individual chariot (2 K. ix. 21, 24), or collectively (*vv.* 7, 9, 17, &c.). Here, however, the Pharaoh's own chariot appears to be meant.

his people] i.e. his warriors (Nu. xxi. 23 *al.*).

7. *all the chariots*] i.e. all the *other* chariots.

and **knights upon** (not 'over') *all of them*] The Heb. *shālīsh* is not the word usually rendered 'captain'; but denotes apparently some superior kind of military officer: in 2 K. vii. 2, 17, ix. 25, x. 25,

king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: *P*
9 for the children of Israel went out with an high hand. And
the Egyptians pursued after them, | all the horses *and* *Gl.*
chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, | and *P*

xv. 25 it is used of a military attendant of the king,—or, in the plural, of a body of such attendants,—such as we might, for distinction, call a **knight**: the same rend. would suit also Ex. xv. 4, Ez. xxiii. 15, 23, 2 Ch. viii. 9 (in 2 S. xxiii. 8 = 1 Ch. xi. 11 RVm. 'three' [שלשה] should probably be read for 'captains' [שלשם]). From the resemblance of the word to the Heb. for 'three' it has often been supposed to denote the *third* man in a chariot (cf. LXX. in Ex. and Kings, *τριστάτης*), i.e. the shield-bearer (by the side of the driver and the bowman). But (1) as appears from pictorial representations (see ill. in Wilk.-B. i. 223 f.), the Egyptian war-chariot was manned, except in triumphal processions (Wilk.-B. *l.c.*; *EB.* i. 726), by only *two* occupants, the driver and the bowman (*EB.* l.c.; Erman, p. 547); the chariots of the *Hittites* had three occupants (see ill. in *EB.* i. 729, or Erman, *l.c.*), but this, at the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes, under Rameses II, surprised the Egyptians (Erman, *l.c.*); the Assyrian chariots also carried only two occupants. (2) The *shālīshim* are not in any of the other passages where they are mentioned specially associated with chariots,—even in 2 K. ix. 25, Bidkar is not necessarily Jehu's *chariot*-attendant; and in Ex. xv. 4 the expression, 'the choice of his *shālīshim*,' would seem to suggest some more select and distinguished body than those who took only the *third* place in the chariots. We cannot be sure of the precise sense which was felt to attach to the word; but **knight** seems to suit all the passages in which it occurs. It may mean properly (Di.) 'a man of the third rank.'

8—9 (P). The sequel to *v.* 4.

8. and *the children of Israel* **were going** *out*, &c.] cf. the participle in *v.* 10.

with an high hand] i.e. proudly and defiantly; cf. Nu. xxxiii. 3 (P): in Nu. xv. 30 used of sins committed wilfully, in deliberate defiance of God's will. The 'high hand' is properly the hand uplifted to deliver a blow: cf. Job xxxviii. 15 ('the *high arm* is broken'), Mic. v. 9, Dt. xxxii. 27 (the same Heb.). The representation of P differs from that of J (so Di.): in J the Israelites 'flee' (*v.* 5) after obtaining the Pharaoh's leave for a temporary absence (xii. 31 f.): in P they from the first leave Egypt defiantly, regardless of the Pharaoh's wishes. Cf. on vi. 11.

9. In the Heb. the order is, 'And the Egyptians pursued after them, and overtook them encamping by the sea, [all the horses (and) chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army,] by Pi-haḥiroth, before Baal-zephon'; and the awkward position of the bracketed words makes it almost certain that they are a misplaced gloss upon 'the Egyptians,' suggested by the similar words in *vv.* 17^b, 18^b, 23^b, 26^b, 28.

horsemen] so *vv.* 17, 18, 23, 26, 28, xv. 19, Jos. xxiv. 6. The term

P overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth,
J before Baal-zephon. | And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the 10
children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the
Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid:
E J | and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord. | And 11
they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in
Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?
wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out
of Egypt? Is not this the word that we spake unto thee in 12
Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than
that we should die in the wilderness. And Moses said unto 13
the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of
the Lord, which he will work for you to-day: [1]for the

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[1] Or, *for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day*

seems to be an anachronism: the Egyptians used *chariots* in warfare; and though barbarians are represented on the monuments as fleeing on horseback, 'we have no representations of Egyptians on horseback' (Erman, p. 492). 'For a much later time Egyptian cavalry is indeed attested by Is. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 9; and so it is the more intelligible, when later Biblical writers presuppose it also for the Mosaic age' (Di.). There is a similar anachronism in Gen. l. 9.

10—14. The sequel to *vv.* 5—7. The alarm of the Israelites, as they see the Egyptians approaching, and their encouragement by Moses, 'told very graphically by J' (Di.).

10. *the Egyptians marched*] Heb., more graphically, **Egypt was marching**. Cf. on *v.* 25, and *v.* 30.

cried out, &c.] cf. Jos. xxiv. 7 (E).

11. Comp. similar expostulations in xvi. 3, xvii. 3, Nu. xi. 4 f., xiv. 3, xvi. 13, xx. 3 f., xxi. 5.

the wilderness] as *v.* 3, the Egyptian wilderness, W. of the Isthmus and Gulf of Suez.

12. They even declare that while they were still in Egypt they had been unfavourable to Moses' plan. This is not mentioned before: in iv. 31 they listen to Moses gladly; at most, they had blamed Moses when they found increased labour imposed upon them (v. 21). Even in vi. 9 (P) nothing like the words here used is placed in their mouth.

13. *stand still*] rather, **stand firm**, without fleeing; cf. Dt. vii. 24, xi. 25, 2 S. xxi. 5. Comp. the quotation in 2 Ch. xx. 17 (EVV. *set yourselves* [*not* 'stand still']).

salvation] The Heb. word is used here in its original etym. sense—which, as Arabic shews, was properly *breadth*, *spaciousness*, *freedom*—of a *material deliverance*; so 1 S. xiv. 45, Ps. iii. 2 (EVV. *help*), 8 (see RVm.), xviii. 50, xxviii. 8, Job xxx. 15 (EVV. *welfare*), Is. xxvi. 18,

Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them *J*
14 again no more for ever. The LORD shall fight for you, and
ye shall hold your peace.

15 And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou *P*
unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go
16 forward. | And lift thou up thy rod, | and stretch out thine *E P*
hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel
17 shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground. And I,
behold, I will [1]harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they
shall go in after them: and I will get me honour upon
Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon
18 his horsemen. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the
LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon
19 his chariots, and upon his horsemen. | And the angel of *E*
God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and

[1] Heb. *make strong*.

&c. Elsewhere in the prophets and Psalms the word often implies spiritual blessings as well. Cf. the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, p. 455 f.

13b. The marg. gives the correct meaning.

14. *shall fight for you*] Cf. *v.* 25. Hence often in Dt. (i. 30, iii. 22, xx. 4), and the Deuteronomic sections of Joshua (x. 14, 42, xxiii. 3, 10).

15—18 (in the main P). The Israelites are commanded to advance through the sea, by a path to be opened for them through it: the Egyptians will enter in after them, to their destruction.

15. *Wherefore criest thou unto me?*] This has not been mentioned before in the existing narrative. Moses, after what he had said in *v.* 13 f., would hardly have occasion to appeal to Jehovah: so the words will not be from J: probably (Di.) they are a notice from E (cf. xv. 25, xvii. 4,—both E).

16. *And* **thou** (emph.), *lift up thy rod*] For the rod in *Moses*' hand, as a mark of E, see on iv. 17, and p. 56.

divide] So *v.* 21. Cf. Is. lxiii. 12, Neh. ix. 11, Ps. lxxviii. 13.

17, 18. The Pharaoh's heart is still further 'hardened,' in order that he may be emboldened even to enter the sea after the Israelites. The expressions are substantially as in *v.* 4.

get me honour (or **glory**)] See on *v.* 4.

18. *when I have gotten*, &c.] For the form of sentence, cf. vii. 5.

19, 20. The angel of God, and the pillar of cloud, instead of being, as hitherto, in front of the Israelites, now take their place behind them. 'That here two accounts of the same thing have been placed side by side, is as clear as anywhere (e.g. Gen. xxi. 1)' (Di.). The parts relating to the 'angel of *God*' (Gen. xxi. 17, xxxi. 11) will belong naturally to E; those referring to the pillar of cloud, as in xiii. 21 f., to J.

J went behind them; | and the pillar of cloud removed from
E before them, and stood behind them: | and it came between 20
J the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; | and there was
the cloud and the darkness, yet gave it light by night: and
P the one came not near the other all the night. | And 21
J Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; | and the Lord
caused the sea to go *back* by a strong east wind all the
P night, and made the sea dry land, | and the waters were
divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of 22
the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall
unto them on their right hand, and on their left. And the 23
Egyptians pursued, and went in after them into the midst of
the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horse-
J men. | And it came to pass in the morning watch, that the 24

20. *and* **he** *came*] viz. the 'angel of God' (*v.* 19^{a}). 'Came' follows 'went' (*v.* 19^{a}) better than 'stood' (*v.* 19^{b}).

and there was, &c.] The rend. (in 'yet') is forced; the Heb. would naturally be rendered, *and* **it lit up** *the night*, viz. so as to deter the Egyptians from approaching the Israelites. There must be some error in the text. 'And when it was dark, the cloud lit up the night' (We.) would in itself yield a suitable sense: but the existing Heb. text is not an easy corruption of it. According to Jos. xxiv. 7 (E) Jehovah 'put thick darkness [*ma'ăphēl*] between' the Egyptians and the Israelites.

21, 22. The sea is divided; and the Israelites enter into it.

21^{a} (P). *stretched out his hand*] *v.* 16^{a}.

21^{b} (J). *to go* back] The Heb. is simply, *to* **go along**.

east wind] In our ignorance of the exact topography of the place at which the crossing took place, it is difficult to be certain what precisely was the effect of the E. wind. A strictly E. wind would be directly in the face of the advancing Israelites: so probably a NE. wind is to be thought of, such as at a shallow ford might cooperate with an ebb tide in keeping a passage clear (cf. *DB*. i. 802^{b}). See further p. 124 ff.

21^{c}. *and the waters were divided*] The immediate sequel of *v.* 21^{a} in P: cf. *v.* 16^{b} 'stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it.' In P there is no thought of any *wind*: the waters divide automatically at the signal given by Moses.

22. *and the waters were a wall*, &c.] 'A very summary poetical and hyperbolical (xv. 8) description of the occurrence, which can at most be pictured as the drying up of a shallow ford, on both sides of which the basin of the sea was much deeper, and remained filled with water' (Di.).

24, 25. Premonitory warnings of the disaster about to fall upon the Egyptians.

24. *the morning watch*] The Hebrews divided the night into three 'watches,' each of about four hours, the 'morning watch' (also 1 S. xi.

Lord looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians through *J*
the pillar of fire and of cloud, and discomfited the host of
25 the Egyptians. And he [1]took off their chariot wheels, [2]that
they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us
flee from the face of Israel; for the Lord fighteth for them
against the Egyptians.
26 And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand *P*
over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the
Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen.
27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, | and *J*
the sea returned to its [3]strength when the morning

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[1] Some ancient versions read, *bound.* [2] Or, *and made them to drive*
[3] Or, *wonted flow*

11) would be from about 2 to 6 a.m.; the 'middle watch' is mentioned in Jud. vii. 19. Cf. Luke xii. 38. In the NT., however, the Roman division into *four* watches is also followed, Mt. xiv. 25 = Mk. vi. 48; cf. Mk. xiii. 35.

looked forth] Notice the graphic anthropomorphism. Perhaps the idea is, with fiery flashes, startling the Egyptians, and throwing them into a panic. The author of Ps. lxxvii. 17—19 pictured torrents of rain, with brilliant lightnings and loud thunder (cf. lxxxi. 7), as accompanying the passage of the Red Sea: Jos. *Ant.* ii. 16. 3 describes it similarly.

host (twice)] Heb. **camp**, as *v.* 20. Not the word (*ḥayil*) rendered 'host' in *vv.* 4, 17, 28, and 'army' in *v.* 9.

discomfited] i.e. threw into panic or confusion: xxiii. 27, Dt. ii. 15, vii. 23, Jos. x. 10 *al.*

25. *removed.* The marg. **bound** (Sam. LXX. Pesh.; ויאסר for ויסר), i.e. clogged,—presumably by their sinking in the wet sand,—is probably to be preferred (so Di. Bä.).

and **made them to drive** (them) *heavily.* The marg. is preferable, for grammatical reasons.

and **Egypt** *said*, **Let me** *flee.* The same idiomatic and forcible singular as in *v.* 10. So frequently, as Nu. xx. 18, 19, Dt. ii. 27—29, Jos. xvii. 14 f., 17 f., besides often in the prophets (cf. *LOT.* p. 390).

fighteth] as *v.* 14.

26, 27^{a}. The sequel in P to *v.* 23. The waters are to return, as they were divided (*v.* $21^{a,c}$), at the signal given by Moses' hand.

26. *come again*] *come* **back**; the word rendered 'returned' in *vv.* 27, 28. 'Again' in EVV., as in Old English generally, often means *back.*

27^{b}. *and the sea returned,* &c.] By the cessation of the E. wind (*v.* 21^{b}); or, if xv. 10 is to be pressed, by a contrary wind beginning.

to its **wonted flow**] The marg. is right: lit. to its *perennial state.* The word signifies properly *everflowing* (Am. v. 20 RVm., Ps. lxxiv. 15 RVm., Dt. xxi. 6 RV.); but its meaning was lost by the Jews; and as

J appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD
P [1]overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. | And the 28
waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen,
even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the
sea; there remained not so much as one of them. But the 29
children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the
sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right
J hand, and on their left. | Thus the LORD saved Israel that 30
day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the
Egyptians dead upon the sea shore. And Israel saw the 31
great [2]work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians, and

[1] Heb. *shook off.*

[2] Heb. *hand.*

it occurs in many passages in which the rend. *mighty*, or *strong*, *strength*, would satisfy the context, the Jews interpreted it by these words, and hence the usual rendering of it in AV. The true meaning of the word was not recovered till in the 18th cent. Arabic began to be studied and compared with Hebrew, when Albert Schultens pointed out that the root in Arabic was used of a stream, and signified *to be perennial*, *everflowing*. Cf. the writer's note on Am. v. 24; and *Lex.* p. 450^b.

appeared] Heb. *turned* (to approach): an idiom. expression, occurring also Jud. xix. 26, Ps. xlvi. 5, and, with 'evening' for 'morning,' Gen. xxiv. 63, Dt. xxiii. 11.

and the Egyptians, &c.] The Heb. is more forcible: *and* (= **as**) *the Egyptians* **were fleeing** *against it.*

shook off] The marg. is again right, 'overthrew' being a paraphrase: see Neh. v. 13, where 'overthrow' for 'shake out' would obviously be impossible. Cf. the allusion in Ps. cxxxvi. 15 RVm. (the same word). (In xv. 7 the Heb. word is different.)

28^a. The continuation of *v.* 27^a in P, just as *v.* 21^c is the continuation of *v.* 21^a.

29. A repetition, in P's manner (cf. on xii. 17—20), of the substance of the preceding narrative. The expressions, as *v.* 22, with 'walked' for 'went into,' because here the reference is to the entire passage through the Sea.

the dry land] better, *the dry* **ground**, as *vv.* 16, 22, and for distinction from *v.* 21^b J (where the Heb. word is different). So xv. 19.

30, 31. Close of the narrative in J.

30. *the Egyptians*] Heb. **Egypt** (with a *sing.* partic. for 'dead'): cf. *vv.* 10, 25.

31. The effects of the great deliverance thus wrought for Israel: an increased fear of God, and belief in God, and also in Moses' Divine commission.

work] Heb. *hand*, fig. for *act* or *work*; cf. Dt. xxxiv. 12, Ps. lxxviii. 42.

the people feared the LORD: and they believed in the LORD, *J*
and in his servant Moses.

believed in] 'The idiom rendered "he believed in" (האמין ב) is a very striking one: the belief intended is, not merely a crediting of a testimony concerning a person or a thing (this would be האמין ל), but a *laying firm hold* morally *on* a person or a thing, without the help of any intermediate agency' (Cheyne, s.v. FAITH in *EB.*). Cf. Gen. xv. 6. The root idea of האמין is to *shew firmness* or *steadiness towards* (ל) or *on* (ב) a person or a word: cf. Job xxxix. 24 RVm., and the cognate subst. in ch. xvii. 12 (*lit.* 'Moses' hands were *firmness*').

his servant] A title applied to Moses elsewhere in the Pent. only Nu. xii. 7, 8, Dt. xxxiv. 5 (both JE). It is very common in the book of Joshua (mostly in parts which are the work of the Deuteronomic editor): i. 1, 2, 7, 13, 15, viii. 31, 33, ix. 24, xi. 12, 15, xii. 6, xiii. 8, xiv. 7, xviii. 7, xxii. 2, 4, 5.

On the sites of Pi-haḥiroth, Migdol, and Baal-ẓĕphōn (xiv. 2).

(1) *Pi-haḥiroth.* M. Naville identifies *Pi-haḥiroth* with the Egypt. *Piḳereḥet* or *Piḳeḥeret.* In lists of the 'nomes' of Egypt (Naville, *Pithom*, ed. 4, p. 24^b, cf. pp. 6^b, 8^a), sometimes the temple of Pithom, sometimes that of *Piḳereḥet* or *Piḳeḥeret*, is mentioned as the principal sanctuary of the 8th nome of lower Egypt, in the 'region of Thukke' (Succoth: Ex. xii. 37); and in the Inscription of Ptolemy II, found by M. Naville at Pithom (*ibid.* p. 18^b), this temple of Piḳeḥeret is mentioned as an abode of Osiris; and it is stated (l. 7; *ibid.* p. 19^b) that Ptolemy, in his 6th year, went to *Nefer ab* (i.e., probably, the capital of the nome, Heroopolis), visited the temple of Piḳereḥet, and dedicated it to 'his father Etôm (see on i. 11), the great living god of Thukke, at the festival of the god.' A temple of Osiris would be called by the Greeks a *Serapeum*; and as the Itinerary of Antonine mentions a *Serapiu*, 18 miles from Heroopolis, and 50 from Klysma (Kolzum, a little N. of the modern Suez), M. Naville identifies the temple of Piḳereḥet with this, and places it at the foot of Jebel Mariam, on the SW. edge of L. Timsāḥ, 12 miles E. of Pithom (p. 25; cf. p. 22^a, and see the Map at the end of his volume). Not only, however, does Piḳereḥet not agree phonetically with Pi-haḥiroth as closely as could be desired; but the arguments by which M. Naville seeks to fix its site are anything but cogent: in fact (Griffith) such *data* as we possess all tend to shew that the temple of Piḳereḥet was the shrine of a serpentine god (*Kerḥ*(*et*) = 'serpent') *in* Pithom itself, and not 12 miles E. of it (cf. W. M. Müller in *DB.* ii. 1439, *n.* 5)[1].

(2) Migdol is a Heb. word meaning *tower*; and in the Egypt. form

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[1] The identification (Kn. *al.*) of Pi-haḥiroth with 'Ajrūd (12 m. NW. of Suez) is quite out of the question: the phonetic equation implied is, as Di. justly objects, too 'grässlich' ('frightful').

Mektol occurs frequently in the inscriptions; but the situation of these 'towers' is mostly either uncertain, or unsuited to the present context[1]. There is however one which, *if* the Israelites really crossed the sea at or near L. Timsāḥ, may be the 'Migdol' here mentioned. In the reign of Merenptah's successor, Seti II, an officer who had been sent to overtake two fugitive slaves tells us that he followed them first to the *sgr* (fortified enclosure) of Thukke (see on xii. 37), then, turning to the S., to the *khetem*, or castle (see on xiii. 20), of *Thukke*, and afterwards to 'the northern wall of the *mektol* of Seti' (see *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 60 f.; W. Max Müller, MIGDOL in *EB.*)[2]. This *mektol* must certainly have been somewhere E. of Thukke (or Pithom): it might therefore well be near L. Timsāḥ, and so would fulfil all conditions for those assuming that the 'sea' which the Israelites crossed was a northern extension of the Gulf of Suez, at a point a little S. of this lake.

(3) The site of *Baal-zĕphōn* is quite unknown; all that can be said of it is that as the Israelites were to encamp *over against it*, i.e. (as we should now say) **opposite to it**, it will have been on the Asiatic side of the sea, opposite to Migdol (wherever 'Migdol' was).

The *name* 'Ba'al-ẓephon' is interesting. We know that there were many local Baals (Ba'al of Lebanon, of Tarsus, &c.), some of whom gave their names to places (as 'Ba'al of Peor'). Ba'al-ẓephon either means 'Baal of the North,' or is a combination of Baal with the Phoen. god Ẓaphon (*Rel. Sem.*², p. 95); cf. Baal-Gad. We know, now, from a treaty between Esarhaddon (B.C. 681—668) and the Phoenicians, that there was a Tyrian god, bearing the same name, viz. *Baal-ṣapûna* (*KAT.*³ 357), and also, from the annals of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (*ib.* p. 479), that there was a mountain *Ba'li-ṣapûnah*, evidently so named from this deity. The place, Ba'al-ẓephon, no doubt, either was, or had been, a sanctuary of the same deity. In Egypt itself, also, among the deities worshipped at Memphis, mention is made of a goddess *Ba'alath-ẓaphon* (*EB.* s.v. BAAL-ZEPHON; W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 315), who may have had some connexion with the corresponding male deity.

On the passage of the Red Sea.

The *fact* of the passage of the Red Sea can be questioned only by an extreme and baseless scepticism. As was remarked above (p. 114), on the principal facts involved, the successful passage of the Israelites, and the destruction of the pursuing Egyptians in the returning waters, the principal narratives, and also the Song, all agree: they differ only in details (on the uncertainty as to the *place* of crossing, see p. 124 ff.). Dillm. (p. 133, ed. 2, p. 146) remarks that these details are described most simply, if only we do not understand as prose what is intended to be poetry, in the Song (which is regarded by him as older than any of the prose narratives): a strong wind drives back the waters in such a way as to permit the Israelites to pass through (xv. 8); another wind, suddenly arising in an opposite direction (*v.* 10), causes the water to return and close upon the pursuing foe. 'That natural causes were in operation, is taken for granted: Jehovah is glorified for setting them in action, and achieving by such simple means the salvation of His own people, and the destruction of their foes. The marvel lay in the deliverance of the people, whom its leader had ever taught to trust in its God, in the extremity of danger, without its own cooperation (cf. xiv. 13 f., 31 J), this was also the reason why the event had such immense significance in the subsequent history of the people.' But the story of the great deliverance, as it was handed down from generation to generation in the mouths of the people, was variously embellished by the unconscious play of the imagination. And so in the later writers the occurrence is attributed far more to the direct supernatural power of God. While J,—no doubt following the Song,—still mentions a strong east wind as the cause, E and P represent the water as dividing and forming two walls, and afterwards as reuniting, at a signal given by the hand or rod of Moses, in E and J the angel, or pillar of cloud and fire, cooperates to keep the two hosts apart, and throw the Egyptians into a panic, the passage of the whole body of Israelites, and the destruction of the Egyptians, take place in a single night, and not one of the enemy is left alive. 'It would be unjustifiable,' continues Dillmann, 'on account of such differences between the narrators, and because of such purely legendary traits, to deny the reality of the occurrence itself; but it would be still more foolish to seek to maintain the strictly historical character of the details as described by these narrators. Especially the idea that a people numbering some 2,000,000 souls, with their tents and baggage, and large flocks and herds (xii. 37 f.), could have crossed the sea, however broad the ford was, in the course of a single night, must be entirely given up; either the numbers were very much smaller, or the narrative must be supposed to speak of only the principal body of the Israelites.'

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[1] The Migdol of Ez. xxix. 10, xxx. 6, mentioned as a frontier-city of Egypt (render each time as RVm.), is probably the Magdolo of the *Itin. Anton.*, 12 m. S. of Pelusium: but this is far too N. for the present 'Migdol.' See MIGDOL in *EB.*

[2] The '*khetem* which is in Thukke near the lakes of Pithom' (L. Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes?) is mentioned also in another inscription: see *Auth. and Arch.* p. 59.

The actual point at which the passage of the Red Sea took place can be fixed only by conjecture; for the site suggested for Pi-haḥiroth (p. 122) is too conjectural, and that suggested for Migdol is too uncertain, to be used for the purpose of determining it, and the site of Baal-ẓĕphōn depends entirely upon those adopted for these two places. Formerly, indeed, it used to be supposed, on the strength of the expressions in Ex. xiv. 22, xv. 8, that the passage took place in the deep water, some miles S. of Suez, that the sea there literally parted asunder, and that through the chasm thus formed the Israelites passed, with a sheer wall of water on each side of them. But, if only for the reason that it is impossible to understand how any 'wind' could have produced a chasm of this kind, or, even if it could have done so, how any man or body of men could have stood against it, this view has now been for long entirely abandoned. The following are the two views that have been more recently advocated. (1) That the passage took place near the modern Suez, *either* in the narrow arm of the gulf, some ¾ mile broad, which extends now about 2 miles N. of Suez, but,—to judge from the character of the soil, consisting of sand blown in from the desert on the East,—in ancient times probably extended further (Rob. i. 49), *or* a little S. of Suez: above Suez the water is shallow, and there are parts which can be crossed at low tide (Ebers saw Arabs crossing them, *Gosen*, p. 530; cf. Rob. p. 50); immediately below Suez also there is a shoal, 1 mile broad, dry at low water[1]. The Gulf of Suez is at this part enclosed by a range of hills on each side—the Jebel ʻAtāḳa on the W. coming close down to the sea, and the ridge of er-Rāḥah, 12—15 miles off on the E.; and partly on account of these hills the ebb and flow of the tide is here unusually dependent on the direction of the wind. 'As is well known to observant men accustomed to navigate the Red Sea, a north-easterly gale, on reaching Suez, would then be drawn down between the high ranges which bound the gulf on either hand, in such a manner as to change its direction from NE. to N., or even a little W. of N. It would gather strength as it advanced, and by its action on an ebb tide would make it abnormally low, and prevent, while it lasted, at least for a time, the return of the usual flood tide. In this way a good passage across the channel might soon be laid bare, and remain so for several hours. In the morning, a shift of wind to the S., probably of a cyclonic nature, takes place: the pent-up flood-tide, now freed from restraint, and urged on by the S. gale "returns to its wonted flow," and sweeps suddenly up the gulf, probably in a "bore" or tidal wave, and so overwhelms the pursuing Egyptians.'[2]

(2) The other view takes the Israelites across a presumed ancient northern extension of the Gulf of Suez, which is considered highly probable by many modern authorities. The isthmus of Suez, at its narrowest part, is 70 miles across[3]. Near the N. end of the Gulf of Suez there extends for some ten miles a 'sort of marshy lagoon' (Murray's *Guide*); then comes the Shalûf, a plateau 20—25 ft. above the sea-level, and 6 miles long; after this, stretching in a NW. direction, the two 'Bitter Lakes,' altogether about 25 miles long by 2—6 broad, connected by a shallow marshy channel a mile long, which, until an immense volume of water was let into them at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 from the Medit. Sea, were nothing more than two great salt marshes, though 20—40 ft. deep in many parts; at the N. end of these Lakes there is again for 8 miles a stretch of sand, rising in parts into dunes, with a stelè of Darius in the middle, which, from the ruins found

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[1] See Map, Gulf of Suez, at end. According to Rob. p. 50, however, the shoal could only be crossed by wading, the water being 5 ft. deep.

[2] Abridged from Major Palmer's *Sinai* (S.P.C.K.), p. 169 f. Ewald (*Hist.* ii. 73), 'if the Red Sea had then its present limits,' and Ebers (*Gosen*, p. 102 f.) would also place the passage across the fords N. of Suez. Robinson (i. 58 f.) supposes that the wind drove the water off the shallow shoals, either just above or just below the present Suez, and so made them passable, while leaving the deeper water N. and S. of these shoals unaffected.

[3] There are excellent maps of the Isthmus in both Bädeker's and Murray's *Guide*.

there being supposed by the French engineers to have been a temple of Osiris, is now known as the *Serapeum*; then comes Lake Timsāḥ (the 'Crocodile Lake'), at the E. end of W. Ṭumīlāt, 5 miles long by ½—2 miles broad, which, like the Bitter Lakes, till it was flooded for the Suez Canal, was another salt marsh, filled with reeds: 3 miles N. of Lake Timsāḥ, the land rises to about 50 ft. above the sea, and the highest point between the Medit. Sea and the Gulf of Suez is reached, called *el-Gisr* ('the Embankment'), the cutting through of which for the Suez Canal was a work of immense labour: two or three miles N. of el-Gisr is Lake Ballāḥ; and N. of this, between L. Ballāḥ and L. Menzaleh, was the isthmus called el-Ḳanṭara, or the 'Bridge,' over which went the old caravan route between Egypt and Palestine.

There is no doubt that in remote pre-historic times (before the Pleistocene period) the Gulf of Suez and the Medit. Sea were connected with each other (see the map in *EB.* ii. 1205—6); and it has been supposed that in ancient historic times the Gulf of Suez extended as far N. as L. Timsāḥ, on the S. of the ridge el-Gisr, just referred to: Sir J. W. Dawson, for instance, writing as a geologist, points out that the ground S. of L. Timsāḥ is for the most part lower than the Red Sea, and is composed of recent deposits holding many Red Sea shells (*Egypt and Syria*, pp. 67—69). And so it has been held that the passage of the Israelites was made at some part of this northern extension of the Red Sea. Thus the French engineer Linant, R. S. Poole the Egyptologist (in Smith's *DB.*, 1863, i. 599^b, iii. 1016^a, 1017^a), and M. Naville in his *Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*^{4}, 1903, p. 31 (see also his art. *Exodus* in Smith's *DB.*, vol. i., ed. 2, with maps) suppose them to have crossed by what is now the neck of land between L. Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes, a little N. of the 'Serapeum,' where (Naville) 'the sea was not wide, and the water probably very shallow,' and 'liable to be driven back under an east wind'; while Sir J. W. Dawson (*l.c.* p. 65) thinks that the best place for the passage would have been at the S. end of the Great Bitter Lake[1], where 'it is narrow, and its shallow part begins, and a NE. wind, combined with a low tide, would produce the greatest possible effect in lowering the water.' Dillm., after a full discussion of the question, reached in 1880 substantially the same conclusion, thinking it probable that there was some extension of what is now the Gulf of Suez as far as L. Timsāḥ, both upon independent grounds (see below), and also because, if at the time of the Exodus the distribution of land and water upon the isthmus was as it is now, it is not apparent why Moses should have led the Israelites S. of the N. end of the Gulf of Suez, instead of crossing the isthmus between the N. end of the Gulf and the Bitter Lakes, by the present pilgrim track to the desert of Arabia: he did not, however, define more closely where the crossing took place, but thought it might be at any point N. of the present gulf, where the water was fairly shallow (p. 144 f., ed. 2, p. 159).

Did this N. extension of the Gulf of Suez exist, however, as late as the time of the Exodus, in the 13th cent. B.C.? (1) The 'Bitter Lakes' seem to have existed already in the time of the 12th dynasty. Sinuhit, a political exile from Egypt under Usertesen I (B.C. 1980—1935 Breasted), in describing his flight, says (Petrie, *Egypt. Tales*, i. 100 f.[1]) that he 'reached the walls (*anbu*) of the Ruler, built to repel the Sati,' then after 'crouching in a bush for fear of being seen by the guards doing duty there, who watch on the top,' he 'set forth at night-fall, and at day-break reached Peten, and came to the island of *Kem-uēr*,' i.e. the 'Great Black (water).'[2] Now Ptolemy II is said, in l. 20 of the inscription found at Pithom by M. Naville (*Pithom*, ed. 4, p. 20^b), to have gone to *Kem-uēr*, and founded there a large city in honour of his sister, which can be only Arsinoe; and this is stated by Strabo (p. 804; xvii. 1. 26) to have been near Heroopolis, i.e. (see below) Pithom, 10 miles W. of L. Timsāḥ. These *data* seem to shew that *Kem-uēr* must have included L. Timsāḥ. The sequel (ll. 22—24), now, speaks of vessels going from *Kem-uēr* to the Red Sea, and returning again, with elephants and other imports, to *Kem-uēr*. Though *Kem-uēr* is distinguished from the Red Sea, there seems thus to have been some water-connexion between them: L. Timsāḥ was apparently united with the Bitter Lakes, forming the 'Great Black (water)'; and there was some navigable connexion between this and what is now the Gulf of Suez (cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Eur. nach den Aeg. Denkm.* p. 42; Di. pp. 140, 145, ed. 2, pp. 153, 159; Naville, p. 25 f.). Geology offers no demur to this conclusion. Geologists generally are agreed that the whole of the isthmus from el-Gisr to Suez is a recent (Quaternary) formation; and Th. Fuchs, who examined it carefully in 1876, and whose conclusions are summarized by Guthe (*ZDPV.* 1885, 222—9, esp. 225; cf. *PRE.*[3] xii. 499), writing purely as a geologist, regards it as quite possible that 'the Bitter Lakes, even in historical times, were connected with the Red Sea.' In particular, Fuchs (against Fraas and others)[3] denies that the Shalûf plateau (p. 125) is as a whole a formation of the Miocene period; and says that such isolated Miocene rocks as may have been found in it could never have formed a real barrier between the Medit. and the Red Seas (p. 225). Comp. Guthe's statement (p. 227 f.), with which the well-known geologist, Credner, is stated fully to agree. The land, from L. Timsāḥ southwards has gradually risen, causing the waters of the Red Sea gradually to recede.

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[1] Between the present railway stations Fâyid and Geneffa (see the Map).

(2) In a wall in Pithom M. Naville found a stone with the inscription (in four lines) LOERO | POLIS | ERO | CASTRA (where LO doubtless stands for *locus*); and very near it a milestone of A.D. 306 with the note 'Ab Ero in Klysma M. VIIII.—Θ' (*Pithom*, pp. 9^a, 21^b, 22^a, 23^b, and Plate XI). Plainly *Heroopolis* is meant, a place often mentioned by the classical geographers as the starting point of the

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[1] Latest and best edition by A. H. Gardiner, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Berlin, 1909, whose translation (p. 9 f.) has in two places been followed.

[2] So-called in contradistinction to the 'Great Green (water),' i.e. the Mediterranean and other seas.

[3] Comp. Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands* (1888), 396–8, *Eg. and Syr.* 68.

ʼΑράβιος κόλπος or the Red Sea (e.g. Strabo, p. 767 *ἀπὸ ʽΗρώων πόλεως ἥτις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ μυχὸς τοῦ ʼΑραβίου κόλπου*; cf. 803), as giving its name to this gulf, and as the place at which voyagers embarked on the 'Arabian Gulf' (Theophr. *Plant.* iv. 7. 2 *ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ ʽΗρώων, ἐφ' ὃν καταβαίνουσιν οἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*). Pithom is 10 miles W. of L. Timsāḥ; so these statements would seem to shew that the 'Arabian Gulf' in classical times extended as far N. as that lake[1]. M. Naville (p. 25^b) even judges, from the appearance of the soil, that the head of the gulf extended westwards from L. Timsāḥ to within three miles of Heroopolis itself[2]. This conclusion would be clear, and, as Di. remarks, a welcome confirmation of the conclusion reached by him, upon independent grounds, in his Commentary (pp. 139 f., 144 f., ed. 2, pp. 152 f., 159), were it not for a passage of Pliny (*HN.* vi. § 165), which seems to imply that there were 34 (*al.* 37) miles from the Red Sea to the Bitter Lakes: if this is correct, the Gulf of Suez must have ended where it does now (see further Dillm.'s full discussion in his review of Naville's *Pithom*, ed. 1, in *SBAk.* 1885, p. 889 ff.). Perhaps, however, too much weight ought not to be attached to an isolated statement, not made in a detailed description of the country[3].

As there is no reason (*Pithom*, ed. 4, p. 23 f.) for supposing either of the stones found by M. Naville to have been moved appreciably from its original site, they establish the identity of Heroopolis with the place at which they were found, i.e. with Pithom. The ancient Klysma, according to the Arabian geographers (see Di. *l.c.*), was at the extreme head of the Gulf of Suez (N. of the modern *town* of Suez; see the Map): if this, therefore, be the Klysma meant, Heroopolis must have been some 50 miles distant from it, instead of 9, as stated on the milestone. The supposition made by Mommsen (*SBAk.* 1885, p. 898, 1887, p. 364) for overcoming this difficulty, viz. that the inscription means not '9 miles from Ero to Klysma' but 'the 9th mile on the way from Ero to Klysma,' being negatived by the improbability (Naville, *l.c.*) that the stone had been removed from its original place, Naville (p. 24^a) argues that Klysma (properly 'a *place washed* by the sea') means here not the 'Klysma' near Suez, but the sea-beach of L. Timsāḥ, which would be about 10 miles from Pithom.

On the whole, the language of the ancients, with the exception of the one passage of Pliny, is best satisfied by the supposition that, as late as classical times, the Gulf of Suez extended as far N. as L. Timsāḥ.

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[1] Ptolemy (iv. 5. 7, 8) also places the 'bay (μυχὸς) of the Arabian Gulf by Heroopolis' a degree (about 60 miles) N. of Klysma (*Kolzum*, just N. of Suez).

[2] See the Map of Ancient Egypt, shewing this, in Maspero, i. 75.

[3] Naville (p. 26^a) understands the passage, not of a canal from the Bitter Lakes to the Red Sea, but of the canal from the Nile (near Bubastis) to the Bitter Lakes, in which case the distance would be approximately correct, and the difficulty would vanish: but he hardly does justice to Pliny's *et* ('also'); see Dillm. p. 894.

CHAP. XV.

Moses' Song of Triumph. The journey of the Israelites to Marah and Elim.

The ode of triumph (xv. 1—18) is one of the finest products of Hebrew poetry, remarkable for poetic fire and spirit, picturesque description, vivid imagery, quick movement, effective parallelism, and bright, sonorous ('Klangvoll,' Bäntsch) diction. *V.* 1^b states the theme: the praise of Jehovah for the glorious overthrow of Israel's foe. The theme is developed in the verses following: first (*vv.* 2—5) the poet praises the mighty God, who had brought His people deliverance, and overwhelmed their enemies in the sea; then (*vv.* 6—10) he dwells on the details of the deliverance, how by the blast of His nostrils, the waters had parted to let the Israelites pass through, and then, at another blast, had closed upon the pursuing Egyptians, and snatched from them the prize, when it seemed already in their grasp; lastly (*vv.* 11—18), after once again (*vv.* 11—12) celebrating Jehovah as their deliverer, he describes how in His goodness He had led Israel through the wilderness, and planted it securely in its home in Canaan, while neighbouring nations looked on in silent amazement, powerless to arrest His people's advance. The song is thus virtually the poetical development of two thoughts: (1) the destruction of the Egyptians in the sea, *vv.* 1^b—12; (2) Jehovah's guidance of Israel, till it was settled in Canaan, and a sanctuary established in its midst, *vv.* 12—18.

As regards the *metre* and *strophical arrangement* of the poem, there is at present little unanimity among scholars (see particulars in Haupt, *AJSL.* 1904, p. 150 f.). Haupt himself, p. 155 f., with several omissions of words and some additions, and also one or two transpositions, arranges it very systematically into three strophes, each strophe consisting of three stanzas, each stanza of two couplets, each couplet (as *v.* 1^b, *v.* 6, *v.* 7) of two lines, and each line, in the Heb., having 2 + 2 accented syllables or 'beats.' As the poem stands, the lines, it is true, do mostly fall naturally into couplets (*vv.* 1^b, 3, 4, &c.); sometimes, however, they form triplets (*vv.* 8, 9, 15, 17), twice quatrains (*vv.* 2, 16), and one stands by itself (*v.* 18): they also (in the Heb.) consist usually (but not always) of four words (forming two clauses, each of two words), with 2 + 2 accented syllables, or 'beats.' We cannot be sure that greater uniformity than this was designed by the original poet. It is wisest, under the circumstances, to leave the poem as it stands; and, so far as the strophes are concerned, simply to divide it, after *v.* 1, as Di. and Bä. do, in accordance with the natural breaks in the development of the thought, into three paragraphs, *vv.* 2—5, 6—10, 11—18.

There are several examples of alliteration or assonance in the poem; the fuller forms of the pron. suffix to the verb (*-āmō*, *-ēmō*), for the usual *-ām*, *-ēm*, are another poetical ornament which the author loves

(9 times; cf. also *-enhū* in *v.* 2, and *'êmắthāh* in *v.* 16): while the quick, short clauses,—generally of two words each,—which are not common in Heb. poetry, each suggesting some vivid image, give the poem a force and brightness of its own.

Is the poem, however, Mosaic? That *vv.* 12—17 are later than Moses' time is admitted by even such a conservative scholar as Strack: as he says, it clearly presupposes the conquest of Canaan, and it refers to this conquest, not in a tone of prediction, but as an accomplished fact (cf. on *vv.* 13—17). 'In its present form,' says Strack, 'it is a festal hymn, perhaps,' as Ewald suggested (see below), 'composed for a passover at the sanctuary shortly after the conquest of Canaan, to keep alive the recollection of Israel's great deliverance'; *vv.* 11—17 are, however, older than the time of David, and *vv.* 1—10 are Mosaic. Dillm., agreeing substantially with Ewald (*Dichter des alten Bundes*, i. 1, p. 175; cf. *Hist.* ii. 354), doubts whether *vv.* 11—17 can be separated from *vv.* 4—10, on the ground that *v.* 10 forms no proper close, and the whole poem seems by its structure to be designed for its present compass: hence he considers that the ode, as we have it, is the poetical development, made at the time and for the object just stated, of an older Mosaic nucleus, to which in any case *v.* 1^{b} belonged, if not *vv.* 2, 3 as well. More recent scholars (as Wellh. *Hist.*, p. 352, Bä., Moore, *EB.* ii. 1450 f., Duhm, *EB.* iii. 3797, Haupt; cf. Budde, *DB.* iv. 11^{b}) go further; and while allowing *v.* 1^{b}—or rather *v.* 21—to be ancient, and even Mosaic, argue that *vv.* 2—18 are written in the style of the Psalms, lack the personal and local colouring, such as appears so distinctly in the older historical poems, Jud. v., 2 S. i. 19 ff., Nu. xxi., and have many affinities, both literary and religious, with the later Heb. literature: 'the emphatic assertion of Jehovah's eternal sovereignty in *v.* 18,' for instance, 'implies an advanced stage of the doctrine of the Divine Kingship, such as had found fresh expression during and after the exile' (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 160 [ed. 2, p. 307 f.]). Those who argue thus suppose accordingly that the whole of *vv.* 2—18 is the poetical expansion of *v.* 1^{b}, composed at a relatively late date, not earlier than *c.* 600 B.C.

It is true, there are several words and forms in the poem, which otherwise occur first *c.* 600 B.C., and are most frequent in Psalms and other writings which are, certainly or probably, later than this. Thus the *plur.* 'deeps' (*vv.* 5, 8) occurs elsewhere 12 times, first in Dt. viii. 7 (7th cent.), then Is. lxiii. 13, and in later writings (Pss., Prov. iii., viii.); 'depths' (*v.* 5) recurs 11 times, first in Mic. vii. 19, then in Pss., Zech. x. 11, Job, Jon., Neh. [a quotation from here]; 'floods' (*v.* 8) recurs 6 times, first in Jer. xviii. 14, Cant. iv. 15 (of uncertain date), then in Is. xliv., Pss., Prov. v.; 'heart' (fig. for 'midst'), *v.* 8, occurs besides, with *sea*(*s*), Ps. xlvi. 2, Pr. xxiii. 34, xxx. 19, Ez. xxvii. 4, 25, 26, 27, xxviii. 2, 8, Jon. ii. 3 (לבב) (but cf. with *oak* 2 S. xviii. 14, and (לבב) with *heaven* Dt. iv. 11); הריק 'draw' (the sword), lit. *empty out* (*v.* 9), recurs only Lev. xxvi. 33 (7th cent.), Ps. xxxv. 3, and 5 times in Ezek.; the pron. *zū* (*vv.* 13, 16) recurs 13 times, first in Ps. xxxii. 8, or

Hab. i. 11, then only in II. Is. and Pss.; the rare term. *-enhū* (*v.* 2) appears elsewhere only in Jer. v. 22, Dt. xxxii. 10 (7th cent.), Ps. lxxii. 15; the verbal suff. *-āmō*, *-ēmō* (here 9 times) occurs elsewhere 14 times, once in prose (Ex. xxiii. 31), otherwise only in the Pss. (ii., v., xxi., xxii., xlv., lix., lxxiii., lxxx., lxxxiii., cxl.). (The only *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα* are הִנְוָה *v.* 2 (text very dub.), נֶעֶרַם *v.* 8, and (perhaps) צָלַל *v.* 10.)

With Hab. iii. before us, it cannot be denied that a fine ode might be written in the 6th cent. B.C.: at the same time in poetic freshness and power, and absence of conventional phrases, this ode seems to resemble the earlier Psalms (such as xviii., xxiv., xxix., xlvi.), rather than the later ones: where the same occasion is referred to, the parallels in the later Pss. seem to be reminiscences of this; and though it is curious that several of the words found here do not recur till the 6th cent. B.C. or later, it must be remembered that, if (as the present writer also thinks) there are very few Psalms earlier than the age of Jeremiah, the pre-exilic poetry with which this ode could be compared is small in amount, and words not otherwise represented in the extant poems might easily have been in use: the forms in *-mo* might also have been chosen by the poet as a rhetorical ornament. On the whole, while acknowledging in the poem a combination of features pointing to a relatively late date, the present writer, in view of the considerations just urged, especially the freshness of *vv.* 3—10, hesitates to regard them as conclusive; and thinks it more probable that *vv.* 2—18 are not later than the early years of the Davidic dynasty (cf. on *v.* 17^{d}). *V.* 18, also, might easily be a subsequent addition.

Reminiscences of the ode are not met with certainly before the 7th cent. B.C.; they cannot consequently be taken to prove more than its relative antiquity. The following are the principal ones:—Is. xii. 2^{b} (ch. xii. is probably later than Isaiah), and Ps. cxviii. 14 (*v.* $2^{a, b}$); Josh. ii. 9^{b} ('and that,' &c.), 24^{b} [both additions of the Deut. editor] (*vv.* 15^{c}, 16^{a}); Ps. lxxiv. 2 (*v.* 16^{d} 'purchased'); lxxvii. 13 ('was in *holiness*,' *v.* 11^{b}; 'Who, &c.,' *v.* 11^{a}), 14 (*vv.* 11^{c}, 2^{a}), 15^{a} (*v.* 13^{a}), $16^{b, c}$ 'were in pangs..., trembled' (*v.* 14 'trembled, Pangs'), 16^{c} 'depths' (= 'deeps,' *vv.* 5^{a}, 8^{c} Heb.), 20 (*v.* 13^{a} 'Thou leddest the people'); lxxviii. 13^{b}, 53^{b}, 54 RVm. (*vv.* 8^{b}, 10^{a}, 13 *end*, 16 *end*, 17^{a}); cvi. 12^{b} (note 12^{a} = ch. xiv. 31^{b}, shewing that the author of the Psalm read Ex. xv. in its present connexion); cxviii. 28 (*v.* $2^{c, d}$); Neh. ix. 11^{b} (*v.* 5^{b}; cf. *v.* 10 *end* [but in Neh. עזים, not אדירים]).

To the latest times, the passage of the Red Sea was remembered with a glow of triumph and enthusiasm, as a signal example of the power of Israel's God: see Dt. xi. 4, Jos. xxiv. 6, 7, Is. li. 10, lxiii. 11—13, Ps. lxvi. 6^{a}, lxxiv. 13, 14, lxxxi. $7^{a, b}$, lxxxix. 10, cvi. 9—12, cxiv. 3^{a}, 5^{a}, cxxxvi. 13—15; also, for expressions or imagery suggested by it, Is. x. 26^{b}, xi. 11 RVm., 15, 16, xliii. 16 f., Nah. i. 4^{a}. Cf. also Rev. xv. 3.

The Exodus, in the broader sense of the term, was also ever afterwards regarded as the birthday of the nation, and as the event which secured

15 Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song *J*
unto the LORD, and spake, saying,
I will sing unto the LORD, for he [1]hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

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[1] Or, *is highly exalted*

the nation's independence: hence it is often referred to as the beginning of the national (Jud. xix. 30, 1 S. viii. 8, 2 S. vii. 6 *al.*) and religious (Hos. xii. 9, xiii. 4) life of Israel; and the deliverance from 'the house of bondage' was appealed to both as the great event of which Israel should ever be mindful, and for which it owed gratitude to its God (see, besides many of the passages already quoted above, Ex. xii. 27, xiii. 8 f., 14, 16, xx. 2, xxxiv. 18, Am. ii. 10, iii. 1, Hos. xi. 1, xii. 13, Mic. vi. 4, Dt. iv. 34, vi. 21—23, vii. 8, 19, xi. 3 f., xv. 15, xvi. 1, 3, 6, xxvi. 8, Neh. ix. 9—12); also as the basis of an appeal to God (Ex. xxxii. 11 f., Dt. ix. 26—29, Jer. xxxii. 21), and as the guarantee of deliverance in subsequent troubles (Mic. vii. 15, Is. lxiii. 11—14).

xv. **1ᵃ**. *Then sang*, &c.] cf. Nu. xxi. 17. (In Jud. v. 1 the Heb. is simply, *And.*)

1ᵇ. Exordium. The poet bids himself sing (cf. Jud. v. 3); and briefly, but forcibly, announces his theme (cf. *v.* 21).

hath triumphed gloriously] This fine paraphrase is based upon the *triumphando magnifice egit* of Seb. Münster, in his Latin version of the O.T. (1534—5). A more lit. rendering would be *hath risen up* (see, for the rare word, Job viii. 11, x. 16, Ez. xlvii. 5) *majestically* or *proudly*: the root idea of the word is to *rise up loftily*; but derivatives have generally the fig. senses of *majesty* or *pride* (see e.g. *v.* 7, Ps. xcvi. 1).

The horse, &c.] Thus briefly, but completely, is the ruin of the Pharaoh's army described: its chariots and horses, the mainstay of its strength, are, by Divine might, *cast* irretrievably *into the sea.*

and his rider] רָכַב means both to ride a horse, and to ride in a chariot (Jer. li. 21 'the horse and *his rider*,... and the chariot and *its rider*'; similarly Hag. ii. 22): hence, as the Egyptians at this time had no cavalry (on xiv. 9), if the verse is contemporary with the Exodus, either 'rider' must be understood of the rider in the chariot, or (as the pron. rather distinctly connects the 'rider' with the *horse*: cf. Gen. xlix. 17, and Jer. *l.c.*) we may read for רֹכְבוֹ either רֹכֵב (so LXX.), i.e. 'The horse and **the** *rider*' (viz. in the chariot), or (Haupt) רֶכֶב, i.e. 'The horse and **the chariot**' (xiv. 9).

2—5. Jehovah is the object of the poet's praise, Jehovah, the potent and irresistible 'man of war,' who has overwhelmed His enemies in the sea.

J [1]The Lord is my strength and song, 2
And he is become my salvation:
This is my God, and I will praise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.
The Lord is a man of war: 3
The Lord is his name.
Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the 4
sea:
And his chosen captains are sunk in the Red Sea.
The deeps cover them: 5

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[1] Heb. *Jah.*

2. **Yah** *is my strength and* **a** *song*] i.e. the source of my strength and the theme of my song. *Yah*, the abbreviated form of *Yahweh*, occurs otherwise in xvii. 16, Is. xii. 2 (in a citation of the present verse), xxvi. 4 (post-exilic), xxxviii. 12 (Hezekiah's song), Cant. viii. 6; otherwise only in late Psalms (40 times, mostly in 'Hallelu-*yah*').

my...I] The poet speaks, as Hebrew poets often do (e.g. Is. lxi. 10; Ps. xliv. 4, 6, cxviii. 5—21, 28), in the name, and as the representative, of the nation.

is become my salvation] lit. *is become* **to me a** *salvation*, i.e. a source of deliverance ('salvation,' as xiv. 13): cf. exactly the same Heb. in 2 S. x. 11 'then thou shalt *be to me for salvation*,' EVV. 'thou shalt *help me*.' This and the last line are cited in Is. xii. 2^{b}, and Ps. cxviii. 14.

praise] The Heb. word occurs only here. If correct, it would seem to mean *beautify* or *adorn* (viz. with praises). But this is a great deal to supply; and probably, by a slight change, we should read *acknowledge* or **thank** (Ps. ix. 1, &c.; and especially cxviii. 28^{a}). AV. *prepare him an habitation* follows the Targ. and Rabbis in treating *hinwāh*, improbably, as a denominative from *nāweh*, 'habitation' (*v.* 13).

My father's God] my ancestral God; cf. on iii. 6.

I will exalt him] Ps. xxx. 1; and especially cxviii. 28^{b}.

3. *a man of war*] one who understands how to fight, and to vanquish his foes. The same figure, of Jehovah, Is. xlii. 13 ('a man of wars'), Ps. xxiv. 8 ('the mighty man [*gibbōr*] of battle [*or* of war]'); cf. also ch. xiv. 14.

Yahweh *is his name*] an exultant ejaculation: 'Yahweh' is to the poet the great and powerful God, who helps, defends, and delivers His people. Cf. Am. v. 8, ix. 6; and 'Yahweh of hosts is his name,' Am. iv. 13, v. 27, Is. xlvii. 4, xlviii. 2 *al.*

4. *and his host*] Cf. xiv. 4, 9, 17, 28.

And his chosen (Heb. *the choice of his*) **knights**] See on xiv. 7.

5. *The deeps*] chiefly a poet. word: Ps. lxxvii. 16, cvi. 9, Is. lxiii. 13 (all with reference to the passage of Red Sea); and elsewhere.

did cover *them*] The tense used represents the action vividly as it

They went down into the depths like a stone. *J*
6 Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorious in power,
Thy right hand, O Lord, dasheth in pieces the enemy.
7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest them that rise up against thee:

was taking place, something in the manner of the Greek imperfect. So *vv.* 6, 7. It cannot be reproduced idiomatically in English. 'Cover' is probably meant by the Revisers to be a historical present: but even this is inadequate; and the word is very liable to be misunderstood as an actual present ('cover them *now*').

the depths] Mic. vii. 19, Ps. lxviii. 22, cvii. 24, Neh. ix. 11 (an allusion to the present passage), *al.* Properly, perhaps, *the gurgling-places* (cf. on *v.* 10). Quite a different word from 'deeps,' *vv.* 5, 8.

6—10. How Jehovah, by His power, had annihilated the foe: elated with the hope of plunder, and confident of victory, they pursued Israel into the path cut through the sea; He but blew with His wind, and the waters closed upon them.

6. *Thy right hand,* **O Yahweh glorious** *in power,*
Thy right hand, O **Yahweh, did dash** *in pieces the enemy.*

The text can only be so rendered, 'glorious' (which is masc.) agreeing with 'Yahweh' (cf. *v.* 11), and the subject, 'Thy right hand,' being repeated for emphasis in *v.* 6^b before the predicate (just as in Ps. xcii. 9, xciii. 3, xciv. 3). If we desire to render as in RV., we must read נאדרה for נאדרי. The figure of the 'right hand,' as Is. li. 9, Ps. cxviii. 15, 16 *al.*

glorious] Cf. *v.* 11; and the cognate adj. אדיר, of Jehovah, Is. x. 34 (EVV. *a mighty one*), xxxiii. 21 (RV. *in majesty*), Ps. lxxvi. 4 (render, 'Illumined [but read probably *Terrible*, as *vv.* 7, 12] art thou and *glorious*'), xciii. 4 (EVV. *mighty*); cf. Ps. viii. 1, 9 (render, 'How *glorious* is thy name in all the earth!'). The idea of the word is *noble*, *grand*, *magnificent.*

did dash *in pieces*] only besides Jud. x. 8 (EVV. weakly *vexed*: render, '*brake* and crushed'); cf. the same word in Jud. ix. 53 Targ.

7. *in the greatness of* **thy majesty**] cognate with 'risen up majestically' in *v.* 1: cf. Is. ii. 10, 19, 21, xxiv. 14, where the same word (*gā'ōn*) is rendered *majesty* in both AV. and RV. The retention of *excellency* in RV. is unfortunate. It is true, in 1611, when the AV. was made, it still had the etymological force (Lat. *excello*, to *rise up out of*) of *surpassingness*, *pre-eminence*; but even that is an imperfect rendering of the Heb. here; and now the word suggests little more than a mild type of superiority, just as the cognate 'excellent' has been weakened into a term of mild commendation, *superior*, *meritorious*. See the note on both 'excellency' and 'excellent' in the writer's *Joel and Amos* (in the *Camb. Bible*), p. 238 f., or (with a fuller synopsis of their occurrences, including those in the N.T.) in his *Daniel*, p. 33 f.

thou **didst break down** *them that* **rose** *up against thee*] viz. like a

J Thou sendest forth thy wrath, it consumeth them as stubble.
And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up, 8
The floods stood upright as an heap;
The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.
The enemy said, 9
I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil:
My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.

wall or building (Jud. vi. 25 'throw down'; Ez. xxvi. 4, 12; and frequently): the solid, compact masses of the foe are represented as broken to pieces, and thrown in ruins on the earth. The figure is more forcible than when we speak of an army being 'overthrown.' The word is quite different from the one rendered 'overthrew' in xiv. 27.

Thou **sentest forth** *thy wrath, it* **consumed** (or **devoured**: lit. *ate*) *them as stubble*] God's wrath is pictured as a *fire*, consuming the foe as quickly as if they were dry stubble (cf. Is. v. 24, Ob. 18, Nah. i. 10).

8. *the blast of thy nostrils*] Fig. for the *wind* (*v.* 10), as Ps. xviii. 15.

were piled up] The hyperbole, as xiv. 22 (the 'wall'). The Heb. word occurs only here. 'Heap' in Ru. iii. 7 is cognate.

floods] or *streams*, lit. *the flowing ones*. A poet. word; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 16, 44, Cant. iv. 15, Is. xliv. 3.

an heap] Cf. Jos. iii. 13, 16; Ps. lxxviii. 13.

congealed] or, *solidified* (cf. Zeph. i. 12 RVm.,—the same word).

the heart of the sea] Cf. Ps. xlvi. 2, Ez. xxvii. 4.

9. The enemy's confidence of victory, dramatically expressed in a series of quick, abrupt sentences, describing the rapid succession of one stage after another of the expected triumphant pursuit.

divide the spoil] A result of victory always looked forward to with satisfaction; cf. Jud. v. 30, Is. ix. 3, xxxiii. 23, Ps. lxviii. 12.

My **soul** *shall be* **filled with** *them*] i.e. sated, or glutted with them. The 'soul,' in the psychology of the Hebrews, is the seat of *desire*, and especially of *appetite* or *greed*; see Dt. xii. 15, xiv. 26, xxiii. 24 ('thou mayest eat grapes thy fill *according to thy soul*), Is. xxix. 8, xxxii. 6, Ps. xvii. 9 ('my *greedy* enemies,' lit. 'my enemies *in soul*'), xxvii. 12 ('give me not over unto the *soul* of my enemies, so xli. 2), lxxviii. 18 ('by asking food for their *soul*'), Prov. xxiii. 2 ('a man given to *appetite*,' lit. 'the possessor of a *soul*'), Eccl. vi. 7, Is. lvi. 11 ('greedy dogs,' lit. 'dogs strong of *soul*'). See further the Glossary in the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, p. 459 f.

shall **dispossess** *them*] Often used of the nations of Canaan (see on xxxiv. 24). Fig. here for *root out*; cf. Nu. xiv. 12. 'Destroy' is a paraphrase, which obliterates the distinctive figure of the original.

10 Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: *J*
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
11 Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders?
12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.

10. God did but blow with His wind, and all their hopes were in a moment shattered; they sank and perished in the returning waters.

sank] The word occurs nowhere else in this sense: to judge from its derivatives, the root will have meant to *whir*, *whiz*, *clang*, &c.: so perhaps the idea is **whizzed down**, or (cf. Southey's poem, *The Inchcape Rock*, l. 37, of a bell sinking) **sank with a gurgling sound**. The usual Heb. word for 'sink' is the one in *v.* 4^b.

in the mighty waters] The adj. cognate with the ptcp. rendered *glorious* in *vv.* 6, 11. Neh. ix. 11 uses the more ordinary word *'azzim* ('strong').

11—17. Jehovah, the Incomparable One, thus saved Israel from its foes (*vv.* 11—12); and afterwards, in His goodness, led His people whom He had redeemed to their promised home, while the nations of Canaan and surrounding regions looked on, awestruck and powerless to arrest their advance.

11. No god is comparable to Jehovah, whether among the gods of Egypt or those of any other country. Cf. xviii. 11; Ps. lxxi. 19^c, lxxvii. 13, lxxxvi. 8, lxxxix. 6, 8, xcv. 3, xcvi. 4, xcvii. 9; Jer. x. 6.

glorious (*v.* 6) *in holiness*] i.e. in loftiness, greatness, unapproachableness,—in a word in all the transcendent attributes which combine to constitute the idea of *supreme Godhead*; the ethical ideas which we associate with 'holiness' seem hardly to be thought of in passages like this. Cf. 1 S. vi. 20; and Skinner in *DB.* ii. 396 f.; Davidson, *OT. Theol.* pp. 145 ff., 155; and below, on xxii. 31.

Fearful in praises] i.e. in praiseworthy attributes; so Ps. ix. 14, lxxviii. 4, Is. lx. 6, lxiii. 7. Cf. Ps. lxvi. 5 'fearful in operation.'

doing wonders] The Heb., as Ps. lxxvii. 14 (with allusion to the Exodus), lxxviii. 12 ('In the sight of their fathers he *did wonders*'), Is. xxv. 1.

12. The poet, before proceeding to the main theme of the paragraph (*v.* 13 ff.), reverts for a moment to the thought of Jehovah's destruction of the foe.

The earth swallowed them] In the Heb., the imperfect, attached ἀσυνδέτως, expresses vividly how the result followed at once the stretching out of Jehovah's hand. Exactly so *v.* 14 'the peoples heard, *they trembled*'; Ps. lxxvii. 16 'the waters saw thee, *they were in pangs*.' The 'earth' must here be understood as inclusive of the sea. 'Swallowed,' i.e. engulphed: cf. Nu. xvi. 32, Ps. cvi. 17 (of Dathan and Abiram).

J Thou in thy mercy hast led the people which thou 13
hast redeemed:
Thou hast guided them in thy strength to thy holy
habitation.
The peoples have heard, they tremble: 14
Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
Then were the dukes of Edom amazed; 15

13—17. Israel's providential guidance through the wilderness to its home in Canaan. As translated in RV., *vv.* 13—16 describe, in anticipation, as if completed, the journey to, and settlement in, Canaan; but it is far from natural to understand the past tenses (in the Heb.) in *vv.* 13—15, except as referring to events actually past; and there is little doubt that the verses were really written long after Israel was settled in Canaan, as a poetical description of their journey through the wilderness, and establishment in Canaan (cf. Dt. xxxii. 10—14). The verbs should therefore all be rendered as aorists.

13. *Thou* **didst lead** *in thy mercy the people which thou* **hadst** *redeemed; Thou* **didst guide** *them in thy strength to thy holy habitation.*

lead] As xiii. 17, 21, xxxii. 34, Ps. lxxvii. 20, lxxviii. 14,—all of the Divine guidance of Israel in the wilderness.

redeemed] See on vi. 6.

guide] Properly, it seems, to judge from the Arabic, to *lead to a watering-place*; of Jehovah leading His servant, or His people, as a shepherd, Ps. xxiii. 2 (to 'waters of rest'), Is. xl. 11 (EVV. 'gently lead'), xlix. 10 (to 'springs of water').

habitation] Heb. נָוֶה, properly *homestead*, or *abode of shepherds and flocks* (Is. lxv. 10, Jer. xxiii. 3); but often used in poetry of a habitation in general (as Pr. iii. 33, Is. xxxiii. 20). Here Canaan is probably meant (cf. Jer. x. 25, Ps. lxxix. 7), though the reference *might* be to Zion (2 S. xv. 25).

14—16. The poet pictures the neighbouring nations as seized with alarm, when they hear that Israel is advancing on its way to Canaan. The description is idealized: Edom, for instance, according to Nu. xx. 18—21, was in no fear of Israel whatever.

14. *The peoples* **heard,** *they* **trembled***;*
Pangs **took hold** *on the inhabitants of Philistia.*

Pangs] Properly, as of a woman in travail. Cf. Ps. xlviii. 6, Jer. vi. 24, l. 43.

15. *Then were the* **chiefs** *of Edom* **dismayed***;*
The mighty men of Moab, trembling **took hold** *upon them;*
All the inhabitants of Canaan **melted** *away* (in fear).

Then] when they heard the tidings of the great disaster to the Egyptians. The terror thus inspired into them continued till Israel had passed by them and entered Canaan (*v.* 16). The Israelites did, 40 years afterwards, pass round Edom and Moab on the S. and E. of the Dead Sea: see Nu xx. 21, xxi. 4, 13; Dt. ii. 1—9, 18.

The [1]mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold upon them: J
All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away.
16 Terror and dread falleth upon them;
By the greatness of thine arm they are as still as a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O LORD,

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[1] Heb. *rams.*

chiefs] Properly, *clan-chiefs*, or heads of *clans* (from *'eleph*, a *family* or *clan*, Jud. vi. 15, 1 S. x. 19, Mic. v. 2); a word used specially of the clan-chiefs of Edom (see Gen. xxxvi. 15—19, 21, 29, 30, 40—43 [=1 Ch. i. 51—54]), and rare besides (Zech. ix. 7, xii. 5, 6, only). In EVV., here and in Gen. xxxvi., 'duke' represents the Lat. *dux* (which in its turn is based upon the ἡγεμών of the LXX.), and means simply *leader*.

dismayed] as Ps. xlviii. 5, for the same Heb. 'Amazed' (AS. *amasian*, to *perplex*; connected with *maze*) meant formerly *bewildered* (cf. 'to be in a *maze*') or *confounded* by any strong emotion, especially by fear (cf. Jud. xx. 41, for the same word as here; Job xxxii. 15 for חתו; and 'amazement' for πτόησις in 1 Pet. iii. 6, RV. 'terror': also 'amazing,' i.e. bewildering, 'thunder' in Shakespeare, *Richard II.* i. 3. 81); but now it suggests a wrong meaning ('astonished').

mighty men] The same rare word recurs 2 K. xxiv. 15, Ez. xvii. 13, xxxi. 11, 14, xxxii. 21 ('strong'). It seems to be identical with the Heb. word for 'ram': if this is really the case, it must have come to be used figuratively for *leader*; cf. the similar use of 'he-goats' in Is. xiv. 9 (see RVm.).

trembling (רעד) **took hold** *upon them*] Cf. Ps. xlviii. 6 (רעדה,—both rare words).

melted *away*] fig. for, were incapacitated and helpless through terror and despair. Cf. Jos. ii. 9^b, 24^b (reminiscences of the present passage), Is. xiv. 31, Nah. ii. 6 (EVV. 'is dissolved,' to be understood in its old fig. sense of *relaxed*, *enfeebled*: the Heb. word is the same as here).

16. *Terror and dread* **fell** *upon them;*
By the greatness of thine arm, they **were** *as still as a stone:*
Till thy people **passed through,** *O* **Yahweh,**
Till thy people **passed through,** *which thou* **hadst** *purchased.*

Terror, &c.] Cf. Jos. ii. 9 'and that your terror is fallen upon us.'

as still as a stone] i.e. at once motionless (Jos. x. 13 Heb.) and silent (Ps. xxxi. 17) through fear. For the comparison, cf. the '*dumb* stone' of Hab. ii. 19.

passed through] viz. the nations through whom they passed on their progress to Canaan (Di. Bä., &c.): cf. for the expression Dt. xxix. 16 'and how we *passed through* the midst of the nations *through* which ye *passed*.' The poet idealizes the past; and pictures the neighbouring

J Till the people pass over which thou hast [1]purchased.
Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, 17
The place, O LORD, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,
The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

peoples terror-struck, unable to move a hand to resist Israel, as it marched on to take possession of its inheritance in Canaan. The words do not refer, as the rend. of EVV. would imply that they do, to the passage of the Jordan.

purchased] The word does mean (marg.) to *get* (Gen. iv. 1, Prov. xvi. 16 *al.*) or *acquire*; but it is commonly used in the sense of to *get by purchase*, or *buy* (Gen. xxxiii. 19, &c.). And this no doubt is its meaning here; the idea being that Jehovah has 'redeemed' Israel (*v.* 13, vi. 6), like a slave, from servitude, and purchased it as His own possession (cf. Neh. v. 8 RVm.). The word is used similarly of Israel in Is. xi. 11 (see RVm.), Ps. lxxiv. 2 (cf. lxxviii. 54^{b}).

17. *Thou* **didst** *bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,*
The place which thou **hadst made** *for thee to dwell in, O* **Yahweh,**
The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

The final goal of Israel's triumphant progress through the nations (*vv.* 14—16): viz. its settlement in Canaan, with Jehovah's sanctuary established in its midst.

plant them] fix them in firmly: the figure, as 2 S. vii. 10, Am. ix. 15, Ps. xliv. 2, and elsewhere.

the mountain of thine inheritance] i.e. Canaan, called a 'mountain' on account of the mountainous character of many of its most important parts (Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, for instance). Cf. Dt. iii. 25, Is. xi. 9, Ps. lxxviii. 54^{b} (with allusion to this passage).

of thine inheritance] in so far as it was His possession: cf. Jer. ii. 7, Ps. lxxix. 1; and (of the *people*) 1 S. x. 1, xxvi. 19, 2 S. xiv. 16, xx. 19, xxi. 3.

a place...for thee to dwell in] These words, exactly as 1 K. viii. 13 ('I have surely built thee an house of habitation, *a place for thee to dwell in* for ever'), in the poetical fragment (*vv.* 12, 13), excerpted, it is almost certain (see Skinner's note on the passage in the *Century Bible*, or Barnes' in the *Cambridge Bible*), from the ancient 'Book of Jashar' (hence also the expression, 'place of thy (*or* his) dwelling,' in 1 K. viii. 39, 43, 49, Ps. xxxiii. 14). Di. thinks that the reference is to the sanctuary of Shiloh (which must have been a substantial building, 1 S. i. 3, 9, iii. 3, 15): others think that the terms used point rather to the Temple on Zion (with 'established,' in the next line, cf. Ps. xlviii. 8, lxxxvii. 5). Of course, the entire people was not 'planted' at either of

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[1] Heb. *gotten*.

18 The LORD shall reign for ever and ever. *J*
19 For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots *R*^{P}
and with his horsemen into the sea, and the LORD brought
again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of
20 Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea. | And *E*
Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel
in her hand; and all the women went out after her with
21 timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them,

these places: but the poet, as he goes on, narrows his outlook, and fixes his thoughts on Jehovah's earthly dwelling, the religious centre of the nation.

18. With this short concluding verse, 'glancing at Jehovah's lasting kingship (Dt. xxxiii. 5) over His people, settled round His sanctuary, the hymn is brought to a fine and effective close' (Di.). The thought of Jehovah as King occurs already in Dt. xxxiii. 5, and in the seemingly early Psalms, xxiv. 7—10, xxix. 10; but the stress laid on His active exertion of sovereignty occurs first in Mic. iv. 7, but is chiefly later, Is. lii. 7 (hence Ps. xciii. 1, xcvi. 10, xcvii. 1, xcviii. 1), Is. xxiv. 23 (post-exilic), Ps. cxlvi. 10 (with 'for ever,' as also Mic. iv. 7).

19. Probably an addition by the compiler who united together JE and P, emphasizing once again, in words adapted from xiv. 23, 28, 29 (P), the great deliverance which the poem celebrated.

brought again] *brought* **back**. Cf. on xiv. 26.

and *the children of Israel*, &c.] *verbatim* as xiv. 29^a.

dry land] better, *dry* **ground**, to agree with xiv. 22, 29^a.

20, 21. How the opening verse of the Song was sung by Miriam.

20. *the prophetess*] See Nu. xii. 2; and cf. Jud. iv. 4 (of Deborah).

the sister of Aaron] Miriam being more closely associated with Aaron than with Moses: cf. Nu. xii. 1 ff., where Miriam and Aaron act together, even against Moses. See also on ii. 1.

a timbrel] or *hand-drum*, i.e. a ring of wood or metal, covered with a tightly-drawn skin, held up in one hand, and struck by the fingers of the other. The same Heb. is sometimes rendered *tabret*. The hand-drum was used on joyous occasions, as Gen. xxxi. 27, 2 S. vi. 5, and with dances, as here, Jud. xi. 34, 1 S. xviii. 6, Jer. xxxi. 4. For *women* celebrating a victory, see Jud. xi. 34 (Jephthah's daughter), Ps. lxviii. 11 (RV.), and esp. 1 S. xviii. 6, 7.

went out] viz. from the camp.

dances] For dancing on joyous religious occasions, cf. xxxii. 19, Jud. xxi. 21, 2 S. vi. 14, Ps. cxlix. 3, cl. 4. 'In the East dancing was, and is, the language of religion. David, to shew his fervour, danced before the Ark with all his might. In Hellas dancing accompanied every rite and every mystery. The choral dance afforded the outlet to religious enthusiasm which elsewhere is provided by services' (K. J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas* 600—300 B.C., 1907, p. 143 f.).

21. *answered*] The word means (note the ל), *answered antiphonally*

E Sing ye to the Lord, for he [1]hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

E And Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and 22
they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went

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[1] Or, *is highly exalted*

in song, even if,—as some think, connecting it with the Arab. *ghanā* (*Lex.* 777^a),—it does not mean simply *sang* (comp. Nu. xxi. 17^b; and esp. 1 S. xviii. 7, xxi. 11, xxix. 5 [where the same word is rendered, 'sing one to another']).

them] The pron. is masc., so the reference might seem to be to the men (*v.* 1^a), after they had sung *v.* 1^b. But this antecedent is rather remote: and as in the 2nd and 3rd plur. the masc. form is often used with reference to women (G.-K. § 135^o), it is probably better (with Bä.) to suppose the women in *v.* 20^b to be referred to; cf. 1 S. xviii. 7.

22—27. The journey from the Red Sea to Elim.

22. *led...onward*] properly, *made...to journey* (xii. 37); so Ps. lxxviii. 52^a.

from the Red Sea] The Arabs regard *'Ayūn* (or *'Oyūn*) *Mūsā*, the 'springs of Moses,' 9 miles below Suez, on the E. side of the gulf, and 1½ miles from the coast, as the station at which the Israelites first halted, after their passage of the Red Sea. 'Ayūn Mūsā is a small oasis, where Robinson (i. 62), in 1838, counted 7 fountains, some evidently mere recent excavations in the sand, in which a little brackish water was standing, and saw about 20 stunted, untrimmed palm bushes, and a small patch of barley, irrigated from one or two of the fountains. More recently (cf. *Ordnance Survey of Sinai*, p. 73; Palmer, *Desert of the Ex.*, 1871, p. 34 f.) the irrigation has been artificially improved: several acres of garden ground, containing fruit and vegetables, have been brought under cultivation, which supply the Suez market; and palms and tamarisk trees are more abundant. Whether however 'Ayūn Mūsā was really the Israelites' halting-place, or was only assumed to be such on account of its convenient situation opposite the supposed crossing-place, must remain uncertain: if the passage was made either through, or N. of, the Bitter Lakes (p. 126), 'Ayūn Mūsā, being 35, or 50, miles distant, would be too far off for at least the *first* stopping-place.

Shur] The name of the district on the E. frontier of Egypt (i.e. E. of a line extending from Suez to what is now Port Said), mentioned also in Gen. xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxv. 18 (where 'before,' or 'in front of,' means *East of*), 1 S. xxvii. 8. On theories of the origin of the name see Shur in *DB*. *Shur* in Heb. means a 'wall'; and hence it has sometimes been supposed to denote the 'wall' built by the Egyptians, at least as early as Usertesen I, of the 12th dynasty, to protect their E. frontier against invaders from Asia. But it is uncertain whether the Egypt. word means a wall or only a line of military posts or fortresses: Shur also is the regular word for 'wall' only in *Aramaic*, in Heb. it

23 three days in the wilderness, and found no water. And *E*
when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the
waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name
24 of it was called [1] Marah. And the people murmured against
25 Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And he cried unto
the LORD; and the LORD shewed him a tree, and he cast it

[1] That is, *Bitterness.*

occurs only twice, in poetry (Gen. xlix. 22; Ps. xviii. 29 = 2 S. xxii. 30): so it is very doubtful if this theory of the meaning of the name is correct (see further *DB.* s.v., with the references).

three days] a day's journey, for a caravan travelling with tents, baggage, and cattle, would be hardly more than 15 miles.

the wilderness] In the itinerary of P in Nu. xxxiii. 8, 'the wilderness *of Etham*': i.e., if this interpretation is correct, the part of the wilderness of Shur that was near Etham (xiii. 20).

23. *Marah*] Burckhardt, *Travels* [1810—11] *in Syria, &c.*, 1822, p. 472, suggested that this might be the well of *Howarah* (or [Palmer] *Hawwârah*), about 47 miles SE. of 'Ayūn Mūsā, and 7 miles from the coast, on the usual route to Mt. Sinai, with water so bitter as to be undrinkable,—though at times (Palmer, *Des. Ex.* 40) it is palatable. It is 'a solitary spring of bitter water with a stunted palm-tree growing near it, and affording a delicious shade.' The identification has been accepted by many since Burckhardt: but it is far from certain (it need hardly be said that there is no etym. connexion between *Hawwârah* [said by Palmer to mean *a small pool of undrinkable water*] and *Marah*). In itself the site would be suitable, supposing that the Israelites crossed the sea at or near Suez: but it agrees badly with Nu. xxxiii. 8 (P), if Marah is here correctly placed in the 'wilderness of *Etham*' (see on xiii. 20), and it would be much too far, if the Israelites made their crossing at or near the Bitter Lakes: by those who adopt the latter view, 'Ain Nâba (also called el-Ghŭrkŭdeh), a fountain with a considerable supply of brackish water (Rob. i. 61 f.), about 10 miles SE. of Suez, and 50 miles from Lake Timsāḥ, has been suggested for Marah, and 'Ayūn Mūsā (though this is only 6 miles SW. of 'Ain Nâba) for Elim (*v.* 27). Under the circumstances, as Di. says, it is impossible to speak with any certainty respecting the site of Marah.

24. *murmured*] as xvi. 2, 7, 8, xvii. 3, Nu. xiv. 2, 27, 29, 36, xvi. 11, 41, xvii. 5, Jos. ix. 18†. Cf. 'murmurings,' Ex. xvi. 7, 8, 9, 12, Nu. xiv. 27, xvii. 5, 10†.

25. *cried unto* **Jehovah**] Cf. xiv. 15, xvii. 4.

a tree] 'That there might be a bush or tree, whose leaves, fruit, bark or wood were able to sweeten bitter water is not impossible (see on such means adopted by the Tamils and Peruvians, Rosenm. *Alt. u. neues Morgenland*, ii. 28 f.); from the Bedawin of the present time, travellers have not been able to hear of such a tree (Rob. i. 67 f., Ebers, *Gosen*, 116 f.): according to de Lesseps (as quoted by Ebers, pp. 117,

E into the waters, and the waters were made sweet. There he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he
R^{JE} proved them; | and he said, If thou wilt diligently hearken 26 to the voice of the LORD thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD that healeth thee.

E And they came to Elim, where were twelve springs 27 of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they

531), however, a kind of barberry growing in the wilderness is so used' (Di.). Comp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 5. Josephus' account of the incident (*Ant.* iii. 1, 2) is curious: see on this and other traditions, or interpretations, E. A. Abbott, *Indices to Diatessarica* (1907), pp. xi—lxiii.

There **set he** *them*, &c.] Cf. Jos. xxiv. 25 (the same words). 'Statute and ordinance,' as often (in the plur.) in Dt. (iv. 1, 5, 8, 14, &c. [in these passages rendered 'judgement'; see on xxi. 1]). What 'statute and ordinance' is meant, is not stated: apparently some duty, by the observance or non-observance of which, Israel's loyalty could be 'proved' (cf. on xvii. 2). The notice seems imperfectly connected with what precedes; and the second clause reads as if it were originally intended as an explanation of the name *Massah* ('Proving'), differing from the one given in xvii. 7.

26. Encouragement to Israel, to obey the commandments laid upon them. The verse approximates in style and tone to Deuteronomy, and is probably one of the parenetic additions of the compiler of JE (see on xiii. 3—16); notice *Hearken to the voice*, as Dt. xv. 5, xxviii. 1 *al.* (but with ב, not ל, as here); *Jehovah thy God*, as Dt. i. 21, 31, and constantly; *that which is right* &c., as vi. 18, xii. 25, 28 *al.*; *give ear*, as i. 45 (elsewhere nearly always poet.); *commandments...and statutes*, as iv. 40, vi. 17, x. 13, &c.; *keep*, as iv. 40, xxvi. 17.

I will put, &c.] Dt. vii. 15 is based upon this passage (in spite of the Heb. word for 'diseases' being different).

diseases] alluding to the plagues.

that healeth thee] Cf. Ps. ciii. 3; also ch. xxiii. 25. The thought seems to be suggested by the incident of *v.* 25^{a}: unwholesome or bitter water that has been made sweet is sometimes spoken of as 'healed' (2 K. ii. 21, 22, Ez. xlvii. 8).

27. *Elim*] i.e. *Terebinths*, or perhaps *Sacred trees* in general (the word is quite possibly derived from *'ēl*, 'god'), supposed by the common people to be inhabited by a deity, and venerated accordingly. When a tree or grove of trees is specially mentioned in the OT., a sacred tree, or grove, is often meant (cf. Is. i. 29): e.g. Gen. xii. 6 (see the writer's note *ad loc.*), xxxv. 4, 8, Jud. ix. 6, 37: see further NATURE-WORSHIP, §§ 2, 3, in *EB*. To the present day Palestine abounds in trees, esp.

16 encamped there by the waters. | And they took their *P* journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children

oaks, supposed to be 'inhabited,' or haunted by spirits (*jinn*); and the superstitious peasants hang rags upon them as tokens of homage (*L. and B.* ii. 104, 171 f., 222, 474).

Elim has been usually, since Burckhardt (p. 473 f.), identified with some spot in the *Wady Gharandel*[1], a valley running down from the mountains about 7 miles SE. of Hawwárah, and forming a grateful contrast to the 54 miles of arid wilderness, which the traveller has passed through since leaving 'Ayūn Mūsā. Two miles below the point at which the route by Hawwárah enters the valley, there are springs which form the usual watering-place for caravans passing along this route: lower down, as the valley comes within 2 or 3 miles of the coast, 'water rises in considerable volume to the surface, and nurtures a charming oasis,' in which waterfowl and other birds are abundant, and there are 'thickets of palms and tamarisks, beds of reeds and bulrushes, with a gurgling brook and pools' (*Ordn. Survey*, p. 75): the thorny shrub called *Gharkhad*, with a juicy and refreshing berry, of which the Arabs are very fond, is also frequent in it (Burckh. *l.c.*; cf. Rob. i. 68 f.). The identification must not however be regarded as certain: there is no similarity of name to support it; and as Di. remarks, if the passage of the Israelites took place either through, or N. of, the Bitter Lakes, Elim would be more suitably located at 'Ayūn Mūsā.

CHAP. XVI.

The journey to the wilderness of Sin. Manna and Quails given.

In the main from P, with short passages from the parallel narrative of J. The marks of P are particularly evident in the parts assigned to him in the text: some (not all) are pointed out in the notes. The general representation is the same in both narratives: but only P mentions the quails (in J the quails are given later, after a complaint of the monotony of the manna, Nu. xi. 4—34), and only J the disobedience on the seventh day of some of the people (*vv.* 27—30). Both narratives bring the gift of manna into connexion with the sabbath, and make it an occasion for inculcating its observance (*vv.* 22—26; 27—30); J also (*v.* 4^b, cf. *v.* 28) makes it a means of testing Israel's obedience. *Vv.* 33 f., if not *vv.* 9 f. (see the notes) as well, presupposing the existence of the Tent of Meeting, seem to indicate that P's account of the manna (*v.* 2 ff.) stood originally at a later point in his narrative (Bä.), after the erection of the Tabernacle had been described, perhaps (Ew. *Hist.* ii. 174; Di. p. 165 [^{2}181], and on *v.* 2; Kittel), after Nu. x. Cf. S. A. Cook, *Jewish Quart. Rev.* 1906, p. 742 ff.

xvi. 1. *the congregation*] P's standing expression (xii. 3). So *v.* 2 &c.

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[1] The identification seems really to have been made as early as the 6th cent.: for the *Sarandula* visited by Antoninus (Anton. *Itinerarium*, ed. Gildemeister, 1889, § 41), at about 570 A.D., can hardly be any other place.

P of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. And the 2

the wilderness of Sin] xvii. 1, Nu. xxxiii. 11, 12†. In Nu. xxxiii. 10 the people are said to have halted, between Elim and the wilderness of Sin, at the *Red Sea*. Accepting the oasis in W. Gharandel as Elim (on xv. 27), the 'Red Sea' station can hardly have been anywhere but at or near the mouth of Wādy Ṭaiyibeh,—perhaps in the littoral plain of el-Murkheiyeh, just beyond it. There is no passage along the coast from W. Gharandel to W. Ṭaiyibeh, the abrupt projecting cliffs of the lofty Jebel Ḥammam Farʻun ('Mountain of Pharaoh's Bath,'—1570 feet) effectually stopping it: the Israelites, if they came in this direction, must have retraced their steps up the W. Gharandel to the point where (see on xv. 26) W. Hawwārah enters it (*Ordn. Surv.* 75, 76), and then have turned to the right for 12 miles over the desert uplands at the back of J. Ḥammam Farʻun, till they arrived at the top of W. Shebeikeh (the 'Wādy of network'), by which they could descend, 'through an amazing labyrinth of chalky hillocks and ridges,' to the head of W. Ṭaiyibeh, and so pass straight down to the coast—in all 21 miles (*O.S.* 156). In W. Ṭaiyibeh, a little above its mouth, there are a few brackish springs, with some stunted palms growing near them (*O.S.* 81).

From the mouth of W. Ṭaiyibeh there are two principal routes to Jebel Serbāl and Jebel Mūsā—one, the *northern route*, back up to the head of W. Ṭaiyibeh again (4 miles), then to the right along the W. Ḥamr (18 miles), to the long upland plain called Debbet er-Ramleh (the 'Plain of sand'), and thence through a succession of mountain valleys to either J. Mūsā or J. Serbāl; the other, the *coast route*, on to the broad flinty plain of el-Markhā, and then, either leaving this plain on the E., up the Seiḥ Sidreh, and afterwards along the W. Mukatteb into the Wādy Feiran, or else keeping along the coast for 7 miles beyond the SE. end of el-Markhā, and there ascending the W. Feiran from its mouth,—in either case, the W. Feiran leading on to both Serbāl and J. Mūsā. Knob., followed by Keil and Canon Cook, advocated the former of these routes, supposing the 'wilderness of Sin' to be the Debbet er-Ramleh. But, if the Israelites were already on the 'Red Sea' (Nu. xxxiii. 10), at the mouth of W. Ṭaiyibeh or beyond, the latter is much the more natural route for them to have followed (so Rob. i. 73, 120; and the members of the Ordnance Survey Expedition): in this case el-Markhā will be the wilderness of Sin. But it must be admitted that neither Debbet er-Ramleh nor el-Markhā is at all naturally described, as a glance at the map will shew, as 'between' Elim and Sinai, at least if Elim be in the W. Gharandel.

2, 3. The people's murmurings: they would rather have died suddenly by Jehovah's hand in Egypt, in the enjoyment of plenty, than have been thus brought, by the fault of their leaders, to a lingering and painful death in the wilderness.

whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured *P*
3 against Moses and against Aaron in the wilderness: and the
children of Israel said unto them, Would that we had died
by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat
by the flesh pots, when we did eat bread to the full; for ye
have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole
4 assembly with hunger. | Then said the Lord unto Moses, *J*
Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the
people shall go out and gather a day's portion every day,
that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law,
5 or no. And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that
they shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be
6 twice as much as they gather daily. | And Moses and *P*
Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye
shall know that the Lord hath brought you out from the

2. *murmured*] xv. 24, xvii. 3.

3. *Would that*, &c.] Cf. the similar wish, and similar complaint, in Nu. xx. 3—5; also ch. xiv. 11, 12.

by the flesh pots, &c.] Cf. the picture in Nu. xi. 5.

4, 5 (J). Jehovah promises that He will give the people bread from heaven. The promise here, it is to be noted, relates only to the 'bread' (i.e. the manna); the 'flesh between the two evenings' (i.e. the quails) is promised only in P (*v.* 12).

4. *Then*] The Heb. is simply, **And** (Jehovah said &c.).

rain, &c.] Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 24 f. ('rained,' 'corn of heaven,' 'bread of the mighty,' i.e. angels), cv. 40 ('bread of heaven'), Neh. ix. 15, Wisd. xvi. 20 (ἀγγέλων τροφή, 'angels' food'), John vi. 31.

that I may prove them (Dt. viii. 2, xiii. 3: see on xvii. 2), &c.] it will be a test of their obedience, if they are attentive to carry out the injunction which I lay upon them. Cf. Dt. viii. 16, and below, p. 156.

my law] properly, *my* **direction**; see p. 162.

5. *prepare*] viz. for eating (see Nu. xi. 8); cf. Gen. xliii. 16 ('make ready').

twice as much] The meaning seems to be that, as the supply will be more abundant on the 6th day, so every one will naturally gather more; and when they come to prepare it, they will find that it is just twice as much as they gather usually.

Vv. 9—12 should follow here. The verses are accidentally misplaced: as they stand, the message given to the people (*vv.* 6—8) *precedes* the command to deliver it (*vv.* 9—12).

6—8. Moses communicates to the people Jehovah's intention (*vv.* 9—12) of giving them food twice a day, viz. flesh in the evening, and bread in the morning.

6. *that* **Jehovah**, &c.] and not Moses and Aaron (*v.* 3) only: the

P land of Egypt: and in the morning, then ye shall see the 7
glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your murmurings
against the LORD: and what are we, that ye murmur against
R^{P} us? | And Moses said, *This shall be*, when the LORD shall 8
give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning
bread to the full; for that the LORD heareth your murmurings
which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your
murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD.
P | And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation 9
of the children of Israel, Come near before the LORD: for
he hath heard your murmurings. And it came to pass, as 10
Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of
Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold,
the glory of the LORD appeared in the cloud. And the 11

word in the Heb. is in an emphatic position. They will *know* this, by the food which He will then provide.

7. *see the glory*, &c.] His might and greatness will be declared by His gift of manna.

and what, &c.] i.e. *since what* &c.: *we* are merely His agents; your murmurings therefore are really against Him. Cf. Nu. xvi. 11^{b} (P).

8. 'An explanatory gloss of the compiler on *vv.* 6, 7' (Di.).

This shall be] i.e. Ye shall know and see what I have told you (*v.* 6 f.).

9—12. The sequel to *v.* 3: the murmurings have been heard by Jehovah: the people are told to draw near to Him, while He gives His answer to them; and He communicates His reply to Moses.

9. *Come near*] for the sacred purpose: cf. xii. 48, xxxvi. 2.

before **Jehovah**] at the place where He manifests Himself. The expression commonly means, especially in P (e.g. *v.* 33, xxvii. 21, Nu. xvi. 7, 16, 17), *before the Ark* or *the Tent of Meeting*; and if, as is probable from *v.* 33 f., P's account of the manna once stood at a later point in his narrative, this will be the meaning here (so Di.).

10. *that they looked*, &c.] Cf. the very similar passage, Nu. xvi. 42. The 'wilderness' is however remarkable: as Di. remarks, they were *in* the wilderness (*vv.* 1, 2, 3), so that some more definite direction would be expected: originally, as he suggests, probably 'toward the sanctuary,' or 'the tent of meeting' (as Nu. *l.c.*), stood here (so Bä., McNeile).

the glory of **Jehovah**, &c.] A brilliant glow of fire (cf. on xiii. 21 f.), symbolizing Jehovah's presence, gleamed through the cloud, resting (if the conjecture in the last note be accepted) upon the Tent of Meeting. The cloud shrouds the full brilliancy of the glory, which human eye could not behold. The 'glory of Jehovah' is often mentioned in P in the same sense: xxiv. 16 f.; and in connexion with the Tent of Meeting, xxix. 43, xl. 34, 35 (cf. 1 K. viii. 11, Ez. xliii. 4, 5); and especially Lev. ix. 6, 23, Nu. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, 42, xx. 6. Comp. in Ezekiel's

12 LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I have heard the murmur- *P*
ings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, [1]At
even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled
with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your
13 God. And it came to pass at even, that the quails
came up, and covered the camp: | and in the morning the *J*
14 dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay
was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a
small [2]round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground.
15 And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to
another, [3]What is it? for they wist not what it was. | And *P*

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[1] Heb. *Between the two evenings.* [2] Or, *flake*
[3] Or, *It is manna* Heb. *Man hu.*

visions, Ez. i. 28, iii. 12, 23, viii. 4, ix. 3, x. 4, 18, 19, xi. 22, 23, xliii. 2, 4, 5, xliv. 4; also Luke ii. 9. Cf. *DB.* ii. 184—6, v. 639 f.

11. Jehovah, who has thus manifested Himself, now declares His will to Moses. Notice 'flesh,' as well as 'bread,' here, as against 'bread' alone in the promise of *v.* 4 (J).

12. **Between the two evenings**] see on xii. 6.

and ye shall know, &c.] see on vi. 7.

After *v.* 12, *vv.* 6—8 should follow: see above.

13^a. In the evening the quails *came up* with the wind (cf. Nu. xi. 31) in such numbers that they *covered the camp.* Quails belong to the partridge family. They are migratory birds; and in March and April come up from Arabia and other southern countries and cross the Mediterranean,—from the Levant to Malta,—in vast numbers; and return southwards from Europe in even more enormous flights towards the end of September. They always fly with the wind (cf. Nu. xi. 31). When they alight, which they generally do at night, they cover the ground (cf. Nu. xi. 31^b, 32^a); and being usually exhausted, can be captured by hand in great numbers. By the Egyptians they were not cooked, but cured (Hdt. ii. 77); cf. Nu. xi. 32^b (spread out to dry in the sun). See further *NHB.* p. 229 ff.

13^b—15^a. Description of the manna (perhaps from J). There are other descriptions in *v.* 31 (P), and Nu. xi. 7—9 (JE), the latter given when it is told how the Israelites afterwards became tired of such poor food.

14. The Hebrews conceived dew to fall from heaven (Dt. xxxiii. 13, 28, Prov. iii. 20 *al.*); and the manna falls with it (so Nu. xi. 9): cf. *v.* 4, where it is said to be rained 'from heaven.'

a **thin flake** (RVm.)] properly, it seems, from the Arabic, 'a *thin scab* or *scale-like thing*' (see Di., and *Lex.*). The word is a peculiar one, and occurs only here: but 'round' (Saad., Kimchi, EVV.) has no philological support.

15^a. *What is it?*] Heb. *mān hū'*. The question is intended as a

P Moses said unto them, It is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat. This is the thing which the Lord hath 16 commanded, Gather ye of it every man according to his eating; an omer a head, according to the number of your persons, shall ye take it, every man for them which are in his tent. And the children of Israel did so, and gathered 17

popular etymology of 'manna' (Heb. *mān*). *Mān*, however, in the sense of *What?* is not a Hebrew word, though, as a contraction from *mā dēn*, 'what, then?' (*mā* being the ordinary Aramaic for *what?*) it is common in Syriac; and *man* (not *mān*) in both Aram. and Arab. means *Who?* *Mān* is evidently used here merely for the sake of the etymology: and, though we do not know how early the Aram. contraction *mān* came into use, the verse seems to have been written by one who was acquainted with it. The real origin of the Heb. *mān*, Arab. *man*, 'manna,' is not known: Ebers, 226—8, identifies it with *mannu* in two (Ptolemaic?) inscriptions at Edfu; but, though this may be 'manna,' it is still uncertain if it is an Egyptian or (Ebers) Bedawi word.

wist not what it was] Here the proper Heb. word for 'what' (*māh*) is employed.

15^{b}—21. Directions for gathering the manna.

15^{b}. *It*] Heb. *That* (Gen. xli. 28, 1 K. i. 45).

bread] The manna is always spoken of as *bread* (*v.* 4): it was a substitute, not for other food (e.g. flesh), but, as Nu. xi. 8 especially shews ('ground' in the hand-mill, and made into 'cakes'), for corn, or other grain.

16. *This is the thing which* **Jehovah** *hath commanded*] so *v.* 32. One of P's standing formulae: xxxv. 4, Lev. viii. 5, ix. 6, xvii. 2, Nu. xxx. 2, xxxvi. 6†.

according to his eating] as xii. 4. So *vv.* 18, 21. This, the rest of the verse goes on to state, would amount on an average to an omer a head in a family.

an omer] only found in this chapter. The Arab. *ghumar* is a *small drinking-cup* or *bowl*, said to be used by Arabs when travelling in the desert: in Heb., it seems, the corresponding word was specialized to denote a measure. The tenth of an ephah (*v.* 36) would be about 6½ pints (Kennedy, *DB.* iv. 912). It is remarkable that everywhere else, even in the same source P, the expression used is 'the tenth part of an ephah' (4 times), or the special word *ʿissārōn* (28 times [all P]). Perhaps *ʿomer* was an old word handed down with the story; the use in P of other expressions in its place seems to imply that when P was written, it was not in general use. Cf. *v.* 36 (though this *might* be an explanatory gloss, added afterwards).

a head] Heb. *a skull* (*gulgóleth*; cf. 'Golgotha'). Used similarly in enumerations, by P (Ex. xxxviii. 26, Nu. i. 2, 18, 20, 22, iii. 47 [EVV. *polls*]), and in 1 Ch. xxiii. 3, 24.

persons] Heb. *souls* (see on i. 5): cf. the same phrase in xii. 4 (P).

18 some more, some less. And when they did mete it with an *P*
omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that
gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man
19 according to his eating. And Moses said unto them, Let
20 no man leave of it till the morning. Notwithstanding they
hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until
the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses
21 was wroth with them. And they gathered it morning by
morning, every man according to his eating: and when the
22 sun waxed hot, it melted. And it came to pass, that on
the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers
for each one: and all the rulers of the congregation came
23 and told Moses. And he said unto them, This is that
which the LORD hath spoken, To-morrow is a solemn rest,

17. *some more, some less*] according to the number in their family.

18. They gathered, as well as they could judge roughly, according to the size of their families; when they afterwards measured what they had gathered, they found to their surprise that they had each gathered exactly an omer a head. The verse is quoted in 2 Cor. viii. 15.

mete] An archaism for 'measure': Mt. vii. 1 *al.*

had...over] The Heb. verb is unusual, and found only in P (*v.* 23, xxvi. 12, 13, Lev. xxv. 27, Nu. iii. 46, 48, 49†).

19, 20. None to be left over till the morning. The manna was to be the daily food of the Israelites in the wilderness, and so to be eaten fresh every day. In the East, it is the custom to bake bread daily, and yesterday's bread is not eaten.

22—26. Another surprise. On the 6th day they discover that they have gathered, without knowing it, a double quantity. Moses gives directions what is to be done with it; and draws from it a lesson on the observance of the sabbath.

22. *the rulers of the congregation*] A standing phrase of P's: see xxxiv. 31, Nu. xvi. 2, xxxi. 13 *al.*; and often *rulers* (also rendered *princes*: lit. one *lifted up* above others, i.e. *chief*, *ruler*, &c.) alone.

23. *This is that which* **Jehovah** *hath spoken*] Lev. x. 3 (P), also introducing an explanation of something unexpected.

a solemn rest] *a* **cessation** or **resting**; Heb. *shabbāthōn* (analogous in form to *shiddāphōn*, *blasting*, Dt. xxviii. 22, *timmāhōn*, *astonishment*, *ib. v.* 28, *zikkārōn*, *memorial*, Ex. xii. 14, &c.), akin to *shabbāth* ('sabbath'): there is nothing in the word to suggest the idea of 'solemn.' The term is a technical one in P: it is used of New Year's Day, Lev. xxiii. 24, of the first and eighth days of the Feast of Booths, *ib. v.* 39, and of the sabbatical year, Lev. xxv. 5; also, in the expression *shabbath shabbāthōn*, 'sabbath of **cessation**' (intensifying the idea of cessation from work), of the sabbath, Ex. xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2, Lev. xxiii.

P a holy sabbath unto the LORD: bake that which ye will
bake, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and all that
remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.
And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it 24
did not stink, neither was there any worm therein. And 25
Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto
the LORD: to-day ye shall not find it in the field. Six days 26
ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day is the sabbath, in
J it there shall be none. | And it came to pass on the 27
seventh day, that there went out some of the people for to
gather, and they found none. And the LORD said unto 28
Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and
my laws? See, for that the LORD hath given you the 29
sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread
of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go
out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested 30
P on the seventh day. | And the house of Israel called 31

3; of the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 32; and of the sabbatical year, Lev. xxv. 4†.

bake, &c.] i.e. bake and **boil** to-day, in each way, whatever you please; and what you do not eat to-day, keep for to-morrow.

lay up] as Lev. vii. 15 (EVV. *leave*), in a similar connexion.

to be kept] Heb. *for a keeping*, as xii. 6 (see the note), Nu. xix. 9; and (for a permanency) *vv.* 32, 33, 34 below, Nu. xvii. 10. Another of P's technical expressions.

27—30 (J). From the disregard shewn by some of the people to the promise of *v.* 5 (which was followed, presumably, in J, when J's narrative was intact, by an express prohibition to gather the manna on the seventh day), Moses takes occasion to inculcate the observance of the sabbath.

28. *How long*, &c.] Cf. the similarly introduced reproachful question, Nu. xiv. 11 (J); also Jos. xviii. 3.

my commandments and my laws] There has been no mention before the present chapter of the Israelites' refusal to obey Jehovah's commands. But P's account of the manna probably stood originally (see p. 144) at a later point of the narrative.

29. *in his place*] **where he is**: see in the Heb. x. 23, Hab. iii. 16 *al.* (*Lex.* 1065^{b} **2 a**). *His place* in the following clause is in the Heb. quite different.

30. *rested*] **desisted** (from work), or, **kept sabbath.** See on xx. 8.

31—34. A further description of the manna, and directions for a pot of it to be preserved in the sanctuary, as a witness to future generations how Israel had been sustained in the wilderness.

31. *the house of Israel*] Unusual: cf. xl. 38, Nu. xx. 29, Jos. xxi. 45

the name thereof [1]Manna: and it was like coriander seed, *P*
white; and the taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey.
32 And Moses said, This is the thing which the LORD hath
commanded, Let an omerful of it be kept for your generations;
that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in
the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of
33 Egypt. And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put
an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before the LORD,
34 to be kept for your generations. As the LORD commanded
Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be
35 kept. And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty
years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the

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[1] Heb. *Man.*

(all P). Lev. x. 6, xvii. 3, 8, 10, xxii. 18 (P and H) are rather different.

like coriander seed] So Nu. xi. 7. Coriander is an umbelliferous plant, which grows wild in Egypt and Palestine, producing small greyish-white round seeds, about the size of a peppercorn, with a pleasant spicy flavour. The seeds are used largely in the East as a spice to mix with bread, and to give an aromatic flavour to sweetmeats (*NHB*. p. 440). In Nu. xi. 8 the manna is also said to have resembled bdellium (Gen. ii. 12), i.e. the transparent wax-like gum or resin, valued for its fragrance, called by the Greeks *βδέλλα*.

wafers] Only here: LXX. *ἐγκρίς*, i.e. (Athen. xiv. 54, p. 645, cited by Kn.) pastry made with oil and honey. The root means in Arab. and Eth. to *spread out*. In Nu. xi. 8 the taste of the manna is said to have been like a rich oily cake (לְשַׁד הַשָּׁמֶן, i.e. *oily richness*; LXX. *ἐγκρὶς ἐξ ἐλαίου*, Vulg. *panis oleatus*; RVm. *cakes baked with oil*). Travellers state that the manna gathered from trees (see below) is used by the natives of the Sinaitic Peninsula as 'a dainty instead of honey.'

32. *be kept*] Heb. *be for a keeping* (cf. on *v.* 26). Comp. esp. Nu. xvii. 10.

for your generations] See on xii. 14.

33. *a pot*] or *jar*: *ṣinṣéneth*, only here: LXX. *σταμνὸς* (an earthen jar).

lay it up] As Nu. xvii. 4, in a similar connexion.

before **Jehovah**] before the Ark, in the Tent of Meeting; cf. on *v.* 9.

34. *before the Testimony*] i.e. before the Ark, which contained the 'Testimony,' P's standing expression for the Decalogue (see on xxv. 16): cf. xxx. 36, Nu. xvii. 4, 10. Cf. Heb. ix. 4.

35. How the manna continued till the Israelites reached Canaan. Cf. Jos. v. 11 f. (P).

36. An explanatory note: cf. on *v.* 16.

P manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of
Canaan. Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah. 36

The manna of the Peninsula of Sinai is the sweet juice of the *Ṭarfa*, a species of Tamarisk. It exudes in summer by night from the trunk and branches, and forms small round white grains, which (as observed by Seetzen in 1809) partly adhere to the twigs of the trees, and partly drop to the ground: in the early morning it is of the consistency of wax, but the sun's rays soon melt it (cf. *v.* 21, above), and later in the day it disappears, being absorbed in the earth. A fresh supply appears each night during its season (June and July). The Arabs gather it in the early morning, boil it down, strain it through coarse stuff, and keep it in leather skins: they 'pour it like honey over their unleavened bread; its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey' (Burckh., p. 600). In a cool place it keeps for long: the monks of the Sinai monastery store samples of it, which they sell or give to travellers and pilgrims (Rob. i. 115; Ebers, p. 225), as their predecessors did, 13 centuries ago, to Antoninus (*Itin.* § 39). According to Ehrenberg (Rob. i. 590) it is produced by the puncture of an insect (now called *Gossyparia mannifera*). It softens in the heat of the hand, and consists almost entirely of sugar; so it cannot be 'ground,' or made into 'cakes' (Nu. xi. 8). It is not found in all parts of the Peninsula; W. Gharandel, W. Ṭaiyibeh, W. Feiran, W. Sheikh (leading round on the N. from J. Serbāl to J. Mūsā: see on xix. 1), and W. Naṣb (8—10 miles SE. of J. Mūsā), are named as parts in which it is abundant. It is found only after a rainy spring, and hence frequently fails altogether. The quantity yielded by the Peninsula in modern times is small—according to Burckhardt (in 1816), 500—600 pounds annually[1].

The manna described in the Pentateuch thus *resembles* the manna produced naturally in the Peninsula, in, approximately, the place (El Markhā, between Wādy Ṭaiyibeh and Wādy Feiran,—if this was really the 'wilderness of Sin') of at least its *first* appearance; in colour, appearance, and taste (*vv.* 14, 31, Nu. xi. 8); in being found and gathered in the early morning; in melting in the sun; and in being called by the same name which is still used in Arabic: it *differs* from it in being represented as found not under the tamarisk trees, but on the surface of the wilderness generally, after the disappearance of the dew; as falling in sufficient quantity to feed daily an immense multitude of people; as adjusting itself automatically to the household needs of each person who gathered it; as not falling on the sabbath, the needs of that day being supplied by a double amount being provided on the previous day; as being not confined to wet years, or to the districts on the W. of the Peninsula, but as lasting, apparently continuously, for forty years, throughout the whole journeyings of the Israelites to the border of Canaan; as being capable of being 'ground' and made into 'cakes,' like meal; and as putrefying if kept (except on the 6th day of the week) till the next morning. It is evident that the Biblical manna, while on the one hand (like the Plagues) it has definite points of contact with a natural phaenomenon or product of the country, differs from the natural manna in the many praeternatural or miraculous features attributed to it. According to Dillmann, 'the intention of the story (*Sage*) followed by the writer was to explain how the Hebrews, during their long journey through the wilderness, where there is no corn, obtained their most important means of life. The question was solved by the supposition that God, in His infinite power, had sent them bread from heaven, in the shape of manna, which was of such a nature that it could be used as earthly corn.'

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[1] See further Knob. *ap.* Di., and McLean in *EB.*, from whom the above particulars are mostly taken; also Ebers, p. 224 ff. The note in the *Speaker's Comm.* p. 321^{a} is translated almost verbally from Knob. without acknowledgement.

The narrative is to be taken as a signal and beautiful symbolical illustration of the great truth of God's *ever-sustaining providence*: He supplies His people with food, He cares for them in their needs, and He makes the food which He gives them the vehicle of spiritual lessons. The writer of Deuteronomy (viii. 3, 16 f.) points to the manna as illustrating the discipline of the wilderness; Israel was 'humbled' by being suffered to feel a want, and then by its being taught how, for its relief, and for its own very existence, it was dependent upon the (creative) word of God; it was further 'proved,' by the opportunity thus afforded it of shewing whether or not it would accommodate itself, trustfully and contentedly (contrast Nu. xi. 6, xxi. 5), to this state of continued dependence upon an ordinance of God. In St John (vi. 31 ff.), our Lord, after the reference made by the Jews to the manna eaten by the fathers in the wilderness, uses imagery suggested by the manna to denote Himself as the 'bread of life,' which 'cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.' For other later allusions, see Wisd. xvi. 20 (with the last words here, 'agreeing to every taste,' cf. the Rabb. legend that the manna adapted itself to the taste of every individual, tasting like what he himself desired it to be: see *Jewish Encycl.* s.v.), xix. 21; 1 Cor. x. 3 (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα); and Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, p. 178 f. In *Apoc. Bar.* xxix. 8, *Sib. Orac.* vii. 149 (cf. Rev. ii. 17) it is to be the food of the elect in the future Messianic kingdom.

CHAP. XVII.

The Israelites reach Rephidim. Water given to them at Massah. The victory over Amalek.

V. 1^{a} (to *Rephidim*) has all the marks of P: the rest of the chapter belongs in the main to E (notice in particular the 'rod' in *vv.* 5, 9): but *v.* 3 reads like a doublet of *v.* 1^{b}, 2^{a}; and the double question in *v.* 2, the corresponding double name for the same place in *v.* 7, and the double explanation in the same verse, suggest somewhat strongly an amalgamation of two sources. It looks as if a Meribah-story from E—a doublet to J's Meribah-story preserved fragmentarily in Nu. xx. 1—13 (*vv.* 1^{b}, 3^{a}, 5)—had been here, on account of the similarity of motive, combined with a Massah-story from J.

P And all the congregation of the children of Israel **17**
journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, by their [1]journeys,
according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched
E in Rephidim: | and there was no water for the people to

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[1] Or, *stages*

1ª. *the congregation*] see on xii. 3.

journeys] better, as marg., **stages**; lit. *pluckings up*, i.e. (see on xii. 37) *breakings up* of camp. The same expression, Gen. xiii. 3, Nu. x. 12, xxxiii. 2. The stations between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim, at which the Israelites thus halted, were, according to Nu. xxxiii. 12—14 (P), Dophḳah and Alush (both unidentified). 'Journey' (from *journée*) is probably used here in its old sense of a *day's* travel.

according to the commandment (Heb. *mouth*) *of* **Jehovah**] A frequent expression in P: Nu. iii. 16, 19, 51, iv. 37, 41, &c.

Rephidim] Probably in the upper part of the broad and long Wādy Feiran, the 'finest valley in the Peninsula' (Burckh.). As was mentioned on xvi. 1, W. Feiran could be reached from the plain el-Markhā, either from the middle of the plain up the Seiḥ Sidreh on the E., or, 7 miles beyond the end of the plain, from the mouth of W. Feiran itself: the two routes converge at a point about 16 miles from the mouth of W. Feiran. The W. Feiran leads up Eastwards into the heart of the Peninsula. At about 30 miles from its mouth (see the Map), the traveller sees, 3 miles on his right, between W. 'Ajeleh and W. 'Aleyat, the lofty peaks of J. Serbāl; continuing up W. Feiran, he reaches, after 30, 37, or 41 miles, according to the route taken (see p. 182), J. Mūsā. At the junction of W. 'Aleyat with W. Feiran are ruins of the ancient episcopal town of Pharan, and of the churches and monasteries connected with it. For about 4 miles above these ruins there extends the oasis of W. Feiran, watered by a never-failing stream, in which the date palm is largely cultivated: Burckhardt (p. 602) says that the gardens and date plantations, nearly every one irrigated by its own well, extended uninterruptedly along the whole of the 4 miles: cucumbers, melons, gourds, also, as well as acacias, tamarisks, and other trees grew there (cf. Palmer, *Desert of the Ex.*, pp. 154, 158, who describes this as the most fertile part of the Peninsula). The name *Rephidim* has not been preserved: but it is placed by Eusebius (*Onom.* 145. 25) near Pharan, and identified with it by Cosmas Indicopleustes, *c.* 535—40 A.D. (Rob. i. 126; *Ordn. Surv.* p. 199); and Antoninus (*Itin.* § 40), writing *c.* 570 A.D., states that a chapel was shewn there, the altar in which was supposed to stand upon the stones which supported Moses' hands. This identification of Rephidim has been accepted by Lepsius, Ebers, and the members of the Ordnance Survey party (except the Rev. F. W. Holland), the Israelite encampment, it is supposed, having been, not as far up the valley as the oasis itself (in which water would hardly have been needed, *v.* 1ᵇ), but 3 or 4 miles below it, and the Amalekites having come down the valley to prevent the Israelites from gaining possession of the oasis (Major Palmer, *Sinai*,[2] pp. 207 f.,

2 drink. Wherefore the people strove with Moses, and said, *E*
Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto
them, Why strive ye with me? | wherefore do ye tempt the *J*
3 LORD? And the people thirsted there for water; and the
people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore hast

86). A hill, on the N. edge of the Wādy, about 720 feet high, called *Jebel el-Taḥuneh* (the 'Mount of the Windmill'), covered with remains of chapels, cells, and tombs, has been suggested as the spot from which Moses viewed the battle (*Ordn. Surv.* p. 212; Prof. Palmer, *Desert of the Ex.* p. 162, with view, and map opposite p. 165; Major Palmer, *Sinai*, p. 138). (The Rev. F. W. Holland and Canon Cook (*Speaker's Comm.* pp. 138—40) placed Rephidim some 27 miles beyond Feiran, at the narrow defile el-Waṭiyeh; and Keil placed it even beyond el-Waṭiyeh, at the point where W. Sheikh enters the plain er-Rāḥah, just N. of J. Mūsā.) Dillm. describes the different views that have been taken about the situation of Rephidim; but wisely makes no attempt to decide between them.

1^b—**7.** Water given to the people from the rock in Horeb.

2. *Wherefore*] the Heb. is simply **And**.

strove, i.e. disputed, expostulated. The word means properly to argue a case in a court of law; but it is often used more generally. Cf. as here, in the similar narrative, Nu. xx. 3, 13; also Gen. xxvi. 20, 21, 22, xxxi. 36 ('chode'), Jud. xi. 25. (Not the word so rendered in ii. 13, xxi. 22, which means to *quarrel* or *fight*.)

why [as just before] *do ye* **put Jehovah to the proof?**] by doubting, viz. (*v.* 7) whether He is really in your midst (cf. Nu. xi. 20, xiv. 14), and able to supply your needs. *Tempt* is a misleading rendering: for to 'tempt,' in modern English, has acquired the sense of provoking or enticing a person *in order that he* may act in a particular way: whereas the Heb. *nissāh* is a neutral word, and means to *test* or *prove* a person to see *whether* he will act in a particular way (xvi. 4), or *whether* the character he bears is well established (1 K. x. 1). God thus 'proves' a person, or puts him to the test, when He subjects him to a trial, to ascertain what his character is, or whether his loyalty to Him is sincere (xvi. 4, Dt. viii. 2, xiii. 3; cf. Gen. xxii. 1, Ex. xv. 25, xx. 20: so the 'temptations' of Dt. iv. 34, vii. 19, xxix. 3 are really *trials*, or *provings*, of Pharaoh's disposition and purpose); and men test or 'prove' God when they act as if questioning, and so challenging Him to give proof of, His word, or promise, or ability to help; so here and *v.* 7 (cf. Dt. vi. 16, Ps. xcv. 9), Nu. xiv. 22, Ps. lxxviii. 18 (see *v.* 19 f.), 41, 56, cvi. 14, cf. Is. vii. 12: in all these passages 'tempt' obscures the meaning.

If the analysis of the ch., adopted above, is correct, this clause will have stood originally *after v.* 3.

3. *murmured*] see on xv. 24.

Wherefore, &c.] cf. Nu. xx. 4, 5; also Ex. xiv. 11 f., xvi. 3.

J thou brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our
E children and our cattle with thirst? | And Moses cried 4
unto the LORD, saying, What shall I do unto this people?
they be almost ready to stone me. And the LORD said 5
unto Moses, Pass on before the people, and take with thee
of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou
smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I 6
will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and
thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of
it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the
J sight of the elders of Israel. | And he called the name of 7

brought us up] into the high ground of the Sin. Peninsula.

us, &c.] Heb. *me, and my children, and my cattle*,—the first pers. sing. denoting the people. So Nu. xx. 19 *al.*

4. *cried unto* **Jehovah**] xiv. 15, xv. 25.

to stone me] Cf. 1 S. xxx. 6.

5. *the elders*] to witness what takes place, and be able to certify it to the people.

thy rod, &c.] see vii. 17^{b}, 20^{b}.

the river] the **Nile**: see on i. 22.

6. *stand before thee*] be present with My omnipotence (Di.): a fine and striking anthropomorphism.

the rock] Not a particular rock, but the rocky mass in general (cf. xxxiii. 21, 22).

in Horeb] The statement occasions great difficulty,—at least for those who place Rephidim in W. Feiran, and identify Sinai (substantially = Horeb) with J. Mūsā, by the shortest route 24 miles (see above) beyond W. Feiran. If Sinai were J. Serbāl, the mountain above W. Feiran, on the S., there would be no difficulty; nor would there be any, if Sinai were J. Mūsā, and Rephidim were where Keil places it, at the SE. entrance to the plain er-Rāḥah, just N. of J. Mūsā. 'Horeb,' however, is equally with 'Sinai' the scene of the lawgiving (see Dt. iv. 15); so, even though (see on iii. 1) it may have been a somewhat wider term than 'Sinai,' it is scarcely likely that it will have included territory separated from it by a rough mountainous country, and only to be reached by a mountain valley at least 24 miles long. If, therefore, Rephidim is rightly placed in W. Feiran, and J. Mūsā is rightly identified with Sinai, the most natural supposition is that the author wrote without an accurate knowledge of the topography, and did not realize how far 'Horeb' was from 'Rephidim.' It is, however, a question whether ch. xvii.—xviii. did not originally stand at a later point of the narrative, after ch. xxxiv. (cf. p. 162), in which case Rephidim might be near 'Horeb.'

the place [1]Massah, | and [2]Meribah, because of the striving *E*
of the children of Israel, and | because they tempted the *J*
Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?
8 Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim. *E*
9 And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go
out, fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will stand on the top

[1] That is, *Tempting*, or, *Proving*. [2] That is, *Chiding*, or, *Strife*.

7. *Massah*] i.e. 'Proving,' from *nissāh*, to 'prove,' *v.* 2.

Meribah] i.e. 'Strife' (Gen. xiii. 8), from *rîb*, to 'strive,' *v.* 2. In Nu. xx. 1—13 (J and P) there is a similar account, which reads like a variant tradition, of water produced by Moses from a rock (*séla‘*, not *ṣûr* as here) at Kadesh ('Ain Ḳadish, 50 miles S. of Beersheba), the spring being afterwards called, from the fact that the Israelites 'strove' there with Jehovah, the 'waters of *Meribah*' (*vv.* 3, 13 *al.*), or 'of Meribath-Kadesh' (Nu. xxvii. 14, Ez. xlviii. 28 *al.*). It is strange in the present narrative that one place should receive two names; it is doubtless due, as suggested above, to the combination of two narratives. Massah is mentioned besides in Dt. vi. 16, ix. 22, xxxiii. 8 (|| 'the waters of Meribah,' Nu. xx.), Ps. xcv. 8 (|| 'Meribah').

tempted the Lord] **put Jehovah to the proof**: see on *v.* 2.

8—16. The victory over the Amalekites. The Amalekites were what we should call a nomad Bedawi tribe, who are spoken of as having their home in the desert S. of Palestine: in the 'Negeb,' or 'South,' of Judah, Nu. xiii. 29, xiv. 25, 43, 45, about Kadesh Gen. xiv. 7, and in the same neighbourhood in 1 S. xv. 7, xxvii. 8, xxx. 1: they corresponded in fact very much to the Azāzimeh tribe, who now inhabit a large part of the elevated limestone plateau, called the *Tih*, between the mountains of the Sinaitic Peninsula and the Mediterranean Sea. Their appearance here in the Sinaitic Peninsula is not a substantial difficulty: as Di. remarks, 'a branch of them may have been settled in or about the oasis in W. Feiran (Leps., Ebers); or they may in May or June have led their flocks up into the cooler and fresher pastures in the mountains (Kn. Ke.); or they may even have made a raid against Israel from their homes on the Tih (Bunsen)': whichever supposition is the correct one, 'it was natural enough that the nomads, who lived on the scanty products of this region, should do their utmost to expel the intruders. That the narrative, in spite of its legendary features, has a historical foundation, cannot be doubted' (Nöldeke, *EB.* i. 128).

8. *Then*] Heb. **And** (Amalek came &c.). The *immediate* sequence expressed by *Then* is not necessarily implied in the Heb.

fought with Israel] In Dt. xxv. 18 it is said in particular that Amalek 'met Israel in the way,' and 'cut off at the rear (lit. *tailed*) in thee all that were fagged behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary,' exhausted by heat or other accident of the journey.

9. *Joshua*] mentioned here for the first time. Afterwards he appears

E of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand. So Joshua 10
did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek:
and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.
And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that 11
Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek
prevailed. But Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a 12
stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron
and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and
the other on the other side; and his hands were steady
until the going down of the sun. And Joshua [1]discomfited 13
Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. And 14
the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial

[1] Heb. *prostrated.*

frequently in the Pent. as Moses' attendant, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11, Nu. xi. 28, and elsewhere. According to P, he only received the name of Joshua at Kadesh, Nu. xiii. 8, 16, having been till then called Hoshea.

the rod of God] as iv. 20.

10. *Hur*] Although mentioned besides only in xxiv. 14, Hur must have been a man of some importance at the time of the Exodus. No particulars are given about his family. It is not probable that he is identical with the grandfather of Beẓal'el, of the same name, xxxi. 2, &c. Later Jewish tradition (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 2. 4) makes him Miriam's husband.

11. *held up*, &c.] a gesture suggestive partly of strenuousness and energy, partly of appeal for help to God.

12. *steady*] Heb. *steadiness* (G.-K. § 141^{d}); elsewhere always in a moral sense, *steadfastness*, *faithfulness*. See the writer's note on Hab. ii. 4 in the *Century Bible*.

13. *discomfited*] rather, **disabled**, or (in a fig. sense) **prostrated** (RVm.); lit. *weakened*[1]. The verb occurs otherwise in Heb. only Job xiv. 10^{a} ('man dieth and is *powerless*'), and Is. xiv. 12 (חלש על cannot mean 'lay low': read probably, '(lying) powerless on the *corpses*'): but it is found in the Targums; the cognate adj. *weak* occurs in Joel iv. 10, and is common in Aramaic; and the substantive *weakness* in Ex. xxxii. 18.

with the edge of the sword] lit. *according to the mouth of the sword*, i.e. as the sword devours (2 S. xi. 25), = **without quarter**. So always. 'With the edge' is not correct.

14, 15. Provision made for the remembrance of the victory to be handed down to future generations.

14. *this*] the preceding incident.

[1] Read the transitive form וַיְחַלֵּשׁ, as in the Targ. of Job xii. 21.

in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: [1]that I will *E*
utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under
15 heaven. And Moses built an altar, and called the name of
16 it [2]Jehovah-nissi: and he said, [3]The Lord hath sworn: the
Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

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[1] Or, *for*

[2] That is, *The Lord is my banner.*

[3] Or, *Because there is a hand against the throne of the Lord* Heb. *A hand* is lifted up *upon the throne of Jah.*

in a book] The Heb., as pointed, is, *in the book*, whence it has often been supposed that the reference is to the history which Moses had already begun to write. But though this *might* be the meaning of the Heb., it is certainly not the necessary meaning: 'the Hebrew always writes in *the* book, Nu. v. 23, 1 S. x. 25, Jer. xxxii. 10, Job xix. 23 (cf. Est. ix. 25 Heb.)' (Di.); an object being conceived as definite in Heb. not only because it is already known or has been mentioned before, but also because it is taken for a particular purpose, and so made definite in the speaker's or writer's mind. See numerous examples in G.-K. § 126^{r,s}: e.g. Ex. xvi. 32 *the* omerful, xxi. 20 with *the* rod, Nu. xxi. 9 put it on *the* pole, Jos. ii. 15 with *the* cord, &c.; in all such cases we naturally say *a*.

rehearse] Heb. *place;* the meaning being, *impress it upon* Joshua. 'Rehearse,' at least as understood now, is not very suitable. It means properly (from Fr. *reherser*) to *harrow over again*, fig. to go over repeatedly: in Jud. v. 11, 1 S. xvii. 31, it is used in the sense of *tell*, *recite*.

for (marg.) &c.] The memory of the incident is to be preserved, because, on account of the unfriendliness shewn in it by Amalek, it is Jehovah's purpose to blot out their name from under heaven.

I will utterly blot out, &c.] Repeated, in the form of an injunction laid upon Israel, in Dt. xxv. 19. To 'blot out from under heaven,' also, Dt. ix. 14, xxix. 20.

15. Moses erects an altar, to offer upon it a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and to preserve the memory of the victory for the future. For other examples of commemorative altars, with names, see Gen. xxxiii. 20 (unless, as the verb used here suggests, 'standing-stone' (ch. xxiv. 4) should be read for 'altar'), xxxv. 7, Jos. xxii. 34, Jud. vi. 24.

Yahweh-*nissi*] i.e. *Yahweh is my banner*, as though to say, He is our Leader; we fight under His banner (Ps. xx. 5 [the Heb. for 'banner' different], 7); His name is the motto on our standards (Kn.).

16. A solemn poetical utterance of Moses, swearing war for ever on Jehovah's part against Amalek.

Yah *hath sworn*] This rendering cannot be right. The Heb. is, **A hand upon** (or **to** [as ix. 22, 23 Heb.]) **the throne of Yah!** i.e. I (Moses) swear, with my hand raised to Jehovah's throne in heaven (see on vi. 8). So Ew. (*Hist.* i. 251), Di. But many scholars, as Clericus, J. D. Mich., Ges., Kn., Bäntsch, read *nēs* 'banner' for the otherwise unknown *kēs* (for *kissē*', 'throne'), i.e. **A hand on the banner** (*v.* 15) **of Yah**! let it ever be faithful to this banner, and ready to bear it in the future battles against Amalek. This reading has the advantage of bringing Moses' words into direct relation with the name of the altar in *v.* 15.

This unfriendliness of Amalek to Israel was remembered afterwards with some bitterness. In 1 S. xv. 2 f. it is assigned as the ground for Saul's expedition against them; and in Dt. xxv. 17—19 Moses is represented as exhorting Israel to remember it, and, when their possession of Canaan is secured, to be careful to recollect the injunction of Ex. xvii. 14, and 'blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.' Cf. also Nu. xxiv. 20. Saul's raid, however, in spite of the terms used in 1 S. xv. 8, did not exterminate the entire tribe: see 1 S. xxvii. 7, xxx. 1 ff. (where a band of them make a raid upon Ziklag, and are smitten afterwards by David, though 400 escape, *v.* 17), 2 S. viii. 12, 1 Ch. iv. 43 (the remnant of them smitten by 500 Simeonites, in the time of Hezekiah).

CHAP. XVIII.

The visit of Jethro to Moses. Appointment of judges to assist Moses in the administration of justice.

Entirely, or with unimportant exceptions (as perhaps in *vv.* 9—11), from E: notice the predominance of *God*. The chapter is one of great historical interest: it presents a picture of *Moses legislating*. Cases calling for a legal decision arise among the people: the contending parties come to Moses to have them settled; he adjudicates between them; and his decisions are termed 'the statutes and directions (*tôrōth*) of God.' It was the function of the priests in later times to give oral 'direction' upon cases submitted to them, on matters both of civil right (Dt. xvii. 11)[1], and of ceremonial observance (*ib.* xxiv. 8)[1]; and here Moses himself appears discharging the same function, and so creating the primitive nucleus of Hebrew law. He is not represented as giving the people a finished *code*, but as deciding upon cases as they arose: decisions given in this way, especially in difficult cases (*v.* 26), would naturally form precedents for future use (cf. on xxi. 1): an increasing body of civil and criminal law would thus gradually grow up, based upon a Mosaic nucleus, and perpetuating Mosaic principles, but augmented by the decisions of later priests or judges, framed to meet the needs of a wider and more varied national life. Collections of such laws, dating, as we have them, from post-Mosaic times, are preserved in the 'Book of the Covenant' (xx. 23—xxiii. 33), and in the Code embedded in the discourses of Deuteronomy.

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[1] EVV. *teach*: but the Heb. verb is the one used technically of the priests, and meaning to *direct* (viz. how to act in a given case): see the small print note on p. 162.

18 Now Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, *E* heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, | how that the LORD had brought Israel out of *R^JE*

The Hebrew *tôrāh* ('law') had a threefold character: it was viz. *judicial*, *ceremonial*, and *moral*. The ceremonial and moral *tôrāh* as well as the judicial *tôrāh* is represented in the 'Book of the Covenant,' and in Dt.; the moral *tôrāh* also in parts of the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.); and the ceremonial *tôrāh* especially in P (the ceremonial laws of Lev. Nu.); but the *tôrōth* of Ex. xviii. 15, 20, as the context shews, are exclusively *judicial*.

Tôrāh, it may be worth while here further to explain, is derived from the verb *hôrāh*, to *point out*, *direct*, mentioned in footnote 1; and means properly *pointing out*, *direction*. It may be used of oral direction given by prophets (as Is. i. 10, v. 24, xxx. 9); but it is used especially of *oral direction given by the priests* to the laity, in accordance with a traditional body of principles and usages, chiefly on points of ceremonial observance; in process of time the term came further to denote a *body of technical direction* (or 'law') on a given subject (e.g. on leprosy, Lev. xiv. 2, 32, 54, 57), and finally to denote 'the law,' as a whole. For examples of the use of both the verb (EVV. *teach*) and the subst. (EVV. *law*) in the senses explained, see Lev. x. 11, xiv. 57, Dt. xvii. 10, 11 ('according to the *direction* wherewith they shall *direct* thee'), xxiv. 8, xxxiii. 10, Mic. iii. 11, Jer. xviii. 18, Ez. vii. 26, xliv. 23, Hag. ii. 11 (render, 'Ask, now, *direction* of the priest'), Mal. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9 (see the writer's notes in the *Century Bible*); and see further *DB*. iii. 65 f.

It is another point of interest that Moses, in the establishment of his judicial system, adopted as his instructor a foreigner (Midianite or Kenite: see the note on ii. 18). Hobab (=Jethro) is in Nu. x. 29—32 invited to be the Israelites' guide through the wilderness; and the Kenites actually accompanied them into Judah (Jud. i. 16). The contact with the family and people of Moses' father-in-law was thus considerable; and the fact has led to the conjecture that their influence upon early Israel may have been greater than is actually described in our extant narratives, and may have even extended to religious matters (pp. xlix f., lxiv *n*.; comp., with reserve, *ATLAO.*[2] 413 f., 433).

There are strong reasons for thinking that this episode stood originally at a later point in the narrative. (1) In *v.* 5 the 'wilderness where he was encamped, at the mount of God,' cannot be Rephidim (xvii. 1), but can only be the 'wilderness of Sinai,' the arrival at which, however, is not mentioned till xix. 1, 2ª. (2) The Deuteronomist quite clearly places the episode at the *close* of the Israelites' sojourn at Horeb: he describes viz. the appointment of these judges (i. 9—18), *after* the Israelites have been told that they have remained long enough in Horeb, and are directed to leave it (i. 6—8), and *before* the statement that they did leave it (i. 19). Hence it is almost certain that this narrative stood originally in E immediately before E's account of the departure of Israel from Sinai (narrated in our existing Pentateuch only by P, Nu. x. 11 ff., and J, Nu. x. 33); and that it was still read there by the writer of Dt. (Nu. x. 29—32 seems to be J's account of another incident connected with the same visit of Hobab (i.e. Jethro: see on ii. 18) to Moses.)

xviii. **1—7.** Meeting of Jethro and Moses.

1. *Jethro* (iii. 1), *the priest of Midian*] See on ii. 15, 16.

how that] for.

R^{JE} Egypt. And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, 2
Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, and her two sons;
of which the name of the one was Gershom; for he said, I 3
have been [1]a sojourner in a strange land: and the name of 4
the other was [2]Eliezer; for *he said*, The God of my father
was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh:
E | and Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and 5
his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was
encamped, at the mount of God: and he said unto Moses, 6
I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife,
and her two sons with her. And Moses went out to meet 7
his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and
they asked each other of their welfare; and they came into

[1] Heb. *Ger*. See ch. ii. 22.

[2] Heb. *El*, God, and *ezer*, help.

2—4. In all probability an addition of the compiler, made for the purpose of harmonizing the statement in *v.* 5 that Moses' sons (in the *plural*) and his wife were with *Jethro*, with ii. 25 (J) which mentions the birth of Gershom only, and iv. 25 (J) which implies that Moses had no other son, and with iv. 20^{a}, 24—26 (also J), where it is stated that Moses took Zipporah back with him to Egypt. The compiler removes the first of these difficulties by supplying the name of Moses' younger son, and the second by the statement that Moses had 'sent' Zipporah 'away,' i.e. had sent her back to Midian at some time after the incident iv. 24—26.

3. *I have been a sojourner in a* **foreign** *land*] Repeated *verbatim* from ii. 22. *Eliezer* is mentioned only here.

4. *the God of my father*] iii. 6 (E), xv. 2 (the Song).

from the sword of Pharaoh] cf. ii. 15.

5. *into the wilderness*, &c.] The 'mount of God' (iii. 1) is Horeb, the 'wilderness' consequently can be only the 'wilderness of Sinai,' 'in front of the mount,' which, however, the Israelites do not reach till xix. 1, 2, and which (if Rephidim be in W. Feiran, and Jebel Mūsā be Sinai) was at least 24 miles beyond Rephidim (see on xix. 1^{b}, 2). The passage affords a strong argument for the supposition (see above) that Ex. xviii. stood originally at a later point in the narrative.

6. *am come*] rather, *am* **coming** (the ptcp.; cf. Gen. xxix. 6 'cometh,' lit. *is coming*). 'Said' must mean here, 'said by the hand of messengers': see the next verse. Perhaps it is better, however, to read, with LXX. Sam. Pesh., הנה, 'Behold,' for אני, 'I'; i.e. 'And one said (Gen. xlviii. 1 Heb.) unto Moses, *Behold*, thy father-in-law, Jethro, is come,' &c.

7. Moses receives his father-in-law with the usual Oriental etiquette.

did obeisance] lit. *bowed himself down*, in Eastern fashion: cf. Gen. xxiii. 7, 12, xxxiii. 3, 6, 7, xlii. 6, &c.

8 the tent. And Moses told his father in law all that the *E*
LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for
Israel's sake, all the travail that had come upon them by
9 the way, and how the LORD delivered them. And Jethro
rejoiced for all the goodness which the LORD had done to
Israel, in that he had delivered them out of the hand of the
10 Egyptians. And Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who
hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and
out of the hand of Pharaoh; who hath delivered the people
11 from under the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that
the LORD is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein
12 they dealt proudly against them. And Jethro, Moses'
father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God:
and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread

8—12. Jethro rejoices to hear of the deliverances vouchsafed to Israel; and offers in thankfulness a sacrifice (*v.* 12), in which Aaron and the elders of Israel take part as his guests.

8. *the travail*] lit. *weariness*: cf. Nu. xx. 14 (in a similar connexion), Lam. iii. 5, Neh. ix. 32†.

9. *rejoiced*] A very rare word in Heb., occurring besides only Job iii. 6, and (in the causative conj.) Ps. xxi. 6^b; but common in Aramaic.

delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians] cf. iii. 8.

10, 11. Jethro is moved to bless and praise Jehovah for Israel's deliverance.

10. *from under the hand*] as 2 K. viii. 20, 22, xiii. 5, xvii. 7.

11. *greater than all gods*] cf. xv. 11.

for *in* (or *by*) *the thing wherein they dealt proudly against them*...] The end of the sentence has accidentally dropped out; and something like *he hath destroyed them* must be supplied. Jehovah's superiority to other gods was shewn by His overthrow of the Egyptians; and this was a consequence of their proud pursuit of the Israelites.

dealt proudly against them] cf. the reminiscence in Neh. ix. 10.

12. *a burnt offering and sacrifices*] see on xx. 24.

to eat bread] i.e. to take part in the sacred meal accompanying the sacrifice: the 'sacrifice' here meant being of the nature of the later 'peace-offering,' an essential part of which was the accompanying sacred meal, in which the worshipper and his friends partook, and by which they entered symbolically into communion with the Deity (Lev. vii. 15; Dt. xii. 7, 18, xxvii. 7). For other cases in which 'eating' (sometimes accompanied by 'drinking') is to be understood similarly of the sacred meal, see Gen. xxxi. 54; Ex. xxiv. 11, xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 15 (in the worship of heathen gods: so Nu. xxv. 2, Ps. cvi. 28); 1 S. ix. 13; Ps. xxii. 26, 29.

E with Moses' father in law before God. And it came to pass 13
on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the
people stood about Moses from the morning unto the
evening. And when Moses' father in law saw all that he 14
did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou
doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone, and all
the people stand about thee from morning unto even? And 15
Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come
unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter, they 16
come unto me; and I judge between a man and his
neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and
his laws. And Moses' father in law said unto him, The 17

before God] i.e. before the altar, presupposed by the sacrifices.

13—23. Jethro's advice to Moses, to appoint officers to assist him in the administration of justice.

13. *to judge the people*] Moses discharged the duties which the sheikh, or head of a tribe, still does among the Bedawin.

15. *to inquire of God*] i.e. to obtain from Him a legal decision. In early times judgement was a sacred act; legal decisions were regarded as coming from God, the judge being his representative, or mouthpiece (cf. *v.* 16 *end*)[1], accordingly 'God' is sometimes used, where we should say 'judge' (see on xxi. 6). Perhaps in very primitive times the decision was given by the sacred lot (cf. the use of the Urim and Thummim in 1 S. xiv. 41 LXX. [see Kennedy's note in the *Century Bible*, or *DB*. iv. 839^b]; and the 'breastplate of *judgement*,' ch. xxviii. 15): but the same view of the nature of judgement prevailed, even after this method of obtaining it was given up, or only resorted to exceptionally. To *inquire of* (or *seek*) *God* (דרשׁ) in later times, means often to seek Him generally, in prayer and worship; but it means also, particularly in the early language, to *resort to* Him for the sake of obtaining an oracle, either in answer to some particular question, or, as here, a legal decision (LXX. ἐκζητῆσαι κρίσιν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ): see Gen. xxv. 22 (the answer follows in *v.* 23), 1 S. ix. 9, 1 K. xxii. 8, 2 K. iii. 11, viii. 8, xxii. 13, 18, Jer. xxi. 2 (so, of inquiring of the dead, or of heathen gods, 1 S. xxviii. 7, 2 K. i. 2, Dt. xviii. 11, Is. viii. 19 *al.*).

16. *a matter*] i.e. a matter in dispute, cf. xxii. 9, xxiv. 14. So *vv.* 22, 26 ('cause' in *vv.* 19, 26, is also the same Heb.: lit. *word*).

the statutes of God and his **directions**] '"Statutes" (*ḥuḳḳīm*) were definite rules, stereotyped and permanent; "laws" (*tôrōth*) were "directions" or pronouncements delivered as special circumstances required them [see p. 161]. The present passage must belong to the period after Moses received the divine statutes on the mountain [cf. p. 162]'

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[1] So in Homer, θέμιστες are spoken of as received by kings from Zeus (*Il.* i. 239 οἵ τε θέμιστας Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται); and cf. Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law*, ch. i.

18 thing that thou doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear *E*
away, both thou, and this people that is with thee: for the
thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it
19 thyself alone. Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee
counsel, and God be with thee: be thou for the people to
20 Godward, and bring thou the causes unto God: and thou
shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew
them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that
21 they must do. Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the
people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating

(McNeile). Observe that the decisions of Moses on civil disputes are here called distinctly the '*directions* (*tôrōth*) of *God*' (cf. on *v.* 15, and pp. 161, 162).

18. *wear away*] The word usually means to *fall and fade* as a leaf (Ps. i. 3); in Ps. xviii. 45 rendered *fade away* (fig. of foes failing in strength and courage).

19, 20. *be* **thou** (emph.) **to** *the people* **in front of** *God*] i.e. be thou (as hitherto) God's representative to the people, and *bring* **thou** (again emph.) the causes,—i.e., from the context (cf. *vv.* 22, 26), the more important or difficult cases,—*unto God* for decision; *and* **warn** *them* **of** *the statutes and the* **directions**, *and* **make them to know** *the way wherein they should walk*, *and the work that they should do*. All this relates to what Moses has done already: he is, as he has already done, to bring important cases to God, and to advise the people of the general laws which follow from their determination (as, for instance, from a particular case of damage, there might result a decision which would give such a law as Ex. xxi. 33, 34), and so make known to them how they are to act when such cases arise. Jethro's fresh suggestions for the future follow in *vv.* 21—23.

and God be with thee] or, more probably (G.-K. § 109^{f}), **that** *God* **may** *be with thee* to assist thee—as He hardly will be, if thou undertakest what is altogether beyond thy powers.

21—23. But all minor cases Jethro counsels him no longer to deal with himself, but to leave to the decision of subordinate judges appointed for the purpose.

21. Observe the stress laid on the *moral* qualifications of the judges selected.

provide] a peculiar usage. The Heb. word itself (חזה, 'see') is very unusual in prose; and never elsewhere occurs in the sense of *look out*, *provide*. The usual word for 'see' (ראה) occurs in the same sense Gen. xxii. 8, xli. 33, and elsewhere. E uses sometimes rare words.

able] or, **capable, worthy**: the expression implies moral and physical efficiency, rather than intellectual ability: it is rendered *worthy*, 1 K. i. 42, 52, *virtuous*, Ruth iii. 11, Prov. xii. 4; and often *valiant*, as 1 S. xiv. 52.

E unjust gain; and place such over them, to be rulers of
thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of
tens: and let them judge the people at all seasons: and it 22
shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee,
but every small matter they shall judge themselves: so shall
it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear *the burden* with
thee. If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee 23
so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people
also shall go to their place in peace. So Moses hearkened 24
to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had
said. And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and 25
made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands,
rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. And 26
they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they
brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged
themselves. And Moses let his father in law depart; and 27
he went his way into his own land.

rulers] or, *overseers* (cf. on i. 11): in Dt. i. 15 rendered 'captains.' Not the word rendered 'ruler' in xvi. 22. Except in Dt. i. 15 (repeated from here), the word (*sar*), when followed by 'of thousands,' &c., is used only in connexion with the army, being then rendered 'captain' (1 S. viii. 12, 2 K. i. 9: 'captains of *tens*,' however, occurs only here and Dt. i. 15). Such an organization of the people for judicial purposes seems strange; and it is difficult to understand how it would work practically. If the ten, fifty, &c. mean so many individuals, the number of judges appointed seems excessive; hence it has been supposed (though there is nothing in the text to suggest it) that the numbers are intended to denote not individuals, but heads of families: but even so, as each individual Israelite would belong apparently to four groups, and be under the jurisdiction of four judges, it is not clear which of these judges particular cases would come before for trial.

22. *at all seasons*] i.e. in all ordinary cases.

so &c.] Heb. *and make it light off thyself*, i.e. *relieve thyself*.

23. *this thing*] Their position in the Heb. shews that these words are emphatic.

command thee so] i.e. approve and sanction thy doing this.

go to their place in peace] return quickly to their houses satisfied, without having to stand all the day before Moses (*v.* 14).

24—26. Moses listened to Jethro's counsel, and appointed the assistant judges accordingly.

26. The tenses are all frequentative; and describe their *custom*.

27. *into his own land*] Midian: see on ii. 15. Cf. Nu. x. 30.

CHAP. XIX.

Arrival of Israel at Sinai. Jehovah's purpose to make Israel a people to Himself. The theophany on Sinai.

The account of the sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai extends from Ex. xix. 1 to Nu. x. 10. So far as Exodus is concerned, it embraces the establishment of the theocracy on the basis of the Decalogue, and the 'Book of the Covenant' (xix.—xxiv.), directions for the construction of the Tabernacle, and consecration of the priests (xxv.—xxxi.), the episode of the Golden Calf (xxxii.—xxxiv.), and the erection of the Tabernacle according to the directions given in xxv.—xxxi. (xxxv.—xl.). In xix.—xxiv., only xix. 1, 2^a and xxiv. 15—18^a belong to P; in the rest of these chapters the main narrative (including the laws in chs. xx.—xxiii.) is E; but there are parts of it which are certainly derived from J. Thus in xix. 3^a Moses 'goes up' into the mountain, but in *v.* 3^b he is apparently below, and the natural sequel to 'went up' in *v.* 3^a would be, not 'came' in *v.* 7, but 'went down' in *v.* 14; *v.* 13^b is isolated, and not explained by anything that follows; *vv.* 20—25 interrupt the connexion between *v.* 19 and xx. 1; the preparations for the theophany are complete, and it has indeed already begun (*vv.* 14—19), when Moses is called to the top of the mountain, and fresh directions are given for the behaviour of the people; in *vv.* 22, 24 directions are given relating to the priests and Aaron, which, if the chapter had been a unity, would have been expected earlier; *v.* 25 'and *said unto* them' (not 'and *told* them') should be followed by a statement of the words said, and is quite unconnected with xx. 1; on the other hand xx. 1 is the natural continuation of xix. 19. It seems evident that two parallel narratives of the theophany on Sinai have been combined together—*vv.* 2^b—3^a, 10—11^a, 14—17, 19 belonging probably to E (notice *God* in *vv.* 3^a, 17, 19, and the resemblances to xx. 1^a, 18—21), and *vv.* 3^b—9, 11^b—13, 18, 20—25 to J. The two narratives do not agree entirely in representation. In E Moses goes up the mountain to God, and is commanded to sanctify the people for a theophany on the third day. He goes down, and does this: on the 3rd day he brings the people out to the foot of the mount; the people are timid; he remains with them there; God speaks with them; and the sequel is xx. 1—21. In J Jehovah calls to him at the foot of the mountain, announces to him the covenant, and commands the people to be kept from the mountain by bounds, for on the 3rd day Jehovah will descend upon it. Jehovah does so, and calls Moses up to Him, but at once sends him down again to prevent the people—who are here not timid, but inquisitive—from breaking through the bounds. The sequel follows in xxiv. 1—2, 9—11.

On the question of the *site* of Sinai, see p. 177 ff.

xix. **1, 2^a** (P). Arrival of the Israelites at Sinai. The 'when' in *v.* 2 is intended to remove a difficulty: the Heb. is, *And they took their journey...*, *and came...*, *and pitched*, &c.; these words, however, beginning with the departure from Rephidim, would naturally precede

P In the third month after the children of Israel were **19**
gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came
they into the wilderness of Sinai. And when they were 2
departed from Rephidim, and were come to the wilderness
E of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness; | and there Israel
camped before the mount. And Moses went up unto God, 3
J | and the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying,
Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the

v. 1, which, stating the *new* fact of the date of their arrival at Sinai, would as naturally then follow. And this doubtless was the original order, viz.: **And** *they* **took their journey** (xvi. 1) *from Rephidim, and* **came** *to the wilderness of Sinai,* **and** *pitched in the wilderness: in the third month after, &c., came they into the wilderness of Sinai.* For the *form* of *v.* 2^{a}, comp. now xvi. 1, Nu. xxxiii. 16.

1. *the same day*] The day of the month must in some way have fallen out in the early part of the verse.

the wilderness of Sinai] The area in front of the mountain, whether 'Sinai' be J. Serbāl or J. Mūsā (see p. 186 ff.): so *v.* 2, Lev. vii. 38^{b}, Nu. i. 1, 19, iii. 14, ix. 1, x. 12, xxvi. 64, xxxiii. 15, 16 (all P). If Sinai be J. Serbāl, the 'wilderness' will be the stretch of W. Feiran, ¾ mile long, between W. 'Ajeleh and W. 'Aleyat (cf. on xvii. 1^{a}), 3 miles N. of J. Serbāl, and separated from J. Serbāl itself by a chaos of rugged hills (cf. p. 182, and see the map): if Sinai be J. Mūsā, then the 'wilderness' will be the plain er-Rāḥah, about 1½ mile long, and ½ mile broad, fronting it on the NW., and, according to the best route (p. 182), 37 miles above Feiran. Er-Rāḥah, it may be added, is 3000 ft. above Feiran, and 5000 ft. above the sea.

2^{b}. *camped*] The Heb. is the same as 'pitched,' just before. Major Palmer's argument, founded on the supposed difference between the two expressions (*Sinai*, p. 201, ed. 2, 1906, p. 209), thus falls to the ground.

3^{a} (E). The mountain is the abode of God (cf. on *v.* 4): so Moses, immediately upon the Israelites' arrival at Sinai, naturally goes up it to Him. The original sequel follows in *v.* 10.

3^{b}—6. Jehovah calls to Moses 'out of' (or 'from') the mountain—so that he is apparently still below—and tells him of the exalted future which, if Israel will but be obedient, He has in store for it, and of the special relation to Himself in which, upon the same condition, it is His intention to place it. The words are (McNeile) 'a very beautiful expression of God's relations with His people, written by a religious thinker of the Deuteronomic school'; and (Di.) 'the *locus classicus* of the OT. on the nature and aim of the theocratic covenant: they have, at least at the beginning, an elevated, poetical form; and the rhythmical articulation of *v.* 3^{b} explains the expression "house of Jacob," which occurs nowhere else in the Pent.'

3. *Thus shalt thou say*] iii. 14, 15, xx. 22.

the house of Jacob] Is. ii. 5, 6, viii. 17, x. 20, &c. 'Jacob,' as a poet.

4 children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the *J*
Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and
5 brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey
my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a
peculiar treasure unto me [1] from among all peoples: for all

[1] Or, *above*

synonym of 'Israel,' occurs also often besides in the prophets; in the Pent., only in Gen. xlix. 7, Nu. xxiii. 7, 10, 21, 23, xxiv. 5, 17, 19, Dt. xxxiii. 4, 10, 28.

4. **Ye**] the pron. is emphatic: in xx. 22 expressed by *Ye yourselves.*

on eagles' wings] A fine figure for the swiftness, the security, and the affectionate care with which the deliverance from Egypt had been effected. Cf. the development of the same figure in Dt. xxxii. 10, 11.

'Eagle,' though it suffices in a popular version, is not however an exact rend. of the Heb. *nésher*. As Tristram has shewn (*NHB.* p. 172 ff.), *nésher*, on account especially of the term 'baldness' in Mic. i. 16, must denote really the **griffon-vulture**, a large and majestic bird, very abundant in Palestine, and constantly seen there circling in the air.

unto myself] i.e. to my abode in Sinai, the 'mount of God' (Di.; cf. on iii. 1).

5, 6. The promise. The high privileges in store for Israel, if it but listens to Jehovah's voice, and observes His covenant. The verses, in style and thought, approximate to Dt. (cf. on xii. 25—27^{a}), and may have been expanded by the compiler of JE.

5. *obey*] lit. **hearken to**. So always. Cf. xv. 26; Dt. xiii. 4, 18, xxvii. 10, &c.; and especially xi. 13, xv. 5, xxviii. 1 (in these three passages *hearken diligently unto* is in the Heb. the same as *obey indeed* here), xxx. 10.

my covenant] the covenant of xxiv. 7, 8, described there as concluded on the basis of the 'Book of the Covenant' (i.e. the injunctions in xx. 23—xxiii. 19): if Israel observes the terms of this covenant, Jehovah promises that He will bring it into a relation of special nearness to Himself.

This is a point on which the representation of both J and E differs from that of P. Both J and E speak of a covenant concluded between Jehovah and Israel at Sinai: P says nothing of such a covenant; the only covenant mentioned by him in this connexion is the covenant with the *patriarchs*, to which Jehovah gives effect by delivering their descendants from Egypt, and settling them in Canaan (see Ex. vi. 4—8).

a peculiar treasure] Heb. *s*^{e}*gullāh*, i.e. a **special possession**; see 1 Ch. xxix. 3, Eccl. ii. 8, where the word is used of a private treasure (of gold, silver, &c.) belonging to kings. The rend. 'peculiar' we owe to Jerome, who states that Symmachus had used *peculiaris* in one place: it means 'specially one's own,' being used in its old etymological sense, derived from the Lat. *peculium*, the private property of a child or slave.

J the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of 6
priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which
thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And Moses 7
came and called for the elders of the people, and set before
them all these words which the LORD commanded him.
And all the people answered together, and said, All that the 8
LORD hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported
the words of the people unto the LORD. And the LORD 9
said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud,

With the addition of 'people,' 'a people of special possession,' the word occurs, borrowed from here, in Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; and alone also in Ps. cxxxv. 4: in Mal. iii. 17 (RV.) it is transferred to the faithful Israelites of the future. The LXX. here, xxiii. 22 (in an addition to the Heb.), Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, render by *λαὸς περιούσιος*; and in Ps. cxxxv. 4, Eccl. ii. 8 by *περιουσιασμός*: hence *λαὸς περιούσιος* in Tit. ii. 14. *Λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν* in 1 P. ii. 9 (cf. Eph. i. 14) is also based upon the same expression: cf. *εἰς περιποίησιν* for *s*^{e}*gullāh* in Mal. iii. 17 LXX., and *ὃ περιπεποίημαι* in 1 Chr. xxix. 3. (*Περιούσιος* means apparently *being over and above*, and so *exceptional, special*; see Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the Engl. N.T.*, p. 234 ff.)

from among] lit. *out of*; but as what is taken specially out of a number is preferred to the rest (cf. *ἐξαίρετος*, *ex*imius, *e*gregius), the meaning *above* (marg.) is also implied. So Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2.

for all the earth is mine] and so I can choose which I will of the nations upon it. Cf. ix. 29, Dt. x. 14.

6. *And* **ye** (emph.)] in contrast to the other nations.

a kingdom of priests] i.e. a kingdom whose citizens are all priests, living wholly in God's service, and ever enjoying the right of access to Him. Comp., of the ideal future, Is. lxi. 6; and in the NT., of Christians, 1 P. ii. 5, 9, Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6.

an holy nation] separated from other nations, and holy to Jehovah. The expression implies not a promised privilege only, but also a duty: Israel, enjoying this privilege, is also (as is developed more fully in Dt.) under the obligation to make it a reality, to keep itself free from everything heathen, and fulfil the ideal of a holy nation upon earth. The expression is taken up in Dt. in the form 'a holy *people*,' Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, 21, xxvi. 19; cf. Is. lxii. 12 (the ideal of the future), 1 P. ii. 9.

7—8. Moses communicates Jehovah's purpose to the people. They express their readiness to fulfil the conditions imposed.

9. Jehovah declares that He will so speak to Moses as to satisfy the people that he is His accredited messenger.

I come] more clearly, *I* **am coming**, i.e. am about to come. The first announcement of the coming theophany.

a thick cloud] Heb. *the thickness of a cloud* (or, *of the clouds*).

that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and may *J*
also believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the
10 people unto the LORD. | And the LORD said unto Moses, *E*
Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow,
11 and let them wash their garments, and be ready against the
third day: | for the third day the LORD will come down in *J*
12 the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai. And thou
shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take
heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or
touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall
13 be surely put to death: no hand shall touch [1]him, but he
shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether it be beast
or man, it shall not live: when the [2]trumpet soundeth long,

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[1] Or, *it*

[2] Or, *ram's horn*

and may believe **thee also**] the pron. is emphatic. Stress is laid also on the people's believing *Moses* in iv. 1—9, 31, xiv. 31 (all J).

And Moses told, &c.] The words of the people have been already reported to Jehovah in *v.* 8, and no other words have followed since. The clause is probably a misplaced variant of *v.* 8^{b}.

10—13. Preparations to be made in view of the approaching theophany. The people are to be sanctified (E), and (J) barriers set about the mountain, to prevent its being desecrated by idle intruders.

10. *sanctify*] viz. by enjoining ablutions and abstention from anything that would render 'unclean' (cf. *v.* 15^{b}): comp. Nu. xi. 18 (in preparation for the approaching manifestation of Jehovah's power), Jos. iii. 5, vii. 13, 1 S. xvi. 5.

wash their garments] often enjoined, as a purificatory rite, in the later ceremonial legislation, e.g. Lev. xi. 25, 28, 40, &c.

12. *border*] Heb. *extremity*, or *edge* (xiii. 20).

shall be surely put to death] Gen. xxvi. 11, Jud. xxi. 15; and often in the laws, as ch. xxi. 12, 14, 15, 16, &c.

13. *no hand*, &c.] i.e. he is not to be followed, and seized on the mount, but to be stoned or shot from a distance. Possibly the underlying idea may be (Bä.) that the trespasser, having touched sacred ground without proper authority, becomes thereby *taboo*—i.e. dangerous to touch, on account of the supernatural penalties that would be thereby incurred (see *DB.* ii. 395^{b} *n.*, iv. 826 ff.)—and forfeits his life to the deity, and anyone touching him afterwards is liable to become *taboo* likewise (cf. on xxix. 37). RVm. *it* means the mountain; but this is not probable.

13^{b}. *the* **ram**('s horn)] Heb. *yōbēl*, as Jos. vi. 5 (קרן היובל, also with 'soundeth long'); 4, 6, 8, 13 (שופרות (ה)יובלים). Not the word rendered 'trumpet' in *vv.* 16, 19, xx. 18.

they (emph.) **may** *come up* **into** (Heb., as *v.* 12) *the mount*, &c.] It may be doubted whether this clause is in its original position. Where

E they shall come up to the mount. | And Moses went down 14
from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people;
and they washed their garments. And he said unto the 15
people, Be ready against the third day: come not near a
woman. And it came to pass on the third day, when it was 16
morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a
thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet
exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp
trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the 17
camp to meet God; and they stood at the nether part of the
J mount. | And mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, be- 18
cause the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke
thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole
E [1]mount quaked greatly. | And when the voice of the 19
trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God

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[1] Some ancient authorities have, *people*.

it stands, it apparently refers to what may be done when the signal is given by the 'ram's horn' at the *end* of the solemnity. Bacon would transfer *vv.* 11^{b}—13 to *v.* 24, to follow *priests* (as in the note): '*they* shall come' would then refer to the priests, and, *vv.* 23, 24 (to *down*) being rejected as a gloss, *vv.* 20—22, 24^{a}, 11^{b}—13, 24^{b} would read consecutively (cf. McNeile, pp. xxvi, 113).

14—15. The sequel in E to *vv.* 10, 11^{a}. Moses comes down from the mountain, and sanctifies the people as instructed in *vv.* 10, 11^{a}.

15^{b}. Cf. 1 S. xxi. 4; and the Minaean inscr. cited in *ATLAO.*^{2} p. 433.

16—19. On the third day the theophany takes place; and the people are brought forth by Moses to the foot of the mountain to meet God.

16. *thick*] **dense**; lit. *heavy* (cf. on viii. 24). Not the word used in *v.* 9.

a trumpet] Heb. *shōphār* (so *v.* 19, xx. 18), properly **a horn**—used especially (cf. the note on Am. ii. 2 in the *Camb. Bible*) to give a signal or summons in war (Jud. iii. 27), or to announce or accompany an important public event (1 K. i. 34; 2 S. vi. 15). Not the *yōbēl* of *v.* 13^{b}.

17. *stood*] better, **took their stand.**

18. *on smoke*] For the archaism, see Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, s.v. ON; and cf. *Hamlet* v. 1. 211 '*on* a roar,' 2 S. ix. 3 'lame *on* his feet,' Ps. lxxviii. 14 (P. B. V.) '*on* an heap,' lxxix. 1 '*on* heaps.'

the smoke of a **kiln**] as ix. 8, Gen. xix. 28 ('the **steam** of a **kiln**').

quaked] The word rendered 'trembled' in *v.* 16 *end.* LXX. and 9 Heb. MSS. have *people* for *mount* (as *v.* 16^{b}); and it is true (Di.) that *ḥārēd* is not used elsewhere of the merely physical movement of inanimate objects.

19. *and the voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder: Moses* **kept speaking**, *and God* **kept answering** *him with a voice*] **i.e.** with

20 answered him by a voice. And the LORD came down J
upon mount Sinai, to the top of the mount: and the LORD
called Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.
21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go down, charge the
people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and
22 many of them perish. And let the priests also, which come
near to the LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break
23 forth upon them. And Moses said unto the LORD, The
people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou didst
charge us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify
24 it. And the LORD said unto him, Go, get thee down; and
thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not

thunder. Moses is of course below with the people. The tense of the two last verbs implies reiteration: the repeated thunderings were interpreted as God's part in a dialogue with Moses. The sequel is xx. 1.

20—25. After the theophany has begun (*vv.* 18, 20^a), Moses is summoned to the top of the mountain, where he is told to go down again at once and check the too eager curiosity of the people, and when he has done this to come up again with Aaron (*v.* 24). In E the people, so far from evincing any desire to trespass upon the mountain, are in alarm, and 'tremble' (*v.* 16; cf. xx. 18).

20. *came down*] according to *v.* 18, Jehovah had already done this. Perhaps (Bä.) *v.* 18 is misplaced, and stood originally after *v.* 20^a.

21. *break through*] viz. the barriers that had been erected (*v.* 12). Lit. *pull* or *tear down* (Jud. vi. 25 *al.*). So *v.* 24.

perish] lit. *fall*, i.e. be struck down suddenly by the lightning.

22. Even the priests, whose duty it is to *come near* (Lev. xxi. 21) to Jehovah, must sanctify themselves like the rest (*vv.* 10, 14), lest He **make a breach in** *them* (2 S. vi. 8 AV., 1 Ch. xv. 13), i.e. work destruction among them. The word is quite distinct from that rendered 'break *through*' in *v.* 21.

It appears from this passage that J recognizes priests before the legislation of Sinai—just as he recognizes similarly sacrifices and altars (e.g. Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18, xxvi. 25: in P priests appear first in Lev. viii.); but the representation is hardly consistent with xxxii. 29.

23, 24. Moses reminds Jehovah that the barriers (*v.* 12) will effectually prevent the people from trespassing: but he is nevertheless commanded to repeat the warning.

23. **thou**] the pron. is emphatic, **thou thyself**.

24. *thou, and Aaron with thee*, &c.] This command is nowhere stated to have been carried out: in xx. 21 (E) Moses goes in before God alone; in xxiv. 1, 9 Moses and Aaron are accompanied by Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders.

with thee: but, &c.] Or, *with thee, and the priests: but let not the people break through*, &c.: cf. *v.* 22^a ('which *come near* to Y.'), and on *v.* 13^b.

J the priests and the people break through to come up unto
the Lord, lest he break forth upon them. So Moses went 25
down unto the people, and told them.

break through...**make a breach in**] as *vv.* 21, 22.

25. *and* **said unto** *them*] The paraphrase 'told' is illegitimate. The word always means to 'say'; and is followed regularly by the words said. The narrative is here broken off in the middle. What originally followed must have been the substance of the commands given in *vv.* 21—24. The next excerpts from J are xxiv. 1—2, 9—11.

On the 'covenants' mentioned in the Pentateuch.

A 'covenant' is a compact or agreement, concluded—at least on important occasions—under solemn religious sanctions, and implying mutual undertakings and obligations. For instances of covenants between men, see Gen. xxvi. 26—31, xxxi. 44—54, 1 K. xv. 19 ('league'), xx. 34. In a religious sense, a 'covenant' is the most formal, and, so to say, official expression of the gracious relation subsisting between God and men: God promises that, if man observes the conditions laid down by Him, He will bestow upon him certain specified blessings. In references to a covenant of this kind, the stress may rest, according to the context and purpose of the writer, either on the Divine promise (e.g. Dt. iv. 31), or on the human obligation (e.g. Dt. iv. 23). The following are the 'covenants' referred to in the Pentateuch:—

In J:—1. The covenant with Abraham, Gen. xv. 18.

2. The covenant of Ex. xxxiv. 10, 27, 28 (see p. 364 f.), concluded with Israel on the basis of the laws contained in xxxiv. 14, 17—26.

In E:—1. The covenant of Ex. xxiv. 7, 8, concluded with Israel on the basis of the 'Book of the Covenant' (xx. 22—xxiii. 33). The same covenant is also referred to in xix. 5 (compiler of JE).

In Dt.:—1. The covenant with the patriarchs, iv. 31, vii. 12, viii. 18.

2. The covenant concluded with Israel at Horeb on the basis of the *Decalogue*, Dt. iv. 13, 23, v. 2, 3, vii. 9, xxix. 1^b (hence the Deut. expression, 'the *tables*, and *ark*, of the covenant,' ix. 9, 11, 15, x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25, 26, Jos. viii. 33 D^2: in Nu. x. 33, xiv. 44 J, 'the covenant of' is probably an addition made by one familiar with the Deut. phraseology; cf. often in Jos. iii., iv., vi. 6, 8). The terms of this covenant are stated in Dt. xxvi. 17 f. Dt. is silent as to any covenant made at Horeb, and based on the 'Book of the Covenant.'

3. The covenant concluded with Israel in the steppes of Moab, on the basis of the Deuteronomic legislation itself, Dt. xxix. 1^a, 9, 12, 14, 21, 25 (cf. 2 K. xxiii. 2, 21, where this legislation is called the 'book of the covenant').

4. In the 'Blessing of Moses,' xxxiii. 9, the covenant with the tribe of Levi (i.e. their consecration to the priesthood, which was probably once narrated after Ex. xxxii. 29). Cf. Mal. ii. 4, 5, 8.

In P:—1. The covenant with Noah, Gen. vi. 18, ix. 9—16.

2. The covenant made with Abraham and his seed, Gen. xvii. 2, 4, 7, 9, 10; with Isaac and his seed, *vv.* 19, 21; with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Ex. ii. 24, vi. 4 (see th[illegible]e), 5.

See also (in H) Lev. xxvi. 9, 15, 42, 44, 45; and (in P) Ex. xxxi. 16 (of the sabbath), Lev. ii. 13, xxiv. 8 (of the shewbread), Nu. xviii. 19 (of the priestly dues), xxv. 12 f. (with Phinehas).

In P, as was remarked on xix. 5, God confirms a former covenant by bringing His people out of Egypt, and He gives Israel a body of *ceremonial* regulations at Sinai; but there is not in P any mention of a *covenant* made by Him with Israel at Sinai. See further A. B. Davidson's art. COVENANT in *DB*.

The Theophany on Sinai.

In view of the many considerations which combine to shew that the narratives of the Exodus are not contemporary with the events described, it becomes a question whether we must not see in Ex. xix. another example of that 'symbolism of the Bible,' which was referred to in connexion with the narratives of the Plagues (above, p. 58). As Dillm. remarks, the 'natural foundation' of the description in *vv.* 16, 18 (cf. xx. 18) is evidently a *thunderstorm*. A thunderstorm is one of the most imposing of natural phaenomena: and it was habitually regarded by the Hebrews as a manifestation of Jehovah's presence (see on ix. 23[a]). 'The description here given of Jehovah's descent upon Sinai,' writes Dr Wade[1], 'finds a parallel in many rhetorical passages of the Psalms and Prophets[2], and is doubtless to be explained similarly. In these any signal event in which the hand of God is discerned is depicted as accompanied by disturbances in the elements and by convulsions of nature. In the light of such, it seems reasonable to regard the narratives recounting the delivery of the Law at Sinai as a dramatic picture, the details of which are not to be pressed. The divine communications made to Moses were presumably internal rather than external; and were imparted through the avenues of reflection and conscience rather than by the outward hearing. Yet it is' highly probable 'that in the locality where the events are placed, there really occurred natural phaenomena which are reflected in the narrative. To the race, and to the age, to which Moses belonged, all that was startling or exceptional in nature unmistakeably manifested divine power; and lightning and tempest, in particular, were associated by the Hebrews with Jehovah's presence. Consequently the storms that occasionally burst,' with exceptional impressiveness and grandeur[3], 'round the top of Sinai may easily have impressed the spirit of the Israelite leader with a sense of God's nearness; whilst the thunder may have been to him something more than a mere symbol of the divine voice (cf. Ps. xxix. 3—9).' To the same effect Dr Sanday, after speaking of the nucleus of judgements and decisions given by Moses in God's name, continues[1], 'And then the imagination played round the idea of divine legislation, and invested it with what seemed more adequate circumstances of solemnity and sanctity.' The thunderstorm was considered to be a special manifestation of God's presence; and so the Decalogue, addressed to all Israel, was pictured as uttered by God, in a voice of thunder, out of the storm. But 'these (the smoke and fire, &c.) are just poetic accessories, emblematic of the central fact that the words proceeded from God. The literal truth was that God spoke to the heart of Moses[2]: the poetic truth was that He spoke in thunder and lightning from the crest of Sinai.'

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[1] *Old Test. History* (1901), p. 115 f.

[2] E.g. Ps. xviii. 7—16, l. 3, xcvii. 3—5, Mic. i. 3, 4, Hab. iii. 3—6, 10—11.

[3] See the account of the storm, with almost continuous lightnings, and deafening peals of thunder, witnessed by Ebers in 1871, about 12 miles N. of J. Serbāl (cited by Di. on *v.* 16, from Ebers, *Gosen*, p. 433); and of the one in W. Feiran, witnessed by the Rev. F. W. Holland in 1867, as given in the writer's notes on Habakkuk in the *Century Bible*, p. 99 f.

The site of Sinai.

The Sinaitic Peninsula[3] consists of a huge wedge-shaped block of mountains, intersected by numerous gorges and valleys, lying between the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba. On the north, the lofty desert table-land, 2000—2500 ft. above the Medit. Sea, called the *Bādiyet et-Tih*, or the 'Wilderness of wandering,'—itself, however, not of uniform height, but containing many hills and valleys—projects into it in the form of a crescent, ending in a long range of almost perpendicular limestone cliffs, 1—2000 ft. in height, which marks the N. limit of the Sinaitic mountains. The mountains of the Peninsula are rugged and lofty. Jebel Mūsā, almost exactly in the centre of the wedge, is at its summit 7636 ft. in height, Jebel Catharina, 2 miles to the SW., 8536 ft., and the highest peak of J. Serbāl, 20 miles to the NW., 6734 ft. The mountains consist chiefly of granite or porphyry, and sandstone, which give a rich and varied colouring, of red, grey, lilac, purple, &c., to the landscape. The higher parts of the mountains are uniformly bare: lower down, the valleys and plains are generally 'clothed more or less sparsely with varieties of the aromatic and almost sapless herbs peculiar to dry barren soils': the same hardy plants may also be sometimes seen springing out of fissures in the rugged hill sides; and occasionally patches of grass are also visible. This herbage, meagre as it is, provides pasture for the camels, goats, and sheep, kept by the Bedawin who inhabit the region. Only in a few of the wādys are there perennial streams, the courses of which are marked by mosses, rushes, and acacias : the most fertile of these is the oasis of W. Feiran, described above on xvii. 1ᵃ. Not unfrequently also there are springs, which fertilize the soil around them, and diversify the general barrenness by patches of grateful verdure. As a whole, however, the aspect of both the wādys and the mountains of the Peninsula is one of extreme barrenness and desolation : even photographs are sufficient to shew the bareness of the mountain-sides, and the huge rocks and boulders which in many cases strew the surface of the wādys. As a rule, the air is clear and dry ; but between December and May sudden and violent rain- and thunderstorms are apt to burst over the Peninsula, giving rise to highly destructive floods, or *seils*, which sweep down the valleys in torrents, ten, twenty, or even thirty feet deep, carrying away with them, not trees only and cattle, if they happen to be in their way, but huge boulders, and often completely altering the face of the wādy (see a description of one in the notes on Habakkuk in the *Century Bible*, p. 100). The mountains of the Peninsula, as a whole, are called by the Arabs *eṭ-Ṭur* ('the Mountain'); the population consists of Bedawin of various tribes, numbering (without women and children) 4—5000, and called locally *Ṭowāra*, 'mountaineers' (from *Ṭūr*, 'mountain').

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[1] *The Life of Christ in recent Research* (1907), p. 19 f., cf. p. 211. Comp. Ewald, ii. 104.

[2] So Delitzsch wrote long ago: 'It was in the soul of Moses that the Divine thoughts of the Decalogue found their expression in language: the human words in which God's revelation is here cast are words of Moses' (*Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wiss. und kirchl. Leben*, 1882, p. 298; or in his *New Commentary on Genesis*, 1887, p. 19, Eng. tr. i. 29).

[3] For the fullest and most critical account of the Peninsula, see Weill, *La Presqu'île du Sinai, Étude de geographie et d'histoire* (1908), which appeared after the following pages were written.

Assuming (see below) that Mt. Sinai was where, at least since the 4th cent. A.D., tradition has located it, and that the Israelites really journeyed through the 'Sinaitic' Peninsula, let us, so far as this has not been done already, describe briefly the places that they may have halted at, or passed near, on their presumed route from Egypt. Enough has been said with regard to 'Ayūn Mūsā and 'Ain Nâba (see the note on xv. 22), Hawwárah (xv. 23); the route up W. Gharandel (xv. 26), and then along Wādy Shebeikeh, and down W. Ṭaiyibeh to the plain el-Markhā by the sea (xvi. 1) ; and the route thence up W. Feiran to the ruins of the ancient town of Feiran (xvii. 1ᵃ), 3 miles N. of the imposing peaks of J. Serbāl.

The route to W. Feiran through Seiḥ Sidreh (xvi. 1) passes through two interesting localities, which deserve a few words in passing. At Maghārah, about half-way up Seiḥ Sidreh (see the Map), and at Serābīṭ el-Khādim, 10—12 miles N. of this, are the remains of the celebrated turquoise and copper mines worked at intervals by the Egyptians from the 3rd to the 20th dynasty (*c.* B.C. 2900 [Breasted]—1100), the *stelae* and inscriptions of many Egyptian kings, and (at Serābīṭ el-Khādim) the great Temple to Hat-hor, founded by Usertesen I (B.C. 1980—1935), and added to by Thothmes III (1501—1447) and other kings till *c.* 1100 B.C. These Egyptian antiquities have been most recently and most completely explored by Prof. Petrie in 1905 ; and they have since been very fully described by him in his *Researches in Sinai* (cf. on ii. 15 ; see also Maspero, i. 355—58, and the briefer account in Major Palmer's *Sinai*,² pp. 92—106 [only partially contained in ed. 1]).

After Maghārah the route passes through the famous Wādy Mukatteb (the 'Written Valley'), so called from the numerous inscriptions cut out, some on the lower part of its sandstone sides, but most on the fallen blocks of rock with which the floor of the valley is strewed.

Although the clue to the decypherment of these inscriptions had been found by E. F. F. Beer in 1840, the Rev C. Forster in 1851 made himself a by-word by publishing a book in which he maintained that they were written by the Israelites, and contained notices of the quails, manna, &c.: but as soon as the script and language of the neighbouring Nabataean inscriptions, in NW. Arabia, became known, it was at once seen that these Sinaitic inscriptions were of the same type, and the substantial correctness of Beer's interpretations was fully confirmed. About 500 were copied by Prof. E. H. Palmer, when he visited Sinai as a member of the Ordnance Survey Expedition in 1868; his copies were never published, but he satisfied himself with regard to the character of the inscriptions. A collection of 677 was edited afterwards by Julius Euting, of Strassburg, in 1891; and more recently (1902, 1907) 2744 have been published and explained in the Paris *Corpus* of Semitic Inscriptions (Part II. vols. i. and ii. Nos. 490—3233). Only about 700 of these inscriptions are from W. Mukatteb itself: of the rest, about 450 are from W. Naṣb and W. Suwig, 12 miles to the N., and from W. Sidreh and other valleys about Maghārah, 1350 are from W. Feiran and other Wādys N. of J. Serbāl, and 250 from near J. Mūsā (see the Maps, *ibid.* i. 352, 358, ii. 2, 152, 179). All are thus on the W. and NW. parts of the Peninsula. The language of the inscriptions is Aramaic, though—as in the case of the allied Nabataean inscriptions—with a strong admixture of Arabic in the proper names. They consist principally of short formulae of greeting, or blessing, or commemoration. Here are a few specimens: 'Greeting! Uwaisu, son of Faṣiyyu, good luck!' 'Remembered in welfare and peace be Sa'adu, son of Garm-al-ba'ali for ever!' 'Blessed be Wa'ilu, son of Sa'ad-allâhi! This is year 85 of the eparchy' (=A.D. 189). Only a few of the inscriptions are dated: but all belong probably to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era (*CIS.* ii. 353 f.). They must have been the work of Nabataeans (whose proper home at this time was in or about Edom), who—probably for some commercial purpose—visited the Peninsula. When, a century or two later, a Christian population sprang up in it, crosses and other Christian emblems were in many cases attached to the inscriptions. See further Palmer, *Sinai*,^{2} pp. 114—127; G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, p. 258 ff.

As the route up W. Feiran approaches Feiran (the 'Pharan' of Eusebius, see on xvii. 1^a), 2000 ft. above the sea, there emerges, as the mouth of W. 'Ajeleh is reached on the right, about 3 miles to the S., towering up above the mountains in front of it, the imposing range of J. Serbāl[1]. This, 'though not so high as several eminences further inland, is without doubt, viewed as a whole, more grand and striking than any other mountain in the country. It culminates in a noble ridge, 3 miles long and about 6500 ft. above the sea, running nearly E. and W., and rising far above the surrounding hills' (Palmer, *Sinai*, p. 178). The ridge consists of 5 massive and lofty peaks (besides 6 or 7 less

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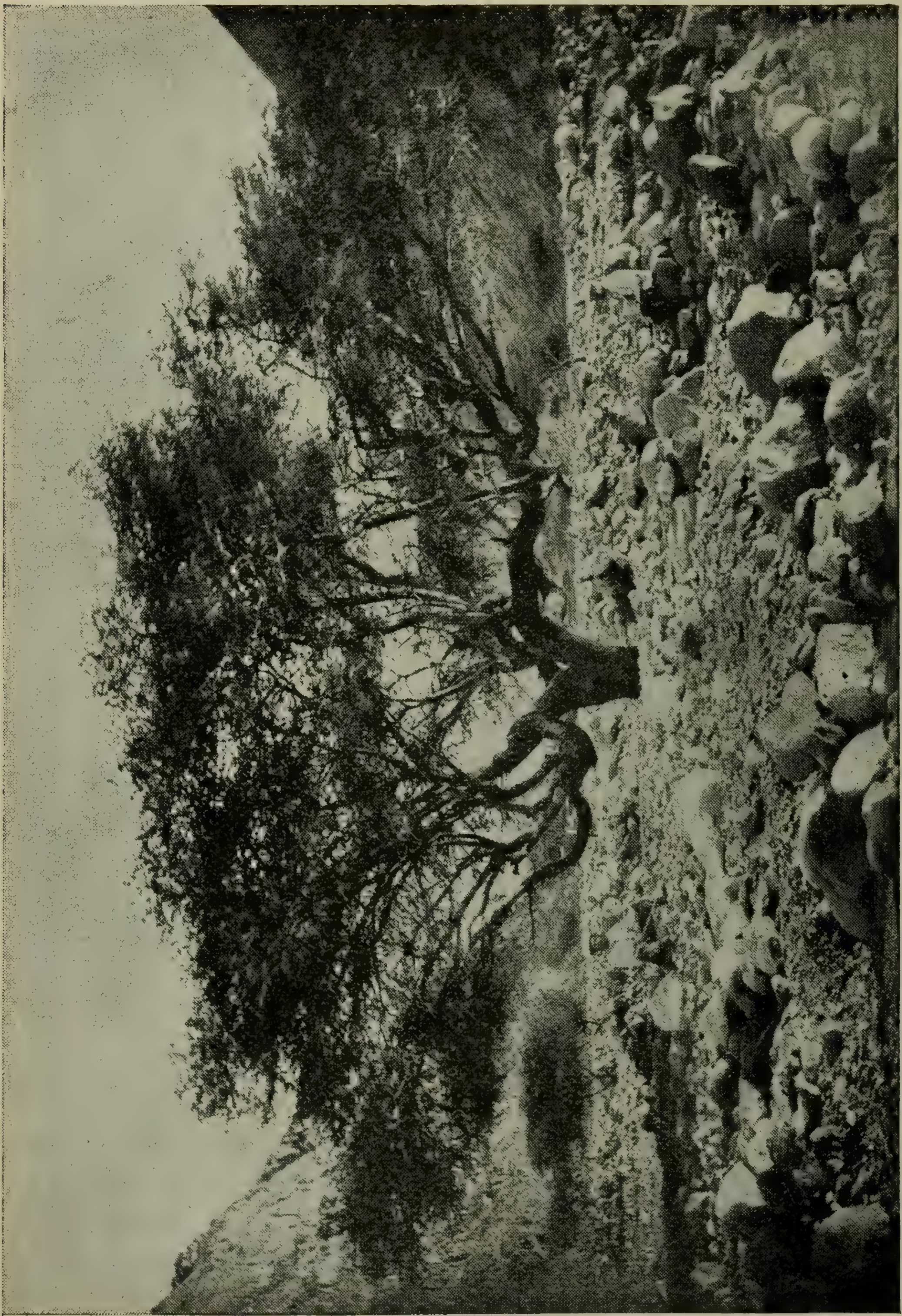
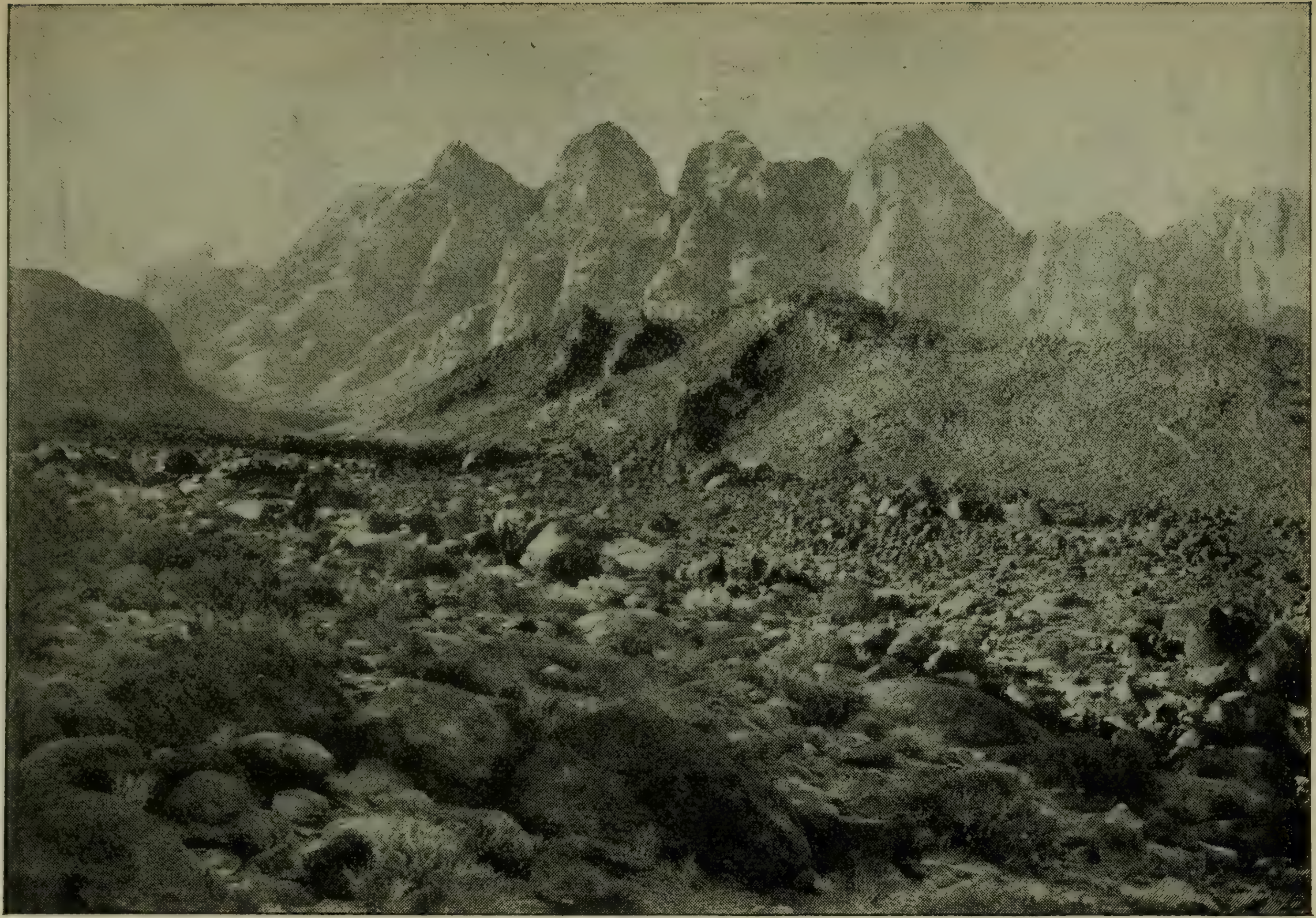
[1] See the Ordn. Survey Photographs, vol. ii. Nos. 25, 50, 51 (W. 'Ajeleh); 34, 37—38 (W. 'Ayelat), as well as the two reproduced here, pp. 180, 181.



Mouth of Wady 'Aleyat (see p. 182), **shewing an Acacia tree** (see xxv. 5)

From vol. ii. No. 35 of the Ordnance Survey Photographs of the Peninsula of Sinai, by permission of the Controller of H.M.'s Stationery Office



Jebel Serbāl from the Upper Palms in W. 'Aleyat (see p. 182)

From vol. ii. No. 37 of the Ordnance Survey Photographs of the Peninsula of Sinai, by permission of the Controller of H.M.'s Stationery Office conspicuous ones), the highest of which is 6734 ft. above the sea. There is no *plain* at the foot of J. Serbāl, but only 3 miles or so of mountains, terminating on the N. in a stretch, about ¾ mile long, of W. Feiran on the N. The base of the mountain may be approached from W. Feiran either by W. ʻAjeleh on the W., or by W. ʻAyelat on the E., each about 3 miles long, and each, but especially the former, 'a wilderness of boulders and torrent-beds,' passable only with the greatest difficulty by the pedestrian (*Ordn. Survey*, p. 90). The ascent of the principal peak can be made from some palm trees in the upper part of W. ʻAleyat in about 3 hours (*ibid.*): it was hence that both Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 607 f.) and Stanley (*S. and P.* p. 72 f.,—in the shilling edition (1910), p. 56 f.) ascended J. Serbāl.

From Feiran, Jebel Mūsā can be reached by *three* routes (*O. S.* p. 155). By either route the traveller will first pass through the oasis above Feiran, mentioned on xvii. 1ᵃ; he may then (1) turn, at the top of W. Feiran, to the NE., up W. Sheikh, and ascending this, as far as (4022 ft.) the defile el-Waṭiyeh, 10 miles N. of Jebel Mūsā, turn off through this defile to the right, and so, still ascending the same wādy, enter the plain er-Rāḥah, NW. of J. Mūsā, from the NE., in all 37 miles; or (2) turn off to the SE. at the top of W. Feiran, and pass up W. Solaf across the low hills to the same point, El-Waṭiyeh, and then on as before, in all 41 miles; or (3) follow, as in (2), W. Solaf, but only as far as Nagb Hawā (the 'Pass of the Wind'), 5—6 miles NW. of er-Rāḥah, and ascend the pass which there begins; this route is not more than 30½ miles, but Nagb Hawā is not passable for waggons or heavily laden camels. The plain er-Rāḥah (*rāḥah* means the *palm of the hand*, hence fig. a *flat open area*) is 4850—5150 ft. above the sea, and consequently some 3000 ft. above Feiran. It is about 1¼ mile long by ½ mile broad, so that it covers an area of about 400 acres; and it directly faces the NW. end of the huge oblong granite block known as Jebel Mūsā ('Moses' Mount[1]). At the SE. end the cliffs of the N. end of Rās Ṣufṣafeh—the 'Head, or Summit, of the Willow'—so called from an ancient willow growing upon it, near the 'Chapel of the Holy Zone' (of the Virgin Mary)—rise suddenly and steeply more than 1600 ft. above the plain (from 4900 ft. to 6541 ft.). Rās Ṣufṣafeh is the long narrow NW. extremity, about 500 ft. broad by a mile long, of the huge granite block, spoken of above, which bears the general name of Jebel Mūsā ('Jebel Mūsā' itself being properly only the lofty peak at its SE. extremity). This granite block is about 2 miles long from NW. to SE., and a mile broad from NE. to SW.: on the NE. it slopes down into the deep narrow glen called, from the Convent of St Catharine standing in it, *Wādy ed-Deir*, the 'Convent Valley'—sometimes also, from its having been supposed to have been the spot in which Moses tended his father-in-law's sheep, *Wādy Shoʻeib*, the 'Valley of Hobab' or Jethro: 'on the SW. Wādy Shureij, a still narrower ravine, divides it from the long subordinate ridge of Jebel Fera‘, which again is cut off on its SW. by Wādy el-Lejā from the huge red bluffs of Jebel el-Ḥamr’ (the ‘Red mountain’). J. Mūsā, J. Fera‘, and J. el-Ḥamr are all composed mainly of red or pink syenitic granite. The central and highest part of Rās Ṣufṣafeh is 6937 ft. above the sea ; the ridge SE. of this sinks in the middle to 6744 ft. ; but at its extreme SE. end it rises into the single pointed

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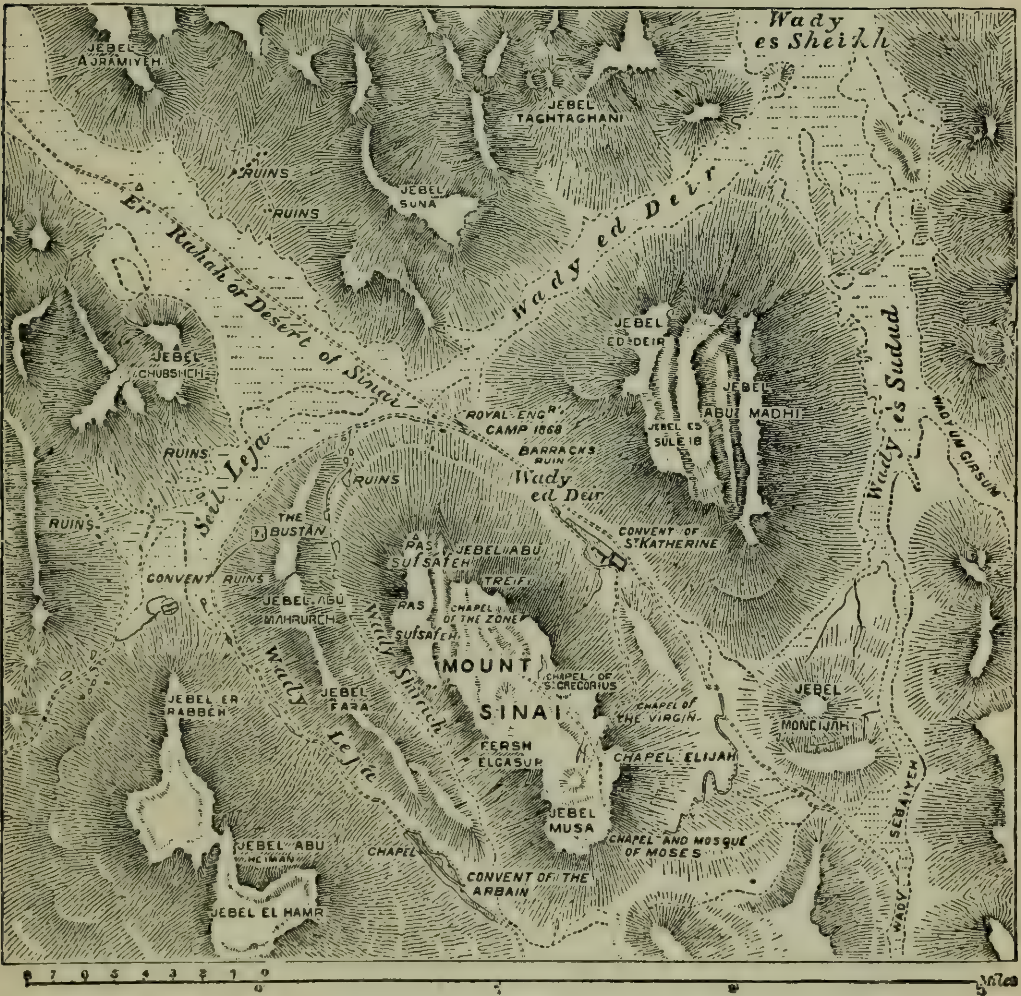
[1] When Pococke visited the Peninsula in 1740, Jebel Mūsā was the name given to J. Moneijah, E. of J. Mūsā, on the opposite side of the valley, J. Mūsā being known then as 'Mount Sinai' (*O. S.* p. 203).


Wady es Sheikh
JEBEL AJRAMIYEH
JEBEL TAGHTAGHANI
RUINS
JEBEL SUNA
RUINS
Er Rahah or Desert of Sinai
Wady ed Deir
JEBEL ED DEIR
JEBEL CHUBSHCH
ROYAL ENGRS CAMP 1868
JEBEL ABU MADHI
JEBEL ES SULEIB
Wady es Sudud
WADY UM GIRSUM
BARRACKS RUIN
RUINS
RUINS
Seil Leja
Wady ed Deir
RUINS
THE BUSTAN
CONVENT OF ST KATHERINE
RAS SUFSAFEH
JEBEL ABU TREIF
CONVENT RUINS
JEBEL AGU MAHRURCH
RAS SUFSAFEH
CHAPEL OF THE ZONE
MOUNT SINAI
CHAPEL OF S. GREGORIUS
Wady Shrich
Wady Leja
JEBEL ER RABBEH
JEBEL FARA
CHAPEL OF THE VIRGIN
JEBEL MONEIJAH
FERSH ELGASUR
CHAPEL ELIJAH
JEBEL MUSA
WADY SEBAIYEH
JEBEL ABU HEIMAN
CHAPEL
CHAPEL AND MOSQUE OF MOSES
CONVENT OF THE ARBAIN
JEBEL EL HAMR
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0
1
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Map of Jebel Mūsā

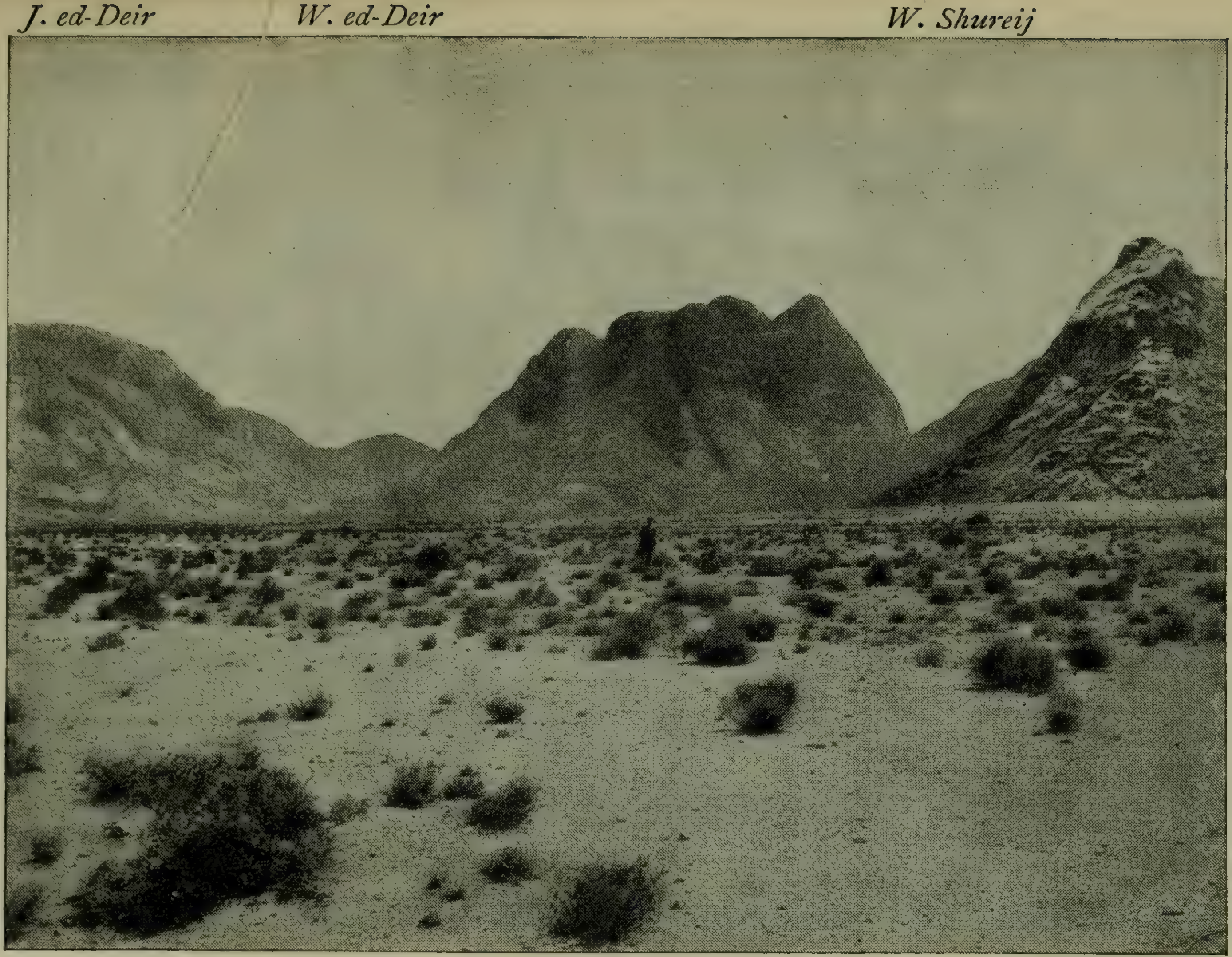
Reduced from Murray’s *Guide to Egypt*, ed. 10 (1900), col. 559 f.

peak, called specifically Jebel Mūsā, 7363 ft. above the sea. This peak, though 400 ft. higher than Rās Ṣufṣafeh, lies too far back to be visible from any part of the plain of er-Rāḥah. On the slopes of J. Mūsā and in the neighbouring hills and valleys there is ‘a fair abundance of perennial springs and streams’: the Convent of St Catharine, for instance, contains two good wells : there is also ‘enough herbage for the support of large flocks of goats and sheep’ (Palmer, *Sinai*,[2] p. 187).

The wādys which surround J. Mūsā on the E., W., and S. are extremely wild and rocky. W. el-Lejā is filled with enormous fragments and boulders of granite; W. Shureij is even worse towards its mouth, though it improves higher up; in W. ed-Deir, at least as far as the Convent, there are fewer boulders, and walking is easier. The principal ascent of J. Mūsā is by the *Sikket Syednā Mūsā*, the 'Path of our lord Moses.' This route, leaving the Convent of St Catharine (5013 ft.) in a southerly direction, climbs the mountain-side by a steep ravine, till it reaches, after an ascent of about 1500 ft., the so-called Chapel of Elijah (6589 ft.), enclosing a small grotto in which the prophet is said to have dwelt (1 K. xix. 8, 9), close to the foot of the peak of J. Mūsā. 'It is the track which has been followed by monks and pilgrims for many centuries past—a rude flight of rocky steps,' said to number in all 3000, 'formed of huge blocks of granite, but now destroyed at many points by the fall of rocks or rush of torrents. Its course lies amid the wildest and grandest natural features, tremendous masses of fallen granite, towering precipices, and mighty peaks and pinnacles of rock.'

From Elijah's Chapel, a further flight of steps leads straight on up to the summit peak of J. Mūsā (7363 ft.), with the Chapel and Mosque of Moses just below it, the latter built over a cave in which he is said to have dwelt during the forty days. To reach Rās Ṣufṣafeh, however, we must turn off at Elijah's Chapel to the right: the route thence is extremely difficult (Rob. i. 107); first there comes (*O. S.* 115) 'a rough scramble for a mile or more along the mountain basin to the back of the bluff, over a rugged path, now ascending, now descending, and passing in and out between enormous domes of granite; then a breathless climb of 3—400 ft. up a steep rocky ravine which divides the two westernmost bluffs till at its crest,' through a cleft opening out between the rocks [see view in Palmer's *Desert of the Ex.* i. 110], the plain of er-Rāḥah, 2000 ft. below, with the panorama of mountains surrounding it, bursts suddenly into view. The N. end of Rās Ṣufṣafeh, immediately above the plain, is 6541 ft. above the sea: but actually its highest part (6937 ft.), the point just mentioned, which affords the finest view, is about ⅝ of a mile to the S. The mountains round J. Mūsā, though few are higher than the summit peak of J. Mūsā (7363 ft.), form an imposing spectacle: they consist of a number of peaks, with a network of valleys between them, varying from about 6000 ft. in height to the two highest (on the SW.), J. Catharina (8536 ft.), and J. Zebir (8551 ft.). The view from J. Catharina is much more comprehensive than that from any part of J. Mūsā, embracing practically the whole Peninsula (see Rob. i. 110—112).

There are also two other tracks up J. Mūsā from W. ed-Deir, and one from W. Shureij on the W.; but these are much less frequented. The one from the mouth of W. ed-Deir, near the so-called 'Aaron's Hill,' is the shortest from er-Rāḥah, and was often used by the members of the Survey expedition. The one from W. Shureij was in the 18th cent. shewn to pilgrims as the one which Moses was accustomed to use. A winding path, less rocky and precipitous than the Sikket Syednā Mūsā, starting from the deserted Convent of el-Arba'in ('The Forty,' i.e. 40

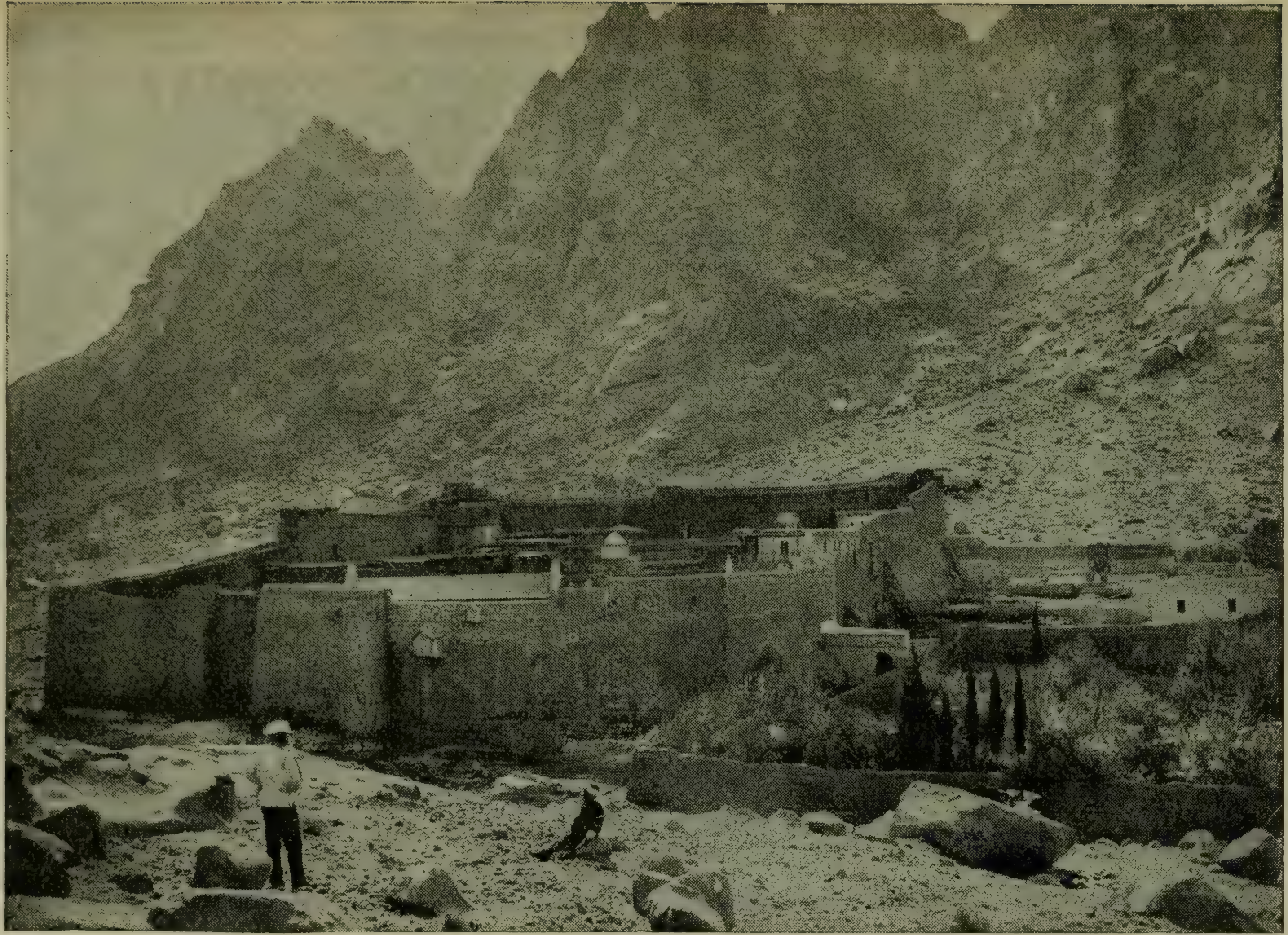

J. ed-Deir
W. ed-Deir
W. Shureij

Rās Ṣufṣafeh, from the head of the plain er-Rāḥah

From vol. i. No. 45 of the Ordnance Survey Photographs of the Peninsula of Sinai, by permission of the Controller of H.M.'s Stationery Office monks said to have been once killed by Arabs) in W. Lejā, SW. of the summit peak of J. Mūsā, is however much used by pilgrims in making the descent from the Chapel and Mosque of Moses on this peak, after they have ascended from the Convent of St Catharine.

As early as the 4th cent. of our era, Christians began to settle in the Sinaitic Peninsula in considerable numbers, some resorting to it as a refuge from persecution, but the majority seeking in it solitude from the world. The celebrated anchorite St Antony, Athanasius' friend, the 'founder of asceticism,' thus made it his home from about 285 till his death, *c.* 350. Early in the 4th cent. monasteries began to spring up about both J. Serbāl and J. Mūsā; and many anchorites began to plant their cells in the secluded valleys around the same mountains. In 324 we hear of a Bishop of Sinai; Nathyras was Bishop of Pharan (see on xvii. 1[a]) *c.* 400: for other bishops see Weill, 221 f. The hermit, Ammonius, and the ascetic, Nilus, describe the barbarous massacres of monks and anchorites perpetrated by ferocious bands of Saracens, in 373 and at about 400 A.D., respectively. The monasteries flourished for some centuries; of many the ruins are still visible; and one, that of St Catharine, is inhabited by monks to the present day. J. Mūsā and the neighbouring valleys and mountain sides contain naturally many sites connected by monkish tradition with events in Moses' life: but the legends possess no historical value, and need not therefore here be further noticed (see *S. and P.* pp. 44—48; Palmer, *Sinai*,[2] pp. 127—137). The Convent of St Catharine is, however, too famous to be passed by without a few words. It is a large fortified enclosure, containing a church, library, refectory, chapels, cells, &c. (see Rob. i. 93 ff.), built originally by Justinian in 527, on a site where already, it is said, a small church existed, to protect the monks from the incursions of the Arabs. In the Church is the so-called 'Chapel of the Burning Bush.' Attached to the Convent is a large garden, containing two wells of excellent water (one declared to have been the one mentioned in Ex. ii. 15), and abounding in vegetables and fruit-trees of various kinds. The St Catharine from whom the Convent is named is affirmed by mediaeval tradition to have been a virgin martyred at Alexandria in 307, of whose real history, however, no single fact seems to be certain (see the *Dict. of Christian Biogr.* s.v.): her body, it was said, had been carried by angels to the top of the mountain which was thenceforth called after her, J. Catharina; and her supposed relics, consisting of a skull and hand, were also said to have been afterwards transferred by the monks to their own Convent, where they are still shewn (Rob. i. 96 f.). It was from this Convent that a MS. of large parts of the LXX. and of the whole of the NT. (the 'Codex Sinaiticus') was obtained by Tischendorf in 1844 and 1859, and a valuable MS. of the old Syriac Version of the Gospels by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson in 1892.

The 'Sinai' of the OT. has commonly been supposed to have been some part of J. Mūsā. J. Serbāl has, however, found its advocates, especially Lepsius (*Letters from Egypt*, Engl. Tr., 1853, pp. 303 ff., 532 ff.), Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872), and most recently Mr Currelly in Petrie's *Sinai*, 1906, pp. 247—254. It must be



Wady ed-Deir. Convent of St Catharine, and Steps leading up to Jebel Mūsā

From vol. i. No. 20 of the Ordnance Survey Photographs of the Peninsula of Sinai,
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remembered that there is nothing in the Bible, which *fixes* the site of Sinai: the 'eleven days' journey from Horeb to Kadesh' of Dt. i. 2 would suit many other localities besides J. Mūsā; of the places mentioned in Nu. xxxiii. 6—35 between Succoth and 'Eẓion-geber, the name of only one, Kadesh, has been preserved to the present day; the sites of the places between Succoth and Sinai depend thus entirely upon the position assigned to Sinai; the only site of which we can be said to have any ancient tradition at all is Rephidim, which Eusebius says was near Pharan (in W. Feiran: see p. 155). Nor can we be sure that the Israelites had any continuous tradition of the site of Sinai: from the time of Moses onwards, the only Israelite who is mentioned as visiting it is Elijah (1 K. xix. 8). All that Josephus tells us is that Moses, having fled to a Midianite city, situated by the Red Sea (*Ant.* ii. 11. 1), led Jethro's flocks to the mountain called Sinai, 'the loftiest mountain in these parts,' with good pasture, but never before trodden even by shepherds, on account of its being supposed to be inhabited by God, and difficult to climb or even to see, on account of its great size and its precipitous crags (*ib.* ii. 12. 1, iii. 5. 1). This description does not distinctly say that Sinai was in the Peninsula, but rather implies that it was in Midian, on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba (see on ii. 15); if the Peninsula, however, is meant, then the highest mountain in it would be J. Zebir (p. 184); to the eye, however,—for it is certain that the ancients never took the actual heights of the mountains,—J. Serbāl is twice as lofty (4000 ft. above W. Feiran) as J. Mūsā (2000 ft. above er-Rāḥah). St Paul's statement (Gal. iv. 25) that he visited 'Sinai in Arabia' tells us nothing definite as to its situation. And such traditions as we possess respecting the sites of Sinai and connected places cannot be traced back beyond the beginnings of the monastic period, in the 3rd cent. A.D.

The principal arguments that have been advanced in support of J. Serbāl's being 'Sinai' are (1) that it was the earliest centre of Christian life in the Peninsula, and identified with Sinai by the oldest monastic tradition; a narrative dating from *c.* 400 (Ebers, 413 f.) seems to imply that 'Sinai' was very near Pharan; (2) Ex. xvii. 1, 6, xix. 2 imply that Sinai was not far from Rephidim, which is already by Eusebius placed near Pharan; (3) J. Mūsā, though an imposing mountain, is only one of a number of imposing mountains (including some loftier and more imposing than itself) centred round the plain er-Rāḥah; J. Serbāl is a single imposing range of peaks, towering far above any of the mountains near it, and as seen by a spectator below (see above) far loftier; it is thus a more appropriate site for the great events described in Ex. xix. than J. Mūsā (Ebers, p. 389 f.); (4) the great cold of er-Rāḥah (4900 ft. above the sea) in winter, causing the water to freeze in a single night to the depth of an inch, renders it unsuitable for a year's stay for people including many women and children (Currelly, p. 248; cf. Lepsius, p. 545). The first of these arguments had force when Ebers wrote in 1872 and (ed. 2) 1881; but the discovery in 1887 of the *Peregrinatio Silviae*—the narrative of a journey through various sacred places in Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine by a lady of Aquitania at about A.D. 385—in which the description given of Sinai, as 35 miles distant from Feiran, and as being seen across a large plain[1], suits J. Mūsā, but not J. Serbāl, shews that J. Mūsā was identified with Sinai earlier than Ebers supposed[2]. (2) If J. Serbāl be Sinai, it is as much too near Rephidim—4 miles below Pharan, if Ebers' site (pp. 222, 188) at Ḥesy el-Khattatin be accepted (see Palmer, *Sinai*, pp. 208 *n.*, 86)—as J. Mūsā (30, 37, or 41 miles: see p. 182) is too far—at least for a single day's march. (3) J. Serbāl may be more imposing than J. Mūsā, but it is difficult to argue that J. Mūsā is not sufficiently imposing for the events of Ex. xix. to be associated with it. (4) To the present writer, this appears to be the most serious objection to J. Mūsā; but he must allow that, not having visited the spot, he is not in a position to estimate it at its proper value. We may add (5) in favour of J. Mūsā that the plain er-Rāḥah is much better adapted as a camping-ground, even for a body of 5000 Israelites, than the comparatively narrow valley of W. Feiran, at the foot of the cluster of mountains in front of J. Serbāl (see p. 182). The argument would of course be stronger if the numbers of the Israelites at all approached 2,000,000; for as the engineers of the Ordnance Survey are careful to point out, the plain er-Rāḥah contains 1,936,000 square yards, which would allow nearly a square yard of standing ground for each person, while the adjacent valleys, containing 2,357,080 square yards, or more, would afford ample space for the tents, animals, and baggage. But, though the springs and streams about J. Mūsā are, no doubt, more numerous than those about J. Serbāl, the descriptions of them (e.g. *O.S.* 113 f.; cf. above, p. 177 f.) leave it very doubtful whether they would supply water sufficient for the needs of such an immense host, so that either the Israelites never came to J. Mūsā, or their numbers were very much less than tradition relates (cf. on xii. 37). Even, however, though their numbers were more moderate, if difficulty (4) can be overcome, J. Mūsā would seem to have on the whole better claims than J. Serbāl to be regarded as the Sinai of the OT. (so also Di., after an impartial discussion of the question, especially on account of the superior water and pasturage about J. Mūsā, but admitting the uncertainty of any decision on account of our having no evidence of the sites of many of the places mentioned, or of the existence of a continuous tradition respecting them).

Was Sinai, however, in the 'Sinaitic' Peninsula at all?

(1) It has been repeatedly urged by Prof. Sayce (*Monuments*, 1894, pp. 263—272; *EHH.*, 1897, pp. 186—190) that 'Sinai' was on the E. side of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba: the Peninsula, at the time of the 19th

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[1] See J. H. Bernard's edition (1891), in vol. i. of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, pp. 11 f., 19, cf. 137—139. The whole account of Silvia's journey in the Peninsula is interesting (pp. 11—20); she made the ascent of J. Mūsā from W. Lejā, in the opposite direction to that usually followed now by pilgrims (pp. 139—141), and was shewn at the top the caves and chapels of Moses and Elijah, just as they are shewn now.

[2] The date 385 A.D. is not, however, certain; and Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vi. 1905, p. 128 ff.) adduces strong reasons for assigning the *Peregrinatio* to the first half of the 6th cent. (cf. Weill, pp. 222 f., 226, 259). If this date is correct, the objections to Ebers' first argument will fall through.

dynasty, was an Egyptian province, with Egyptian garrisons stationed about the copper and turquoise mines in it [but see p. 14]; fugitives from Egypt would thus naturally avoid it, and flee rather across the desert et-Tih—approximately along what is now the regular pilgrim track from Suez to 'Aḳaba—in the direction of Edom: the land of Midian (see on ii. 15) was on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, and the presence of Midianites in the Peninsula (cf. p. 14) rests upon no independent testimony, but is simply a corollary of the assumption that Sinai was a mountain in it; the natural home of the Amalekites also was the steppes S. of Canaan (see on xvii. 8—16), and their presence in the Peninsula (xvii. 8) is again merely a corollary of the same assumption: Dt. xxxiii. 2 'Jehovah came from Sinai, And beamed forth from Seir unto them; He shone forth from mount Paran, And came [as ought almost certainly to be read] from [*or* to] Meribath-Kadesh' (viz. to lead His people into Canaan), Jud. v. 4, and Hab. iii. 3 (where He is similarly represented as coming from Edom, and Teman [in Edom], and mount Paran [some mountain in the SE. of the desert et-Tih]), all suggest that Sinai was in the direction of *Edom*, NE. of the Peninsula (between 'Aḳaba and the Dead Sea). Those who adopt this view place Marah somewhere between Suez and 'Aḳaba, identify Elim with Eloth (1 K. ix. 26; the modern 'Aḳaba), the 'Red Sea' station (Nu. xxxiii. 10; cf. on ch. xvi. 1) with some spot on the *east* shore of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, and place Rephidim, Sinai, &c. in the region S. or SE. of this. No objection can be raised against this view from the usually accepted sites of Marah, Elim, Rephidim, &c.; for, as has been explained above, these all depend purely upon the situation assumed for 'Sinai.' There is however no evidence that there were Amalekites on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba. The country S. and SE. of 'Aḳaba has not yet been sufficiently explored for definite sites to be proposed for Rephidim, &c.

(2) Other recent writers place Sinai in the neighbourhood of Ḳadesh, on the W. border of Edom (Nu. xx. 16). The site of Ḳadesh may be regarded as established by Trumbull: it was the modern '*Ain Ḳadis*, about 50 miles S. of Beer-sheba. Now 'Sinai' is very closely associated with Ḳadesh: (*a*) if it may be assumed that the Meribah of Ex. xvii. 7 is the same as the Meribah of Nu. xx. 13, which was at Ḳadesh (Nu. xxvii. 14), Sinai, which was certainly near the Meribah of Exod. xvii., must have also been near Ḳadesh; (*b*) the wilderness of Paran, in which Ḳadesh is located (Nu. xiii. 26), is the first stopping-place of the Israelites after Sinai in P (Nu. x. 12), as it is the third in J (Nu. xii. 16, cf. xi. 34, 35): the wilderness of Paran, however, would be something like 80 miles from Jebel Mūsā; (*c*) Ḳadesh being on the W. border of Edom, if Sinai were near it, the parallelism of Sinai and Seir (Edom) in Dt. xxxiii. 2 would be as easily explained as if Sinai were SE. of Edom; (*d*) the country about Ḳadesh was the home of the Amalekites, so, if Sinai were near it, the mention of them in Ex. xvii. 8 would occasion no difficulty (McNeile, pp. cii—civ). To (*b*) it might be replied that the narratives in Nu. x.—xii. may not be detailed: Nu. xxxiii. 16—36 (P) mentions 20 stations between Sinai and Ḳadesh, and Nu. x. 12 also implies a series of stages; it remains,

however, strange that there is no notice of any of these places in Nu. xi.—xii. (JE). Dt. i. 2 seems, however, to present a fatal objection to this view: if Horeb was 11 days' journey from Ḳadesh, how could it be near it? The objection can hardly be said to be satisfactorily met (*ibid.* p. cv f.) by distinguishing Horeb altogether from Sinai, and placing it at J. Ḥarb, some 120 miles S. of 'Aḳaba, on the E. of the Gulf; such a site, being in, or near, the true 'land of Midian,' would of course suit Ex. iii. and xviii.; but it seems hardly likely that the two names, associated as they are in the Biblical traditions with the same events, should have denoted in reality places so distant from each other.

On the whole, while difficulties and uncertainties must be admitted, Jebel Mūsā seems, with our present knowledge, to be the most likely site for the 'Sinai' of the OT. But we are not entitled to dogmatize on the subject; and the opinion advocated by Prof. Sayce has undeniably points in its favour[1].

CHAPTER XX. 1—21.

The Decalogue. Introduction to the Book of the Covenant.

The Decalogue is a concise but comprehensive summary of the fundamental duties of an Israelite towards God, and his neighbour. Jehovah is to be the only God recognized by Israel: He is to be worshipped under no material form; His name is to be reverenced; and the 'sabbath' is weekly to be kept holy in His honour. Respect is to be paid to parents; murder, adultery, theft, and false witness,—the commonest, perhaps, of the graver offences,—especially in a society in which the hand of the law is not strong,—are forbidden; the Israelite is not even to entertain the desire to possess anything of a neighbour's. Within a brief compass, the Decalogue thus 'lays down the fundamental articles of religion (sovereignty and spirituality of God), and asserts the claims of morality in the chief spheres of human relationship (home, calling, society).' By a few salient and far-reaching precepts, pointedly expressed, and easily remembered, it covers the whole religious and moral life; and provides a summary of human duty, capable of ready expansion and adjustment even to the highest Christian standards, and unsurpassable as a practical rule of life. The Decalogue moreover brings morality into intimate connexion with religion; and in an age when popular religion was only too readily satisfied with a formal ceremonialism, it emphasized, not ritual, but spirituality, reverence, and respect for the rights of other men (cf. Rom. xiii. 9), as what was pleasing in God's sight, and demanded by Him (cf. the later teaching of the prophets, Am. v. 24, Hos. vi. 6, Mic. vi. 8, &c.). Cf. further *DB*. i. 582.

The Decalogue, though assigned to 'E,' was naturally derived by him from a pre-existing source, and incorporated by him in his narrative.

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[1] It is also the view of Wellh. (*Hist.* 344 *n.*); Moore, *Judges* (1895), p. 140; Stade, *Entstehung des Volkes Israels* (in his *Akad. Reden*, 1899), p. 107, and others.

At the time when E wrote, it was believed traditionally to have been inscribed by Jehovah on two tables of stone (xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18^b, xxxii. 16), and (though this is first distinctly stated in Dt. x. 5) to have been placed by Moses in the Ark. The Decalogue appears also in Dt. v. 6—21, in what purports (*vv.* 5, 22) to be a verbal quotation; but there are several differences, especially in the 4th, 5th, and 10th Commandments. The most noticeable differences consist of additions, evidently the work of a Deuteronomic hand, and intended to emphasize thoughts or principles to which in Dt. importance is attached (as *vv.* 12, 16 the words 'as Jehovah thy God commanded thee,' cf. Dt. xx. 17, xxiv. 8, xxvi. 18; *v.* 14^b 'that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou,' cf. for the philanthropic motive Dt. xii. 7, 12, 18, xiv. 29; *v.* 16^b 'that it may be well with thee,' cf. Dt. v. 29, vi. 18, xii. 25, 28, xxii. 7): Ex. xx. 11 ('For in six days,' &c.) is, however, not found in Dt., and the motive given for the observance is a different one ('And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm: therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day'; cf. Dt. xv. 15, xvi. 11, 12, xxiv. 18, 22). It may however be doubted whether even the text of Exodus exhibits the Decalogue in its primitive form. It is an old and probable conjecture (Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 159, Di. *al.*) that the Commandments were originally all expressed in the same terse and simple form in which the first, and the sixth to the ninth still appear, and that the explanatory comments appended in certain cases were only added subsequently. The prefatory sentence (*v.* 2), and most of the comments, shew strong literary affinities (see the notes) with J (*vv.* 5^b, 6, cf. xxxiv. 7, 14), or the compiler of JE (*v.* 2, cf. xiii. 14^b), and (esp. in *vv.* 2, 4^b, 5^a, 10^b, 12) with Dt.; hence it is probable that these parts are due, partly, like other parenetic passages of Ex. (cf. on xiii. 3—16, xv. 26), to the compiler of JE, and partly to a writer influenced by Dt. *V.* 11 stands upon a different footing from the other comments: it is in style unlike both JE and Dt., but it presupposes Gen. i., and agrees largely in expression with Ex. xxxi. 17^b, Gen. ii. 3^a (both P). As it is scarcely likely that the author of Dt. would have omitted the verse, had it formed part of the Decalogue as he knew it, it is probable that it was introduced into the text of Ex. subsequently, on the basis of the passages of P just cited. If these suppositions are correct, the Decalogue will have reached its present form by a gradual growth, explanatory or parenetic comments, derived from, or based upon, J, the compiler of JE, Dt., and P, having been successively introduced into it with a didactic purpose. On the Nash papyrus of the Decalogue, see p. 417.

Comp. the eloquent homiletical expansion of the first two Commandments in Dt. iv., v.—xi.

The Decalogue is known in the OT. by the following designations:—

1. The *Ten Words*: Dt. iv. 13, x. 4; and probably (see the note) Ex. xxxiv. 28.

The Greek equivalent, 'Decalogue' (ἡ δεκάλογος), is used first by Clem. Al. (*Paedag.* iii. 89 *al.*).

E And God spake all these words, saying, 20
R^D I am the LORD thy God, | which brought thee out of the 2
land of Egypt, out of the house of [1]bondage.
E Thou shalt have none other gods [2]before me. 3

[1] Heb. *bondmen*. [2] Or, *beside me*

2. The *Testimony* (or *attestation*, *averment*, viz. of God's will; see on xxv. 16): 36 times in P (cf. *ibid.*). Elsewhere in this sense only 2 K. xi. 12 (but doubtfully: see Skinner in the *Century Bible*, and Barnes in the *Cambr. Bible*), and 2 Ch. xxiv. 6 (as Nu. xvii. 7, 8 *al.*).

3. The *Covenant*: esp., and probably first, in Dt. and Deuteronomic writers (cf. above, p. 175): Ex. xxxiv. 28 (?; see the note); Dt. iv. 13 'his covenant' (cf. 23, v. 2, 3); and in the expressions, 'the tables of *the covenant*,' Dt. ix. 9, 11, 15, 1 K. viii. 9 LXX. (see Skinner); and 'the ark of *the covenant* (of Jehovah),' Dt. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25, 26; Jos. iii. 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, iv. 7, 9, 18, vi. 6, 8, viii. 33 (all JE or D^2); Nu. x. 33, xiv. 44 (both JE); Jud. xx. 27; 1 S. iv. 3, 4, 5, 2 S. xv. 24; 1 K. iii. 15, vi. 19, viii. 1, 6; and several times in Chr. (In the occurrences in JE and other pre-Deuteronomic writers, 'the covenant of' is probably the addition of a redactor or scribe familiar with the Deut. expression[1].)

xx. 1. *And God spake*, &c.] the sequel in E to xix. 19.

2. Introduction. The commandments are introduced by the statement who it is that gives them: One, viz., who is Israel's God and who has also been Israel's benefactor; and who has thus both the right to impose them, and a claim upon Israel for obedience to them.

Jehovah *thy God*] so *vv.* 5, 7, 10, 12, xv. 26 (see note), xxiii. 19 = xxxiv. 26, xxxiv. 24, and frequently (more than 200 times) in Dt. Not elsewhere in Ex.—Nu.

which brought thee out, &c.] and consequently has a claim upon thee for gratitude and obedience; cf. xiii. 3, 9, 14, 16: the same motive, also, Dt. v. 15, vi. 12, viii. 14, xiii. 5, 10; Am. ii. 10; Hos. xiii. 4 (RVm.).

the house of bondage (lit. *of slaves*)] as xiii. 3 (see note), 14; and often in Dt. (cf. esp. vi. 12, viii. 14, xiii. 10, just quoted).

3. The *first* commandment, against polytheism. The fundamental principle of Israel's faith, presupposed throughout the OT., but specially insisted on when there is any danger of other gods, esp. Canaanite gods, being preferred to Jehovah, or worshipped equally with Him.

other gods] so xxiii. 13; cf. in the singular xxxiv. 14 (אל אחר). Very frequent in Dt. and Deuteronomic writers (compilers of Judges and Kings; and Jer.), as Dt. vi. 14, vii. 4, viii. 19 *al.*; Jud. ii. 12, 17, 19; 1 K. ix. 6, 9, xi. 4, 10; Jer. i. 16, vii. 6, 9, 18 *al.* Otherwise first in E (Jos. xxiv. 2, 16), 1 S. xxvi. 19, 2 K. v. 17, Hos. iii. 1 (not in other prophets, except Jer., and never in P).

before me] or, more distinctly, **in front of** *me*,—obliging Me (un-

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[1] This supposition is not arbitrary: because—at least as far as we know—until Dt. was written, the conditions for calling the ark the 'ark of the Covenant' did not exist: no covenant is concluded on the basis of the Decalogue in Ex.; this is first said to have been done in Dt. (cf. Chapman, *Introd. to the Pent.* p. 113 f.).

4 Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, | nor *the* R^D^
likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that is in the
5 earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou
shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for
I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity

willingly) to behold them, and also giving them a prominence above Me.

4—6. The *second* commandment, against image-worship. The prohibition is general; and includes both images of Jehovah,—who, as a spiritual Being, cannot be represented by any material likeness (see the development of this thought in Dt. iv. 15—19),—and also those of other gods, or of deified creatures, or objects of nature. Images were widely used by worshippers of Jehovah till the times of the prophets: on the bearing of this upon the date of the Decalogue, see p. 415 f.

4. *a graven image*] an image of carved wood (sometimes enclosed in a metal casing, Is. xxx. 22) or stone, such as were common in antiquity, and are so, of course, still among heathen nations. Cf. Dt. iv. 16 f.

the likeness of *any form*, &c.] By an inexactness of language, the Heb. identifies the 'form' made with the 'form' (in heaven, &c.) upon which it is modelled: RV. eases the sentence by inserting 'the likeness of.'

in heaven above] as birds (Dt. iv. 17).

heaven above...the earth beneath] The same combination (with reference to Jehovah being God in both), Dt. iv. 39, Jos. ii. 11, 1 K. viii. 23 (both Deuteronomic).

the water under the earth] cf. Dt. iv. 18. The waters meant are the huge abyss of subterranean waters, on which the Hebrews imagined the flat surface of the earth to rest (Gen. xlix. 25, Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6), and which they supposed to be the hidden source of seas and springs (see further the writer's note on Gen. i. 9, 10). Fish, at least in certain places, or of certain kinds, were regarded as sacred, and forbidden to be eaten, in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere; and Xen. (*Anab.* i. 4. 9) says that the fish in the Chalus, near Aleppo, were looked upon as gods. See *Rel. Sem.*^{2} pp. 174—6, 292 f.; *EB.* ii. 1530 f.

5. The command of *v.* 4 developed and emphasized.

bow down...serve] The same combination, Dt. iv. 19, viii. 19, xi. 16, xvii. 3, xxix. 26, xxx. 17, Jud. ii. 19 (D^2); and several times in Jer. ['worship' in these passages is in the Heb. *bow down*, as here].

a jealous God] who will not tolerate that the reverence due to Him, should be given to another,—whether to another god (xxxiv. 14), or, as here, to an image worshipped, or, if an image of Himself, likely to be worshipped, as Divine,—and whose jealousy is described elsewhere as burning like fire against those who thus dishonour Him. Occurring, as it does here, in a comment on the original command (see p. 192), the expression is derived probably from xxxiv. 14. It recurs Dt. iv. 24 (with 'a devouring fire'), vi. 15, Jos. xxiv. 19 (E), each time in a similar connexion: cf. the verb in Dt. xxxii. 16, 21 (the Song; hence Ps. lxxviii.

R^D of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon
the fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing 6
mercy unto [1]thousands, of them that love me and keep my
commandments.

[1] Or, *a thousand generations* See Deut. vii. 9.

58). Jehovah's honour is, however, intimately connected with that of His people: so his 'jealousy' may also be exerted, if circumstances permit it, on His people's behalf, as Is. ix. 7, xlii. 13; cf. Joel ii. 18, Nah. i. 2, Zech. i. 14, with the writer's notes.

5, 6. *visiting...*, *and* **doing**...] a further definition of Jehovah's ethical character, as displayed in His attitude towards sin and goodness, respectively. The definition is based (Di.) upon xxxiv. 7 (cf. Nu. xiv. 18, Jer. xxxii. 18), only with the two clauses transposed, so as to give the warning the first place, as the context here demands.

5. *of them that hate me*] The term is a strong one, and denotes those who persistently and defiantly oppose themselves to God.

6. *unto thousands*, *of them*, &c.] i.e. not thousands *consisting of* them that love me, but (notice the comma added in RV.) thousands **belonging to** them that love me (Heb. l^e, just as in *v.* 5, properly '**belonging to** them that hate me'). The antithesis is between the narrow limits, the third or fourth generation of descendants, within which the sin is visited, and the thousands *belonging to*,—i.e. primarily, descended from, though possibly those 'belonging to' in a wider sense, as servants or other dependents, may be included,—such as love God, who, in virtue of this relation, and for the sake of those who thus love Him, experience His mercy. The intention of the passage is thus to teach that God's mercy transcends in its operation His wrath: in His providence the beneficent consequences of a life of goodness extend indefinitely further than the retribution which is the penalty of persistence in sin. Naturally 'thousands' is not to be understood literally: it is simply intended to convey an impressive idea of the greatness of God's mercy. It is not apparent how it can mean (RVm.) 'a thousand generations': Dt. vii. 9 is a rhetorical amplification, not an exact interpretation, of the present passage.

that love me] shew towards Him the pure and intense affection and devotion which we denote by the term 'love.' The thought is one strongly characteristic of Deuteronomy. 'Love to God is in Dt. the essence of religion, and the primary motive for obedience to His commands. In no other stratum of the Hexateuch is this lofty conception of religion to be found' (Bä.). See Dt. vi. 5 [Mk. xii. 30, Luke x. 27], x. 12, xi. 1, 13, 22, xiii. 3, xix. 9, xxx. 6, 16, 20, Jos. xxii. 5, xxiii. 11 (both Deuteronomic); and cf. the writer's *Deuteronomy*, pp. xxi, xxviii, lxxviii, 91. Love to God is not mentioned elsewhere in the Hexateuch, except in the parallel, Dt. v. 10 (cf. vii. 19: see, however, Jud. v. 30).

It is, of course, not through extraordinary or miraculous interferences that the sins of parents are visited upon their children, but through the

7 Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God [1]in *E*
vain ; | for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh R^D
his name [1]in vain.
8 9 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. | Six days *E* R^D

[1] Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood*

natural providence of God, operating through the *normal* constitution of society, which in its turn takes its organization and form from the character of human nature, which is His appointment. History and experience alike teach how often, and under what varied conditions, it happens that the misdeeds of a parent result in bitter consequences for the children. The principle here asserted is not in conflict with Dt. xxiv. 6 (children not to be put to death for the fathers) : the legislator is not there dealing with a principle involved in the constitution of society itself; he is laying down a rule for the administration of justice by the State. See, on the distinction between the two cases, Mozley's *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, Lect. V.

7. The *third* commandment. The name of God to be treated with reverence.

take...in vain] properly, **take up** (viz. upon the lips, as xxiii. 1, Ps. xv. 3, xvi. 4)...**for unreality** (Di. 'zur *Nichtigkeit*')—i.e. make use of it for any idle, frivolous, or insincere purpose. The root idea of *shāw'*, is what is *groundless* or *unsubstantial*: hence in a material sense it means *unreal*, *vain* (Ps. lx. 11) ; and in a moral sense it denotes what is *empty*, *frivolous*, or *insincere* : cf. xxiii. 1 'Thou shalt not take up a *groundless* report' ; Ps. xxiv. 4 'hath not lifted up his soul (i.e. directed his desires) unto *unreality*' (i.e. to what is either frivolous or insincere) : in the Psalms it is generally rendered *vanity*, but it often really means what we should call *insincerity*, as xii. 2, xli. 6 (see the Glossary in the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, p. 464). God's name is to be treated with reverence ; it is not to be desecrated either by false swearing (Lev. xix. 12 (H), Jer. v. 2, vii. 9, Zech. v. 4, Mal. iii. 5), or by being used disrespectfully for any other frivolous or idle purpose, as in cursing or reviling, or to support false pretensions of being able to use magic or divination, or to predict the future (Jer. xxvii. 15).

hold...guiltless] i.e. *leave unpunished*, as 1 K. ii. 9 shews is implied, and as the word is sometimes actually rendered, e.g. Prov. vi. 29, Jer. xxv. 29. Cf. xxxiv. 7, with the note.

8—11. The *fourth* commandment. The observance of the sabbath.

8. *Remember*] 'Think of it always, so as never to forget it, as a day to be distinguished from ordinary days, and held sacred : *remember*, as xiii. 3' (Di.). Dt. v. 12 substitutes the more ordinary 'Observe.'

sabbath] Heb. *shabbāth*. The derivation is uncertain. As a *Hebrew* word, it would naturally be connected with *shābath*, to *desist*, *cease*,—see Is. xiv. 4, xxiv. 8; with *from*, Gen. ii. 2, 3: where the sabbath is thought of, either with 'from work' understood, or as a 'denominative,' to 'keep sabbath,' Ex. xvi. 30, xxiii. 12^a, xxxi. 17, xxxiv. 21, Lev. xxvi.

R^D shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day 10
is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God: *in it* thou shalt not
do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant,
nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger
R^P that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made 11
heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and

34, 35—and suggest the idea of *cessation* from work. The verb *shābath* denotes 'rest,' not in the positive sense of relaxation or refreshment (which is *nūaḥ*, see *v.* 11, xxiii. 12^b), but in the negative sense of cessation from work or activity: but it is at least possible that the word 'sabbath' is of Babylonian origin (p. 198), though of uncertain etymology (see *DB.* iv. 319^a; note also, on the etym., the reserve expressed by Zimmern, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 202). Even, however, though this should be its origin, the word might well have been connected by the Hebrews with the Heb. *shābath*, and regarded by them as suggesting the idea of *cessation*. See further, on the Bab. and Heb. 'sabbath,' *KAT.*^{3} 592—4.

keep...holy] elsewhere rendered *hallow*, as *v.* 11 *end*, Gen. ii. 3^a, Jer. xvii. 22 *al.* Comp. Is. lviii. 13 ('my holy day').

9, 10. Explanation *how* the sabbath is to be kept holy.

9. *work*] more precisely, *business*,—the word regularly used of the 'work' or 'business' forbidden on the sabbath (xxxi. 14, 15, Jer. xvii. 22, 24 *al.*: cf. Gen. ii. 2), or other sacred day (xii. 16).

10. The rest is to be a general one: no work is to be done either by the Israelite himself, or any member of his household (including his servants), or by his cattle, or by the 'sojourner' settled in his cities.

in it] LXX. Pesh. Vulg. express this; Sam. and the Nash papyrus read it.

manservant...maidservant] **bondman...bondmaid**: the meaning is (as always) male and female slaves. Cf. xxi. 2, 7.

stranger] **sojourner**, or foreigner settled in Israel (see on xii. 48): he also is to enjoy rest from his toil on the sabbath. Cf. the injunction not to oppress him (xxii. 21, with the note). For the enumeration, cf. Dt. xii. 12, 18, xvi. 11, 14.

thy gates] i.e. thy cities, a distinctively Deut. expression, occurring 26 times in Dt., and only 1 K. viii. 37 = 2 Ch. vi. 28 (Deut. compiler) besides; comp. esp. (with 'within') Dt. xii. 12, 18, xiv. 21, 27, 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 14, xxxi. 12. In Dt. v. 14 a clause is added, emphasizing the humanitarian purpose of the observance; cf. Dt. xii. 7, 12, xiv. 29.

11. *Why* the sabbath is to be observed. The reason is based upon Gen. ii. 3, cf. Ex. xxxi. 17^b (both P). The motive may have operated with the writer of the comment; but it cannot state the real reason for the observance of the sabbath. 'P's story of the Creation, with the six days followed by the sacred seventh, is not the *cause* of the Sabbath, but the *result* of the fact that the week ending with the Sabbath was an existing institution. P adjusts the work of creation to it' (McNeile). Cf. the present writer's *Genesis*, p. 35. On the different motive assigned for the observance in Dt. v. 15, see p. 192.

rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the R^P
sabbath day, and hallowed it.

rested] This is the word *nūaḥ*, meaning relaxation, referred to on *v.* 8: cf. xxiii. 12^b, Dt. v. 14^b; and for the thought Ex. xxxi. 17^b ('desisted, and *was refreshed*'). (In Gen. ii. 2, 3 the word used is 'desisted.')

blessed...hallowed] i.e. made it a day which would bring a blessing on those who observed it, and made it sacred to Himself.

It is impossible to consider here with any fulness the history and significance of the sabbath; and for a more detailed discussion the writer must refer to his art. SABBATH in *DB.* iv. It is not impossible that ultimately the institution was of Babylonian origin: in Babylonian there occurs (though rarely) the word *shabattum*, meaning day for propitiating a deity's anger[1], and in Babylonia also, especially in the earlier periods of the history, every seventh day of the month was marked by abstention from secular business[2]: but even if that was the case (for connecting links are still wanting), it is certain that when adopted by the Hebrews, a new character was impressed upon it by the higher and purer religion of Israel. In the earliest legislation of the Hebrews, the sabbath appears as a day of cessation from (in particular) *field-work*, designed with a humanitarian end (xxiii. 12 E; xxxiv. 21 J), and, to judge from the context, possessing already a religious character: in the Decalogue, in what is probably (see above) the oldest part of the Commandment, it is to be kept 'holy' by the Israelite: in the early historical books, it is associated with the 'new moon,' in a manner which implies that both were occasions of intermission from labour and trade (Am. viii. 5), and holidays (2 K. iv. 22, 23); Hosea (ii. 11), and Isaiah (i. 13), both allude to it as a day of religious observance. In later times, both the religious observances and also the abstention from labour were increasingly emphasized. In H and Ezek. (see on Ex. xxxi. 13) the observance of the sabbath is repeatedly insisted on: cf. a little later Is. lvi. 2, 4, 6, lviii. 13 f., and (in the ideal future) lxvi. 23. Ezekiel, also, in his ideal legislation for the future (chs. xl.—xlviii.), gives directions,—based, presumably, upon already existing usage,—respecting the sacrifices to be offered every sabbath by the 'prince' on behalf of the nation in the restored temple (xlv. 17, xlvi. 4 f.). In the legislation of P, the regulations respecting the sabbath become both more numerous and more strict: its institution is thrown back to the end of the week of Creation (Gen. ii. 2, 3, Ex. xxxi. 17); it is to be observed (Lev. xxiii. 3) by a 'holy convocation,' or religious gathering; additional sacrifices (viz. double those offered on ordinary days) are prescribed for it (Nu. xxviii. 8 f.); and death is the penalty imposed (Ex. xxxi. 15), and exacted (Nu. xv. 32—36), for its non-observance. Thus in the priestly law, the original character and objects of the sabbath have receded into

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[1] See *DB.* iv. 319^a, adding the instance, discussed by Zimmern, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 199 ff., in which *shabattum* is applied to the 15th day of the month, i.e. (see p. 201) to the day of the full moon.

[2] See *DB. ibid.*, or the writer's *Genesis*, p. 34, and esp. Johns, *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1906, p. 567 (with detailed statistics); and comp. McNeile, p. 122 f.

E R^D Honour thy father and thy mother: | that thy days may 12
be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
E Thou shalt do no murder. 13

the background, and it has become more distinctly a purely ceremonial observance: Christ, in opposition to later Rabbinical exaggerations and refinements, brought men back to the great truth that 'the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath'; and, transformed into the Christian Sunday, it has become in Christian countries a wonderful means both of securing rest from bodily toil, and of maintaining the life of a pure and spiritual religion.

12. The *fifth* commandment. Honour to be paid to parents. Cf. in H Lev. xix. 3. The position accorded to parents is a high one: they are mentioned in the first table of the Decalogue, and duty towards them stands next to duties towards God (so in xxi. 17 and Lev. xx. 9 [H] the penalty for cursing them is the same, viz. death, as the penalty for blaspheming God, Lev. xxiv. 15 f. [H]). Cf. the development of the command in Ecclus. iii. 1—16; and the warnings addressed to those who disregard it, Prov. xx. 20, xxx. 17 (cf. 11). In the NT. see Mt. xv. 4—6 (‖ Mk. vii. 10—13). As Kn. *ap.* Di. shews, the command is in the spirit of the best minds of antiquity: Plato, for instance (*Legg.* iv. 717 C—D), lays it down that after the gods and demi-gods parents ought to have the most honour, and that through his whole life every man should pay his parents the utmost deference and respect (cf. xi. 930 E—932 A); and Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ix. 2, 8, says that it is proper to pay them 'honour such as is given to the gods' (τιμὴν καθάπερ θεοῖς): other Greek writers also speak similarly. Cf. further on xxi. 15.

that thy days may be long &c.] The 'first commandment with promise' (Eph. vi. 2). A spirit of filial respect implies a well-ordered life in general; and so tends to secure prosperity both to the individual and to the nation (the commandments are addressed throughout not only to the individual as such, but also to the individual as representing the nation). The terms of the promise are strongly Deuteronomic: see Dt. vi. 2, xxv. 15, and (in the form 'prolong days') iv. 26, 40, v. 33, xi. 9, xvii. 20, xxii. 7, xxx. 18, xxxii. 47; and, for the following clause, *upon the land*, &c., iii. 20, xi. 17, 31, xv. 7, xvi. 20, xvii. 14, xviii. 9, &c., and especially iv. 40, xxv. 15.

giveth] **is giving** (i.e. is in the course of giving, is about to give); so in all the passages of Dt. just quoted (and in many similar ones in the same book besides). The standpoint of the Exodus is assumed. The land is not, as 'giveth' in itself might suggest, the possession of the individual Israelite, but Canaan.

13. The *sixth* commandment. The sanctity of human life to be upheld (cf. Gen. ix. 5, 6 P). Here the duty is laid down simply as a Divine command: the human penalty for infringing it is prescribed elsewhere (see on xxi. 12).

shalt do no murder] AV. had *shalt not kill*: but the Heb. word implies violent, unauthorised killing. Cf. especially the list of crimes in

14 Thou shalt not commit adultery. *E*
15 Thou shalt not steal.
16 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
17 Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, | thou shalt R^D
not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his
maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is
thy neighbour's.

Hos. iv. 2 (where 'killing' has been kept), Jer. vii. 9. The verb in the ptcp. occurs repeatedly in P's law of homicide in Nu. xxxv. (RV. always here 'manslayer').

Comp. the spiritualization of this commandment by our Lord in Mt. v. 21—26.

14. The *seventh* commandment. The purity of the married state to be maintained (cf. Gen. ii. 24 J). Cf. Lev. xviii. 20 (H), Job xxxi. 9—12, and Mt. v. 27—32. For the penalty for adultery, see Lev. xx. 10 (H), Dt. xxii. 22. In LXX. (B, and several cursives,—both here and in Dt.), and the Nash papyrus, the seventh commandment comes before the sixth: the same order is found in Mark x. 19 (Text. Rec.), Lk. xviii. 20, Rom. xiii. 9, Jas. ii. 11, in Philo, and in many of the Fathers (Kn.).

15. The *eighth* commandment. The rights of private property to be respected. Cf. in H Lev. xix. 11. For penalties for stealing, see xxi. 16, xxii. 1.

It is hardly necessary to quote from the prophets passages illustrative of these duties: but Hos. iv. 2, Jer. vii. 9 are particularly worth referring to.

16. The *ninth* commandment. Against bearing false witness, primarily in a court of law,—a specially common crime in the East,—but also more generally by taking away the character of a neighbour by false imputations (cf. xxiii. 1).

bear false witness] lit. **answer** (in a forensic sense, in a court of law, Dt. xix. 16, 18, Nu. xxxv. 30 [EVV. *testify*], but also more generally, 1 S. xii. 3 ['witness'], Dt. xxxi. 21 *al.* ['testify']) **as a false witness**: Dt. v. 20 has 'as an *empty*, *insincere*, witness' (the word explained on *v.* 7). For the penalty for false witness, see Dt. xix. 16—21. Cf. Prov. xiv. 5, xix. 5, xxv. 18 (same Heb. as here).

17. The *tenth* commandment. The most inward of all the commandments, forbidding not an external act, but a hidden mental state, a state, however, which is the spring and root of nearly every sin against a neighbour, the unlawful *desire* (ἐπιθυμία) for something which is another's.

covet] lit. *desire*, which may be used of a perfectly lawful, and indeed laudable, affection (Ps. xix. 10, lxviii. 16): it acquires its bad sense solely from the context; comp. Jos. vii. 21, and especially Mic. ii. 2.

house] i.e. (Kn. Di. Bä. *al.*) domestic establishment generally (Gen. xv. 2, Job viii. 15): examples follow of things belonging to it, and most likely to be coveted, wife, male and female slaves, &c. In Dt. v. 21

E And all the people saw the thunderings, and the light- 18
nings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain
smoking: and when the people saw it, they [1]trembled, and
stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with 19
us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest
we die. And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for 20
God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before
you, that ye sin not. And the people stood afar off, and 21
Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.

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[1] Or, *were moved*

the wife is given the first place, and the house and other belongings follow, shewing that 'house' is there used in the sense of 'dwelling.' In its original form, the command—no doubt—ended at 'house' (i.e. establishment), the examples following being a later expansion. 'The command is aimed against that greedy desire for another's goods, which so often issued in violent acts—the oppressions and cheating which were rife among the wealthier classes, and were denounced by the prophets' (McNeile, p. lix): cf. Am. iii. 10, v. 11, Mic. ii. 2, 9, Is. iii. 14, 15, v. 8, &c.

18—21. The people, alarmed by the terrible accompaniments of the theophany, express a desire that in future Moses may speak to them instead of God. Their wish is implicitly granted. Cf. Dt. v. 22—31.

18. *saw*] Heb., more graphically, *were seeing*.

the thunderings (Heb. *voices*), &c.] see xix. 16, 19.

and when, &c.] Heb. *and the people saw and trembled*, where 'saw,' after clause [a], is tautologous. Read probably, with merely a change of vowel-points, *and the people* **were afraid, and** *trembled* (so Sam. LXX. Vulg.; cf. *v.* 20).

trembled] *swayed to and fro*, *shook*, is the meaning of the Heb. נוע: cf. Is. vii. 2 'and his heart *shook*...as the trees of a forest *shake* with the wind'; Nah. iii. 12. On the marg. it is rendered, not very expressively, *were moved*, as in Is. vi. 4 RV., vii. 2 EVV., xix. 1 EVV.

19. *Speak* **thou** (emph.),...*and we will hear*] i.e. it is implied, listen and obey (see Dt. v. 27 *end*).

lest we die] cf. Dt. v. 25 f.

20. *to prove you*] to put you to the proof (xvi. 4; cf. on xvii. 2), to see whether (Dt. viii. 2), as you have just said (*v.* 19), you will really obey Him, and in order to inspire you with the dread of offending Him.

and that his fear, &c.] That the fear which His presence creates may be ever before your eyes.

21. *thick darkness*] *'ărāphel*, the word, mostly poetical (Ps. xviii. 9, 1 K. viii. 12), used in Dt. iv. 11, v. 22 [Heb. 19].

With the preceding narrative, especially the parts that belong to E (xix. 16—19, xx. 1—21), comp. the rhetorically amplified descriptions in Dt., viz. iv. 10—13, 15, 33, 36, v. 5, 6—21 (the Decalogue), 22—27 (expansion of ch. xx. 18, 19), 28—31 (expansion of xx. 20, 21).

CHAPTERS XX. 22—XXIII. 33.

The Book of the Covenant.

The 'Book of the Covenant' (see xxiv. 7 in explanation of the name) is the oldest piece of Hebrew legislation that we possess. The laws contained in it are spoken of in xxiv. 3 as consisting of two elements, the **words** (or commands) and the **judgements**: the **judgements** (see on xxi. 1) are the provisions relating to civil and criminal law, prescribing what is to be done when particular cases arise, and comprised in xxi. 2—xxii. 17; the **words** are positive injunctions of moral, religious, and ceremonial law, introduced mostly by *Thou shalt* or *shalt not*, and comprised in xx. 23—6, xxii. 18—xxiii. 19: xxiii. 20—33 is a hortatory epilogue, consisting chiefly of promises intended to suggest motives for the observance of the preceding laws. The laws themselves were doubtless taken by E from some already existing source: the 'judgements' in xxi. 2—xxii. 17 seem to have undergone no alteration of form: but the 'words' which follow can hardly be in their original order; moral, religious, and ceremonial injunctions being intermingled sometimes singly, sometimes in groups (see the following summary), without any apparent system (notice also xxiii. 4 f., evidently interrupting the connexion between *vv.* 1—3 and 6—8); and in parts (as xxii. 21^b—22, 24, xxiii. 9^b, 23—25^a, 31^b—33: see the notes) slight parenetic additions have probably been made by the compiler of JE.

The laws themselves may be grouped as follows:

i. Enactments relating to civil and criminal law:

1. Rights of Hebrew slaves (male and female), xxi. 2—11.

2. Capital offences, viz. murder (in distinction from manslaughter), striking or cursing a parent, and man-stealing, xxi. 12—17.

3. Penalties for bodily injuries, caused (*a*) by human beings, xxi. 18—27, (*b*) by animals (a vicious ox, for instance), or neglect of reasonable precautions (as leaving a pit open), xxi. 28—36.

4. Theft of ox or sheep, and burglary, xxii. 1—4.

5. Compensation for damage done by straying cattle [but see note], or fire spreading accidentally to another man's field, xxii. 5—6.

6. Compensation for loss or injury in various cases of deposit or loan, xxii. 7—15.

7. Compensation for seduction, xxii. 16—17.

ii (*a*). Regulations relating to worship and religious observances:

1. Prohibition of images, and regulations for the construction of altars, xx. 23—26.

2. Sacrifice to 'other gods' to be punished with the 'ban,' xxii. 20.

3. God not to be reviled, nor a ruler cursed, xxii. 28.

4. Firstfruits, and firstborn males (of men, oxen, and sheep), to be given to Jehovah, xxii. 29—30.

5. Flesh torn of beasts not to be eaten, xxii. 31.

6 & 7. The seventh year to be a fallow year, and the seventh day a day of rest (in each case, for a humanitarian motive), xxiii. 10—12.

8. God's commands to be honoured, and 'other gods' not to be invoked, xxiii. 13.

9. The three annual Pilgrimages to be observed (all males to appear before Jehovah at each), xxiii. 14—17.

10. A festal sacrifice not to be offered with leavened bread, nor its fat to remain unburnt till the following morning, xxiii. 18.

11. Firstfruits to be brought to the house of Jehovah, xxiii. 19^a.

12. A kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk, xxiii. 19^b.

ii (*b*). Injunctions of a moral, and, especially, of a humanitarian character:

1. Sorcery and bestiality to be punished with death, xxii. 18—19.

2. The 'sojourner,' the widow, and the orphan, not to be oppressed, xxii. 21—24.

3. Interest not to be taken from the poor, xxii. 25.

4. A garment taken in pledge to be returned before sun-down, xxii. 26—27.

5. Veracity and impartiality, the duties of a witness, xxiii. 1—3.

6. An *enemy's* beast to be preserved from harm, xxiii. 4—5.

7. Justice to be administered impartially, and no bribe to be taken, xxiii. 6—9.

These three groups of laws may have been taken originally from distinct collections. The terse form in which many of the laws in ii (*a*) and ii (*b*) are cast resembles that which prevails in Lev. xix. (H). The regulations respecting worship contained in xxiii. 10—19, together with the allied ones embedded in xiii. 3—7, 11—13, are repeated in xxxiv. 18—26, in the section (xxxiv. 10—26) sometimes called the 'Little Book of the Covenant,' with slight verbal differences, and with the addition in xxxiv. 11—17 of more specific injunctions against idolatry (see the synoptic table, pp. 370—2).

The laws contained in the 'Book of the Covenant' are, as has been already said, no doubt older than the narrative (E) in which they are incorporated: they represent, to use Cornill's expression, the 'consuetudinary law of the early monarchy,' and include (cf. the notes on *tôrāh*, p. 162, and *mishpāṭ*, xxii. 1) the formulated decisions which, after having been begun by Moses (xviii. 16; cf. p. 161), had gradually accumulated up to that age. The stage of society for which the Code was designed, and the characteristics of the Code itself, are well indicated by W. R. Smith (*OTJC.*^{2} p. 340 ff.). 'The society contemplated in it is of very simple structure. The basis of life is agricultural. Cattle and agricultural produce are the main elements of wealth; and the laws of property deal almost exclusively with them (see xxi. 28—xxii. 10). The principles of criminal and civil justice are those still current among the Arabs of the desert, viz. retaliation and pecuniary compensation. Murder is dealt with by the law of blood-revenge; but the innocent man-slayer may seek asylum at God's altar (cf. 1 K. i. 50, ii. 28, 29).' Man-stealing, offences against parents, and witchcraft are also punishable by death. Personal injuries fall mostly, like murder, under the law of retaliation (xxi. 24 f.). These are the only cases in which a punishment affecting the person is prescribed: in other cases the punishment takes as a rule the form of compensation. 'Degrading punishments, as imprisonment or the bastinado, are unknown; and loss of liberty is inflicted only on a thief who cannot pay a fine (xxii. 3^b). The slave retains definite rights. He recovers his freedom after 7 years, unless he prefers to remain a bondman, and to seal his determination by a solemn symbolical act (xxi. 6).' He cannot appeal to the *lex talionis* against his master: to beat one's own slave to death is not a capital crime; but for minor injuries he can claim his liberty (xxi. 20 f., 26 f.). 'Women do not enjoy full social equality with men. The daughter was her father's property, who received a price for surrendering her to her husband (xxi. 7); and so a daughter's dishonour is compensated by law as a pecuniary loss to her father (xxii. 16 f.).' A woman slave was a slave for life, except when she had been bought to be her master's concubine, and he withheld the recognized rights which she thus acquired (xxi. 11). Concubine-slaves had also other rights (xxi. 8—10). Various cases of injury to property are specified: the penalty is usually simple compensation, though naturally it is greater, if deliberate purpose (as in the case of theft, xxii. 1), or culpable negligence, can be proved. Cases of misappropriation of property are settled by a decision given at a sanctuary (xxii. 9).

From the point of view of ethics and religion, the regard paid in the Code to the claims of humanity and justice is observable. An emphatic voice is raised against those crying vices of Oriental Government, the maladministration of justice, and the oppression of the poor. Even an *enemy*, in his need, is to receive consideration and help (xxiii. 4, 5). 'The *gêr*, or foreigner living in Israel under the protection of a family or the community, though he has no legal *status* (cf. on xxii. 21), is not to be oppressed. The Sabbath is enforced as an ordinance of humanity; and to the same end the produce of every field or vineyard must be left to the poor one year in seven. The precepts of religious worship are simple. He who sacrifices to any god but Jehovah falls under the 'ban' (xxii. 20). The only ordinance of ceremonial sanctity is to abstain from the flesh of animals torn by wild beasts (xxii. 31). Altars are to be of the simplest possible construction. The sacred dues are the firstlings and firstfruits; and the former must be presented at a sanctuary on the eighth day. This regulation presupposes a plurality of sanctuaries, which also agrees with the terms of xx. 24.' The only sacrifices mentioned are burnt- and peace-offerings. The three pilgrimages, at which every male is to appear before Jehovah with a gift, celebrate three periods of the agricultural year, the beginning and close of harvest, and the end of the vintage. The only points of sacrificial ritual insisted on are the two rules that the blood of a festal sacrifice is not to be offered with leavened bread, and that the fat must be burnt before the next morning. The simplicity of the ceremonial regulations in this Code stands in striking contrast to the detailed and systematic development which they receive in the later legislation of P.

Some of the laws strike us as severe (xxi. 15, 16, 21, xxii. 18, 20); but we must remember the stage of civilization for which they were designed: they were adapted, not for people in every stage of society, but for people living as the Israelites were circumstanced at the time when they were drawn up. They also, it is to be observed, are in many cases clearly intended to impose restrictions upon abuse of authority, or arbitrary violence. We may remember also that far severer punishments, such as mutilation and torture, were common not only in many other ancient nations, but even, till comparatively recent times, in Christian Europe; and in England, till 1835, death was the penalty for many trivial forms of theft. Of course some of the laws—notably the one about witches—have been terribly misapplied in times when the progressive character of revelation and the provisional character of Israel's laws were not realized. But they were adapted on the whole to make Israel a just, humane, and God-fearing people, and to prepare the way, when the time was ripe, for something better.

The laws of J and E (except the section dealing with the compensations to be paid for various injuries, xxi. 18—xxii. 15), expanded, and, in some cases, modified to suit the requirements of a later age, form a substantial element in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. v.—xxviii.; see the synoptic table in *LOT.* p. 73 ff.): to some of the moral and religious injunctions there are also parallels (referred to in the notes) in the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.). The ceremonial laws appear in a partially developed form in Dt., and in a more fully developed form, with many minutely defined regulations, in the Priests' Code (for an example in Exodus itself, contrast xxiii. 15 with xii. 14—20). A discussion of the differences between the laws of JE and the later codes belongs more to the commentaries on Lev., Numb., and Dt., than to one on Exodus; and they have been noticed here only in special cases. A detailed comparison of the different regulations will be found in McNeile, pp. xxxix—xlvi, li—lvi.

The promulgation of a new code of laws was often among ancient nations ascribed to the command of the national deity. Thus among the Cretans, Minos, the 'companion of great Zeus' (*Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής*, *Od.* xix. 179), was said to have held converse with Zeus, and to have received his laws from him in a cave of the Dictaean mountain (cf. [Plato], *Minos*, 319 B—320 B); his laws and those of Lycurgus are called 'the laws of Zeus' and 'Apollo' respectively (Plato, *Legg.* i. 632 D); and Numa's laws were ascribed to the goddess Egeria (Dion. Hal. ii. 60 f.). The closest parallel is however afforded, on Semitic ground, by Ḥammurabi, who expressly speaks of his code as consisting of 'righteous laws' delivered to him by Shamash, the sun-god (see below, p. 418 ff.).

22—26. The collection opens with directions respecting the manner in which God is to be worshipped (other directions about religious observances follow in xxii. 20, 29—31, xxiii. 10—19).

22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say *E*
unto the children of Israel, Ye yourselves have seen that
23 I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make
other gods with me; gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall
24 not make unto you. An altar of earth thou shalt make
unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and

22. *Thus thou shalt say*] Cf. xix. 3.

from heaven] As their position in the Heb. shews, these are the emphatic words in the sentence: their intention is to shew that the Israelites' God is exalted far above the earth, and that consequently (*v.* 23) no material gods are to be venerated by them. Cf. Dt. iv. 36.

23. Cf. xx. 3, 4 f.; and in the other codes xxxiv. 17 (J), Lev. xix. 4 (H), Dt. iv. 15—18, xxvii. 15.

24—26. Altars, their construction, and the places at which they may be erected.

24, 25. Altars were to be of the simplest material, of earth, or, if of stone, of unhewn stone: they might be erected wherever Jehovah gave occasion for His name to be commemorated; and any Israelite might sacrifice upon them. The passage evidently reflects an early stage of Heb. usage: in later times much more elaborate altars were constructed (xxvii. 1—8, 1 K. viii. 64, 2 Ch. iv. 1), and the right of sacrifice was ultimately restricted to the priests.

24. *altar*] The word in Heb. (*mizbēaḥ*) means a 'place of slaughter *or* sacrifice.' Altars of *earth* were also common among the Romans (Tert. *Apol.* 25 attributes *temeraria de caespite altaria* to the earliest times; cf. the *arae gramineae* of *Aen.* xii. 118 f., and the 'positusque carbo in *Caespite* vivo' of Hor. *Od.* iii. 8. 3 f., &c.), and, according to Sil. Ital. iv. 703, the Carthaginians: for an example of a large natural *stone*, extemporized rapidly into an altar, see 1 S. xiv. 32—35. On the probable *primitive* idea of an altar among the Semites, as an artificial substitute for a natural object, especially a rock or boulder, supposed—like other striking natural objects, as a tree, stream, or spring (*EB.* iii. 2981 f.)—to be the abode of a deity or *numen loci*, see *Rel. Sem.*^{2} 206 ff., or *DB.* s.v. ALTAR. Ancient rock-altars have been discovered recently in Palestine; see the writer's Schweich Lectures on *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (1908), p. 66 f.; and cf. Jud. vi. 20 f.

shalt sacrifice, &c.] 'The words are addressed not to the priests, but to Israel at large, and imply that any Israelite may approach the altar' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC.*^{2} p. 358: so Di., pp. 385, 457, 460 [ed. 2, pp. 425, 500, 503]; Baudissin, *DB.* iv. 70^{a}; cf. Kautzsch, *DB.* v. 648 f.). The right of sacrificing was not limited to the priestly class till long afterwards. For examples of laymen offering sacrifice, see 1 S. vi. 14, xiii. 9 f., 2 S. vi. 13, 17, xxiv. 25, 1 K. i. 9, iii. 4; in 2 S. viii. 18=xx. 26 David's sons are priests (so Di.).

sacrifice] lit. *kill* or *slay*. The verb (*zābaḥ*) may be used of killing domestic animals for food without religious rites (see in the Heb.

E thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in every place where I [1]record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou make me an altar of stone, 25

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[1] Or, *cause my name to be remembered*

Dt. xii. 15, 21, 1 S. xxviii. 24); but since in early times animals were seldom, if ever, killed without an accompanying sacrifice, it commonly denotes sacrificial slaying.

burnt offerings, and...peace offerings] The two commonest kinds of sacrifice, often mentioned together, especially in the earlier historical books, but also elsewhere: see e.g. xxiv. 5, xxxii. 6, Dt. xxvii. 7 (E), 1 S. x. 8, xiii. 9, 2 S. vi. 17, xxiv. 25, and with 'sacrifices' for 'peace-offerings,' Ex. x. 25 (see note), xviii. 12, 1 S. vi. 15, xv. 22, 2 K. v. 17. In the *burnt-offering* (Heb. *'ōlāh, that which goes up*—most probably upon the altar, though according to others in *κνίση* or 'sweet smoke' [xxix. 13] to heaven), the whole animal was laid on the altar, and consumed there by fire (cf. LXX. ὁλοκαύτωμα 'something *wholly burnt*,' Vulg. *holocaustum*; hence some moderns render by *holocaust*); in the *peace-offering*, the fat and certain of the entrails having been consumed upon the altar, and certain parts of the flesh having been given (at least in later times) to the priest, the rest of the flesh was eaten by the worshipper and his friends at a sacred meal (cf. xviii. 12). The later ritual of these two species of sacrifice is given in Lev. i., iii.

peace offerings] *sh*^{e}*lāmim*: LXX. (in Sam. Kgs.) *εἰρηνικά*, i.e. sacrifices symbolizing mutual peace and amity between those who participated in the sacred meal (which was the distinctive feature in this sacrifice), both among themselves and also with God. This explanation seems the most probable; but others have been adopted. LXX. render mostly by *θυσία σωτηρίου* 'safety- (or welfare-) sacrifice': in this case, the 'peace,' or 'welfare,' implied would be that of the worshipper, for which, by his sacrifice, he either petitioned, or returned thanks (so Keil). Ges. Ew. Kn. render *thank-offering* (so Lev. iii. 1 RVm.; Josephus *χαριστήρια*), from the sense of the root in Piel, to *make good* or *pay* (Ps. lxvi. 13, &c., Prov. vii. 14). See further on Lev. iii. The word occurs in the Carthaginian inscription now at Marseilles (*Auth. and Arch.* p. 77 f.), as the name of a sacrifice; but it is not known of what nature the sacrifice was.

in every place where I **cause my name to be remembered** (marg.)] viz. by a theophany, a victory (xvii. 15), or other manifestation of My presence: those who offer sacrifice at places thus distinguished may expect Jehovah's presence and blessing. A plurality of altars is thus sanctioned: but they must be erected not at places chosen arbitrarily, but at places which have been marked in some way by Jehovah's favour and approval (cf. *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 115 f.). The reference cannot be to the altar of Burnt offering before the Tabernacle (xxvii. 1—8, &c.): not only is a far simpler structure evidently in the writer's mind, but the alternatives offered (earth, or unhewn stone, *v.* 25) shew that altars in

thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up *E*
26 thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou

general are referred to, and that the intention of the law is to authorize the erection of altars, built in the manner prescribed, in any part of the land. With the liberty of sacrifice thus permitted, as Di. points out (pp. 224, 384 f., ed. 2, pp. 247 f., 425), the practice in Israel for 'a series of centuries after Moses' conforms: in Jos.—1 K. sacrifices are frequently mentioned as offered in different parts of the land, without the smallest indication on the part of either the actor or the narrator that any law is being infringed. An altar, or sacrifice, is authorized by a theophany, or special command, Gen. xxxv. 7, Jos. viii. 30 f. (on mount Ebal; see Dt. xxvii. 5—7^a), Jud. ii. 5, vi. 24, 26 f., 1 S. xvi. 1—3, 2 S. xxiv. 18, 25, by a victory, Ex. xvii. 15, 1 S. xiv. 35: in other cases the occasion is not stated, though the places mentioned are often ancient sanctuaries, consecrated by traditions of the patriarchs, Jos. xxiv. 1, 26 (the 'sanctuary' at Shechem, cf. Gen. xxxiii. 20), 1 S. vii. 9 f. (at Mizpah, *v.* 6; cf. Jud. xx. 1 '*unto Jehovah* at Mizpah,' 1 S. x. 17), 17, ix. 12 f., x. 3 (at Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 11—22, xxxv. 1), x. 8 (at Gilgal—like Bethel, known independently to have been a sanctuary; so xi. 15), xiv. 35 (the *first* of the altars built by Saul), xx. 6, 2 S. xv. 7 f., 12 (at Hebron, Gen. xiii. 18), 32 ('where men *used to* worship God'), 1 K. iii. 4, xviii. 30, xix. 10, 14. A *tendency* towards centralization, due to the natural preeminence of the sanctuary at which the Ark was stationed, and afterwards to the prestige of Solomon's Temple, no doubt made itself felt before the principle of the single sanctuary was finally codified in Dt. xii.; but it cannot be doubted that for long after the time when Israel was first settled in Canaan, numerous local sanctuaries existed, and sacrifice at them was habitually offered—both the sanctuaries and the sacrifices being justified by the present law (see further Di. *ll.cc.*; *DB.* v. 661^a; or the writer's *Comment. on Deut.* pp. xliii f., 136—8; and cf. on Ex. xxii. 29).

25. *tool*] The word (*ḥéreb*) commonly rendered 'sword,' occasionally used of other sharp instruments, Jos. v. 2, 3 ('knives'): in Dt. xxvii. 5 E (Jos. viii. 31) the word is replaced by 'iron.' Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 47. The prohibition may be a survival either from a time when instruments of iron were not in general use, or from the time when the altar was a natural rock or boulder (cf. on *v.* 24), supposed to be the abode of a *numen* or deity, and it was imagined that to alter its shape would have the effect of driving the *numen* from it (Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 17; *DB.* i. 76^a, *EB.* i. 124). But naturally this is not the belief which actuates the prohibition here. An altar of stones, seemingly unhewn, was built by Elijah (1 K. xviii. 32).

it (twice)] The pron. (which is fem. in the Heb.) refers not to 'altar' but to 'stone': it is the *stone* which is profaned by being worked with a tool.

26. Steps are prohibited, because the command is addressed to the Israelite in general, who would sacrifice in his ordinary dress. In later

E go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

E Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them. **21**

times, when altars of larger size were constructed, a ledge (see on xxvii. 5), or steps (Ez. xliii. 17), came into use: but sacrifice was then confined to the priests, and exposure of the person was guarded against in their case by linen drawers being specially prescribed for their use (xxviii. 42). Cf. *OTJC.*[2] p. 358.

xxi. **1.** *Now*] **And**—introducing a new element in the collection, viz. the 'judgements' contained in xxi. 2—xxii. 17.

the judgements] i.e. legal precedents, intended to have the force of law. The Heb. *mishpāṭ* means a *judicial decision*, (1) given in an individual case, and then (2) established as a precedent for other similar cases[1]. No doubt, the decisions which Moses gave, when he 'sat to judge the people' (Ex. xviii. 13; cf. on xviii. 15, 16), became thus the foundation of Hebrew legislation (cf. p. 161)[2].

set before them] xix. 7, Dt. iv. 44.

2—11. The law of slavery. Cf. Dt. xv. 12—18, Lev. xxv. 39—55 (H and P), where there are other regulations on the same subject, in some respects differing remarkably from those of Ex., and springing evidently out of a different and more advanced stage of society. The present law deals only with *Hebrew* slaves: the case of *foreign* slaves is dealt with in Lev. xxv. 44—46. The conditions of society in ancient Israel were such that slavery could not be abolished: but it was regulated, and restrictions were imposed on the power of a master over his slave (see also *vv.* 20 f., 26 f.). An Israelite might fall into slavery from different causes: (1) he might be sold by his parents, a case of particularly common occurrence with daughters; (2) he might be sold for theft (xxii. 3) or insolvency (2 K. iv. 1, Am. ii. 6); (3) he might be obliged by poverty to sell himself (Lev. xxv. 39). Of course, also, he might be *born* a slave. The later legislation of Lev. xxv. 39—46 sought to limit slavery to *foreigners*.

2—6. Hebrew *male* slaves. Their term of service is fixed for six years (*v.* 2). A slave is to leave his master's service exactly as he entered it: if he entered it without a wife, he is to leave it without a wife, even though he may have taken a wife in the meantime (*vv.* 3^a, 4). If on the other hand he was married when his master bought him, his wife may accompany him when he receives his freedom (*v.* 3^b). Provision is further made for a voluntary life-service (*v.* 5 f.).

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[1] In its original sense, the word is a term belonging to civil and criminal law; but it is sometimes extended so as to include moral and religious injunctions (as Lev. xviii. 4, 5, xix. 15, 35); it is also sometimes in EVV. rendered more clearly by 'ordinance' (e.g. xv. 25, Jos. xxiv. 25, Is. lviii. 2, Jer. viii. 7 RV.).

[2] 'En-Mishpāṭ (Gen. xiv. 7), the 'Spring of judgement,' as Kadesh (the 'sacred' place) was also called, was doubtless once a sacred spring, at which judicial decisions were obtained (cf. *DB.* iii. 67^a, v. 616^b).

2 If thou buy an Hebrew [1]servant, six years he shall serve: *E*
3 and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he
come in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he be
4 married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master
give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters;
the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he
5 shall go out by himself. But if the servant shall plainly say,

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[1] Or, *bondman*

2. *If thou buy*] In the Heb. the primary cases (*vv.* 2, 7, 20, 22, &c.) are introduced by *ki*, 'when,' the subordinate ones (*vv.* 3^a, 3^b, 4, 5; 8, 9, 10, 11, &c.) by *'im*, 'if,' or *'ô*, 'or if'; but the distinction is not preserved in EVV.

an Hebrew servant] better, *an Hebrew* **bondman** (RVm.) or **male slave**, i.e. one of Hebrew birth, as opposed to foreigners, who did not enjoy the same privileges as Hebrew slaves, and might be slaves for life (Lev. xxv. 44—46). The release in the seventh year, after six years of servitude, seems, like the Sabbatical Year (xxiii. 10 f.), to be suggested by the weekly sabbath closing the six days of toil.

go out free] Cf. Ḥammurabi's Code, § 117 (below, p. 421). The philanthropic legislator of Deuteronomy (xv. 13 f.) enjoins the master to bestow a handsome present upon his slave when he thus leaves him.

3. First and second of the special cases, viz. the cases (1) of an unmarried slave, and (2) of one married before he became a slave. There is no counterpart to this and the following verse in Dt.

by himself (twice)] lit. *with his back* or *body*, and with nothing else, i.e. alone, without wife or child. A peculiar expression, found only here and *v.* 4.

married] Heb. *the possessor of a woman* (or *wife*); so *v.* 22; *ba'al*, 'possessor,' also, in the sense of 'husband,' Gen. xx. 3, Dt. xxiv. 4 *al.* The woman, being the possession of her husband, naturally shared his fortunes, and both entered into servitude, and left it, with him.

4. The third case. If the master marries a slave to one of his female slaves, the wife remains her master's slave as she was before, and does not go free with her husband. If she has borne him children, they remain in servitude with their mother. At this early time, children's relationship to their mother was held to be closer and more binding than that to their father.

give him] for the slave would not have the right to choose a wife for himself.

5, 6. The fourth case. A slave, if he was happy with his master, might, if he desired to do so, remain in his master's service for life.

5. *plainly say*] 'Plainly' should be omitted. It is an attempt to represent in English the idiomatic use of the Hebrew inf. abs., which emphasizes the verb to which it is attached, and is often used in the

E I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: then his master shall bring him unto [1]God, and 6 shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and

[1] Or, *the judges*

expression of a condition (G.-K. § 113^{o}). 'Plainly,' however, does not give the correct emphasis.

I love my master] A slave was no doubt often well treated, and would then naturally 'prefer slavery with comfort to freedom with destitution' (*EB.* iv. 4656).

my wife, and my children] The case is supposed to be the one provided for in *v.* 4, in which the slave's wife and children would not accompany him into freedom.

6. *unto God*] i.e. (if the rend. be correct: see below) to the nearest sanctuary (for the expression, comp. especially 1 S. x. 3), in order that he might there affirm solemnly before God his intention to remain with his master. 'God' is resorted to here, not for a judicial decision (see on xviii. 15, 16), but for the slave's declaration to be solemnly ratified: still, as this would be done in the presence of God's human representatives, the priests or judges, RVm. (=AV.), following Targ., Pesh., and Jewish interpreters (cf. LXX. τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, 'the tribunal of God'), renders *the judges.* This, however, is only a paraphrase; for though God, in cases such as the present, may be conceived as acting through a judge, as His representative or mouthpiece, that does not make 'Elohim' *mean* 'judge,' or 'judges.' 'God' is used in the same sense in xxii. 8, 9, and 1 S. ii. 25.

and **he** *shall bring him*] i.e (Di.) the judge at the sanctuary: better, perhaps, **one** *shall bring him* = **he shall be brought** (G.-K. § 144^{d}).

the door] not, as has been supposed, of the sanctuary, but, if the ceremony is to bear any relation to the thing which it is intended to signify, of his master's house. The ear, as the organ of hearing, is naturally that of obedience as well; and its attachment (Dt. xv. 17) to the door of the house would signify the perpetual attachment of the slave to that particular household. Probably it was the right ear which was pierced: for the preference shewn for this, comp. Lev. viii. 23 f., xiv. 14, 17. The connexion 'bring him to God (*or* the gods),' and 'bring him to the door' seems, however, to suggest that both were in the same place: hence, as the 'door' of the sanctuary seems out of the question, Bä. and others render *hā-'ĕlōhīm* (as is perfectly possible: cf. Gen. iii. 5 RVm.) by *the gods*, supposing the reference to be to the household gods, or Penates, of the master's house, kept and worshipped near the door: the ceremony would then have the effect of bringing the slave into a relation of dependence on the gods of his master's family, and of admitting him to the full religious privileges of the family (cf. Eerdmans, *Expositor*, Aug. 1909, p. 163 f.). Kautzsch, on the other hand, supposes an image of Jehovah to be referred to (*DB.* v. 642^{b}).

his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he *E* shall serve him for ever.

7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a [1]maidservant, she

[1] Or, *bondwoman*

bore his ear] Whether a hole in the ear was really among other nations a mark of slavery, or even of dependence, is very doubtful: the passages cited by Di. from Kn. (cf. Now. *Arch.* i. 177) do not seem to shew more than that it was a mark of *nationality*: the ear was often bored (for ear-rings) among Africans and Orientals in general, but not specifically by slaves. See esp. Mayor's note on Juv. i. 104 ('Natus ad Euphraten, molles quod *in aure fenestrae* Arguerint'), Macrob. *Saturn.* vii. 3, Plin. *H.N.* xi. § 136: on Plaut. *Poen.* v. 2. 21 ('aures anulatae'), see Ussing's note.

for ever] i.e. till his life's end: cf. 'for ever' in 1 S. i. 22, and esp. in the expression, 'servant for ever,' xxvii. 12, Job xli. 4 [xl. 28 Heb.]. The explanation 'till the next jubilee' (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8. 28, and others), which has been adopted for harmonistic reasons (see Lev. xxv. 39—41), is exegetically impossible: as Di. says, the difference between the two laws must be frankly recognized; they spring, it is evident, out of different periods of the history.

7—11. Hebrew *female* slaves. The law for female slaves is different. A female slave does not receive her freedom at the end of six years (*v.* 7); still, she cannot be sold to a non-Israelite; and if her master, before actually taking her as his concubine, finds he does not like her she must be redeemed (*v.* 8). If her master has bought her for his son she must have the usual rights of a daughter (*v.* 9). If her master take another concubine, she is in no respect to be defrauded of her food, dress, and conjugal rights (*v.* 10): if these be withheld, her freedom must be given her unconditionally (*v.* 11). The reason for the different treatment of female slaves is to be found in the fact that a female slave was as a rule (*v.* 8) her master's concubine; she stood consequently to her master in a relation which could not suitably be terminated at the end of six years. Concubinage was common among the ancient Hebrews (among the patriarchs, Gen. xvi. 3, xxii. 24, xxx. 3, 9, xxxvi. 12; in the time of the Judges, Jud. viii. 31, ix. 18, xix. 1 ff.; and among the early kings, 2 S. iii. 7, v. 13, xv. 16, xxi. 11; 1 K. xi. 3), as it was also among the Babylonians in the age of Ḥammurabi (Code, §§ 144—7[1]), and as it is still in Mohammedan countries (see e.g. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 122, 227, 232 f.).

7. *if a man sell his daughter*] as he easily might do, either from actual poverty, or because he was in such circumstances that it would be more advantageous for his daughter to be the concubine of a well-to-do neighbour than to marry a man in her own social position.

maidservant] better, **bondwoman** (RVm.), or **female slave**: 'maid-

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[1] Cf. the interesting case attested by two contemporary contract-tablets (Pinches, *OT. in the Light of Ass. and Bab. records and legends*, p. 174 f.; Cook, *Moses and Ḥamm.* p. 113 f.): a man marries his wife's sister, to become her waiting-maid.

E shall not go out as the menservants do. If she please not 8
her master, [1]who hath espoused her to himself, then shall
he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people
he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully
with her. And if he espouse her unto his son, he shall 9
deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take 10

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[1] Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her*.

servant' has associations which are not at all those of ancient Hebrew society. Here the word (*'āmāh*) denotes in particular a female slave bought not only to do household work, but also to be her master's concubine. Cf. the same word in Gen. xxi. 10 ff. (of Hagar), Jud. ix. 18 (of Gideon's concubine; see viii. 31), xix. 19.

as the **male slaves** *do*] *v.* 2.

8. First special case under the general law of *v.* 7: if a woman, bought with the intention of being made her master's concubine, does not please her master, he must let her be redeemed, and he has no power to sell her into foreign slavery.

who hath **designated** (2 S. xx. 5; Jer. xlvii. 7) *her* **for** *himself*] viz. at the time when he bought her: 'for himself' is shewn by its position in the Heb. to be emphatic; it is opposed to 'for his son' in *v.* 9, The marg. (לֹא for לוֹ) may be disregarded, if only because *yā'ad* does not mean to 'espouse': to 'designate' a woman *for* any one may indeed be equivalent to 'to espouse,' but that does not justify 'designate,' used absolutely, being rendered 'espouse.'

let her be redeemed] by her father, or other relative, if able to do so: she had been bought to become a concubine, and had consequently certain rights. If however the woman's relatives did not redeem her, her master was apparently at liberty to sell her to another Israelite; for the following clause only forbids him to sell her into *foreign* servitude. Of course, the woman is not to be supposed to have actually become her master's concubine: in this case, if he found he did not like her, he would have to give her her freedom unconditionally (cf. *v.* 11).

strange] **foreign**, the now obsolete sense of 'strange' noticed on ii. 22.

deceitfully] or *untruly*, viz. in not making her his concubine, as it was understood, when he bought her, that he would do.

9. Second special case: if at the time of purchasing the woman, her master intends her for his son.

If he **designate** *her* **for** *his son*, *he shall deal with her* **according to** *the* **rights** *of daughters*] i.e. treat her as a daughter of his own household, give her the maintenance, clothing, &c. which a daughter would naturally have.

for *his son*] 'as in Persia (Chardin, *Voyage*, ii. 259), Arabia, Niebuhr, *Arabia*, p. 74, Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 157' (Dillm.-Ryss.).

10, 11. Third special case: if after having taken the woman as a

him another *wife*; her [1]food, her raiment, and her duty of *E*
11 marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money.

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[1] Heb. *flesh.*

concubine he takes another concubine as well: in that case, he must still allow his first concubine her full rights; if he does not do this, he must give her her freedom.

10. *her* **flesh**] The case contemplated is that of a well-to-do Israelite, who could have several concubines, and enjoy animal food every day: Israelites of the poorer class ate animal food seldom or never. 'Flesh' (Ps. lxxviii. 20, 27) should not be weakened to 'food': a diminution of ordinary food, such as bread and vegetables, is not contemplated.

her **rights** *of marriage*] i.e. her conjugal rights. The Heb. word occurs only here; and its etymological meaning is uncertain.

11. *these three*] The three rights mentioned in *v.* 10.

The view expressed above is the one ordinarily taken of *vv.* 7—11, *vv.* 8—10 stating *three* special cases, falling under the general case of *v.* 7, *If a man sell his daughter*, &c. Budde, however (*ZATW.* 1891, p. 102 f.), argues forcibly, and Bä. agrees, that the three special cases fall, not under the general case of *v.* 7, but under the general case of *v.* 8ª, *If she please not her master*,—the first two, as upon the ordinary view, relating to the time *before* the woman is taken actually as a concubine: the three cases being (1) he may let her be redeemed, *v.* 8ᵇ; (2) how he is to deal with her, if he passes her on to his son, *v.* 9; (3) how he is to deal with her, if, *after* having made her his concubine, he takes another concubine as well. If the girl bought in this way was as a matter of course bought to be her master's concubine, the words in *v.* 8, 'who hath designated her for himself,' are otiose; on the other hand, the condition that the two alternatives mentioned in *vv.* 8, 9 are to be adopted only if she is still a virgin, ought, Budde thinks, to be clearly expressed: accordingly, taking 'not' from the margin, and transposing two letters in the following word, he reads, for the words quoted, *who* (or *in case he*) *hath not known her* (Gen. iv. 1): he further argues that this view does better justice to the wording of *v.* 8 (which is not, as it should be on the ordinary view, *If he hath designated her for himself, and she please him not*), and to the tense of 'designate' in *v.* 9 (which is the impf., as in *vv.* 10, 11, not the perf., as in *v.* 8ª), and also that it explains better *v.* 9ᵇ (why, if he originally intended her as a concubine for his son, should he treat her as a daughter, and so place her in a better position than if he intended her for himself? On the other hand, this is intelligible, if he did not fulfil his original engagement to her, and passed her on to his son). For another solution of the difficulties of the passage, resting upon a further emendation, see W. R. Smith, *ZATW.* 1892, p. 162 f., or Ryssel in Di.² p. 253.

E He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be 12
put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver 13
him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither
he shall flee. And if a man come presumptuously upon his 14

12—17. *Capital offences.* In *v.* 12 is laid down the general principle that death is the punishment for killing a man. If the act is unpremeditated (manslaughter), the penalty is modified (*v.* 13), but retained in full in the case of the act being evidently intentional (*v.* 14). Kidnapping a fellow Israelite, and smiting or cursing a parent (*vv.* 15—17), are also treated as capital offences.

12. Murder. The same general principle is laid down in P, Gen. ix. 6, Nu. xxxv. 30 f., and in H, Lev. xxiv. 17.

shall be put to death] The execution of this penalty was the duty not, as in communities in which a more advanced stage of civilization has been reached, of the State, but of the 'Avenger of blood,' i.e. of the nearest kinsman of the murdered man, upon whom, according to primitive ideas, the duty of vindicating his rights devolved, 2 S. xiv. 11, Dt. xix. 6, 12, Nu. xxxv. 19, 21, 27 (P). See GOEL in *DB.* or *EB.*

13. Manslaughter, and the right of asylum. The distinction, not found in Homer, but thus early drawn among the Hebrews, between intentional and unintentional homicide is noteworthy: it is insisted on in all the codes (Dt. xix. 1—13; Nu. xxxv. 9—34 P).

lie...in wait] 1 S. xxiv. 11 (RVm.)†: cf. the derivative, 'with *lying in wait*' (i.e. with malicious intent), in P's law of homicide, Nu. xxxv. 20, 22 ('without')†. In Dt. and D^2 the idea of 'unintentional' is expressed by *unawares* (lit. *without knowledge*), Dt. iv. 42, xix. 4, Jos. xx. 3, 5; P says *unwittingly* (lit. *in error*), Nu. xxxv. 11, 15, Jos. xx. 3, 9.

deliver] in the Heb. a rare word, meaning properly, as Arabic shews, *bring opportunely* (cf. the derivative *opportunity*, Jud. xiv. 4). The meaning of the clause is (as we should express it), if he kills him *accidentally*. Cf. Ḥamm. § 249 'if God have struck it (a hired ox), and it die,' 266 'a stroke of God' (killing a sheep), below, p. 423.

a place whither he shall flee] i.e. an asylum where he may be safe from the avenger of blood. *V.* 14, which speaks of the fugitive as having taken refuge at an *altar*, shews that the place meant can only be the sacred place at which the altar stood. In the later legislation of Dt. (xix. 1—13) fixed cities are appointed for the purpose and regulations for their use are laid down. The technical term, 'cities of refuge,' first occurs in P (Nu. xxxv. 6, 11 ff.). In ancient times 'the right of asylum was possessed by different sanctuaries in various degrees, depending on prescription, the holiness of the place, and other circumstances; it sometimes extended to an entire city, or even to a mark beyond its walls....In the Greek period, and later (under Roman rule), many Hellenistic cities in Syria enjoyed the privileges of asylums, the title ἄσυλος appearing on their coins' (Moore, in *EB.* ASYLUM). Cf. *Rel. Sem.* 148. Moslems, adhering to the tradition of heathen times, treat tombs, esp. those of ancestors, notabilities, and saints, as asylums.

neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die. *E*

15 And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16 And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

14. But the protection of the altar is not to be extended to the wilful murderer. Cf. Dt. xix. 11—13; also the more detailed treatment of the case of wilful murder in the law of P (Nu. xxxv. 16—21).

from mine altar] See 1 K. i. 50, ii. 28, which shew that the fugitive would seize hold of the 'horns' (see on ch. xxvii. 2) of the altar, in order to avail himself of its protection. The altar served as an asylum also among the Greeks (Thuc. iv. 98).

15. Striking a parent. Notice that the mother is placed on an equality with the father.

smiteth] simply, without killing: the murder of a parent would fall under the general rule of *v.* 12. The severity of the penalty was in accordance with the high respect paid to both parents in ancient Israel: see xx. 12, and cf. Dt. xxi. 18—21. Ḥammurabi (§ 195) ordained that if a son struck his father—no mention is made of his mother—his hands should be cut off. The older Sumerian laws said[1]: 'If a son has said to his father, Thou art not my father [i.e. repudiated him], he may brand him, lay fetters upon him, and sell him. If a son has said to his mother, Thou art not my mother, one shall brand his forehead, drive him round the city, and expel him from the house.' At Athens *γονέων κάκωσις* ('maltreatment of parents') was actionable, and might be punished with ἀτιμία, or loss of civil rights (Andoc. *de Myst.* § 74, cf. Demosth. *adv. Timocr.* §§ 103, 105, p. 732 f.); and Plato (*Legg.* ix. 881 B—D), if any one struck a parent, would have any one who witnessed the act, and failed to interfere, severely punished, and the offender himself condemned to perpetual exile, or death if he ever returned home. Solon (Cic. *Rosc.* 25) is said to have made no mention of such a crime, on the ground that he considered its occurrence impossible (Kn.).

16. Man-stealing. Cf. Dt. xxiv. 7, where the present law is merely expanded, and recast in Deuteronomic phraseology.

a man] in Dt. xxiv. 7, expressly limited to an Israelite: so LXX. Targ. add here, 'of the children of Israel.' No doubt this interprets correctly the intention of the law.

and selleth him] into a foreign country is probably what is thought of (cf. *v.* 8). This would not only sever the victim cruelly from his own people, and his own religion (1 S. xxvi. 19), but also expose him to many risks of death. The Phoenicians (Am. i. 9, and, at a later time, Joel iii. 4—6), to say nothing of other nations (Gen. xxxvii. 36), would be ready purchasers of slaves.

or if he be found in his hand] i.e. if he has not yet actually sold him.

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[1] Winckler, *Gesetze Hamm.* (1904), p. 85; Pinches, *op cit.* [p. 212 *n.*], p. 190 f.

E And he that [1]curseth his father, or his mother, shall 17
surely be put to death.

And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with a 18
stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed:
if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then 19
shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for

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[1] Or, *revileth*

shall be put to death] The same punishment in Hamm. § 14. At Athens, the *ἀνδραποδιστής*, who enslaved a free man, or enticed away another person's slave, was punished with death (Hermann, *Griech. Antiq.* iii. §§ xii. 12; lxii. 12: cf. Demosth. *Phil.* i. p. 53 *end*, § 47; Xen. *Memor.* i. 2. 62): among the Romans both the seller and the buyer of a free-born citizen were punished with death (Kn.).

17. Cursing a parent. Comp. Dt. xxvii. 16, Lev. xx. 9 (H): also Prov. xx. 20, xxx. 17. In the LXX. this verse stands more suitably immediately after *v.* 15. It is cited in Mt. xv. 4 = Mk. vii. 10.

curseth] a stronger word than the *maketh light of*, or *dishonoureth*, of Dt. xxvii. 16.

18—36. Bodily injuries, caused (*a*) by human beings, *vv.* 18—27; (*b*) by animals, or through the neglect of reasonable precautions, *vv.* 28—36.

18—27. Bodily injuries caused by human beings. Four cases are taken, two arising out of a quarrel, and two out of rough treatment of a slave (*vv.* 22—25 would more naturally follow *vv.* 18, 19). In fixing the penalties, consideration is taken of the status and sex of the persons involved, as also of the character of the injury, and the consequences following from it.

18, 19. Bodily injury inflicted in a quarrel.

18. *contend*] or *dispute*, wrangle in words: rendered *strive*, Gen. xxvi. 20, 21, *contend*, as here, Neh. xiii. 11, 17.

fist] Is. lviii. 4†. So LXX. Vulg. Di.: the Heb. *'egrōph* has also this sense in the Talm. The meaning *spade* or *hoe*, which Ryssel in Di.[2] argues for, would be possible etymologically (for the root signifies *to scoop* or *sweep away*, Jud. v. 21): but it does not suit Is. lviii. 4. The rend. of the Targums, *club* or *cudgel*, would suit both passages, but lacks philological justification.

and he die not] for, if he did, the case would be regulated presumably by the *mishpāṭ* of *v.* 12.

19. *walk abroad upon his staff*] a proof of convalescence. The 'staff' (lit. *something to lean upon*) was used for help in walking (2 K. iv. 29,—by Elisha): in Zech. viii. 4 a characteristic of old age.

be quit (lit. *innocent*)] If he died in his bed, the person who injured him might reasonably be held responsible for his death: if he died after he had taken his first walk, he might himself have met with some further accident, or imprudently ventured out too soon.

only, &c.] Though he is no longer in danger of suffering the capital

[1]the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed. *E*

20 And if a man smite [2]his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished.
21 Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.
22 And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child,

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[1] Heb. *his sitting* or *ceasing*.
[2] Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman*

penalty, he must still compensate his victim for his loss of time, and pay his doctor's bill. Cf. Ḥamm. 206; and Manu, viii. 287 (Cook, p. 254).

the loss of his time] a necessary paraphrase of the Heb. *shibtō*, which may be derived from either *yāshab*, to 'sit down,' or *shābath*, to 'desist,' 'cease' (viz. from toil): hence the two margins.

20, 21. Beating a slave so that he dies. *Vv.* 26 f., 32, also deal with injuries to slaves. The penalties prescribed shew that less was thought of the life of a slave than of that of a free man,—in *v.* 21 he is called simply his master's 'money'; at the same time he has rights, and cannot be treated with entire impunity. The position of slaves in Israel must thus have been considerably better than that of slaves in Rome, at least in the time of the Republic, when their masters could kill them with impunity (Dion. Halic. vii. 68, Plutarch, *Cato* 21,—cited by Kn.).

20. *his servant, or his maid*] i.e. (cf. marg.) his male or female slave.

a rod] The usual implement of punishment (Prov. x. 13, xiii. 24).

punished] lit. *avenged*; so *v.* 21. In what the punishment consisted, is not stated. The Jews (Mechilta, Ps.-Jon., &c.) understood death (viz. by the sword) to be intended: but in that case 'he shall surely be put to death' would certainly have been said, as in other cases (*vv.* 12, 15, 16, &c.); besides, *vv.* 21 (cf. 19 f.), 26 f. (cf. 23 ff.), 32 (cf. 28 ff.) shew that a marked difference was made between a slave and a free man. No doubt the determination of the penalty was left to the discretion of the judge (Di.), or it was a fine payable to the sanctuary (Bä.), the amount of which varied with the means of the slave's master.

21. If the slave survives a day or two, his master escapes even the comparatively light penalty of *v.* 20; for then it is clear that he did not intend to kill him, but only to correct him.

he is his money] i.e. his master's property, purchased by his master's money. His master is considered to have sufficiently punished himself by the loss of his property.

22. Injury arising to a pregnant woman out of an affray.

And if men strive together] i.e. quarrel and fight, ch. ii. 13, 2 S. xiv. 6, Ps. lx. *title*. The same words in Dt. xxv. 11. Not the verb used in *v.* 18 (which means only to dispute in *words*).

hurt] properly, *smite* or *strike* (ch. viii. 2; Is. xix. 22): so *v.* 35.

E so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow: he shall
be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay
upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. But 23
if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye 24

Probably the woman is to be thought of (as in Dt. xxv. 11) as intervening to separate the combatants.

her fruit depart] Heb. *her children* (a generic plural) *come forth* (Gen. xxv. 25, xxxviii. 28).

but ***no*** (other) *mischief* **happen**] i.e. no permanent injury from the miscarriage. 'Mischief' (*'āsōn*, *v.* 23, Gen. xlii. 4, 38, xliv. 29†) means some serious, or even (cf. *v.* 23) fatal, bodily injury.

fined] viz. for the loss of the child, which would have been the parents' property. Holzinger cites for parallels, among the Arabs, W. R. Smith, *ZATW.* 1892, p. 163, and among the Kirghissians, in Turkestan, Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (1884), p. 524; here, if a pregnant woman is injured so that her child is born dead, the penalty is a horse or a camel according to its age (the penalty for killing a free man being a fine of 100 horses, and for killing a woman or slave, 50 horses).

he shall pay (lit. *give*) **with** (the approval of) **arbitrators**] If the text is correct, the meaning apparently is that the amount of the fine, fixed in the first instance by the woman's husband, had, before payment, to be submitted to arbitrators, and approved by them. But the word for arbitrators is rare and poetical (Dt. xxxii. 31, Job xxxi. 11†), the use of the prep. ב is strange, the mention of arbitration is unexpected after the unconditional discretion just given to the husband, nor are any arbitrators mentioned in the similar enactment of *v.* 30. Under these circumstances the clever suggestion of Budde, בנפלים for בפלילים deserves consideration, *he shall pay it* **for the untimely birth** (Job iii. 16, Ps. lviii. 9),—the plural being required on account of the plural 'children,' just before (concealed in EVV. by the rend. *fruit*: the ב *pretii*, as Dt. xix. 21). Cf. Hamm. §§ 209—214; Cook, p. 253 f.

23—25. The *Lex Talionis.* But *if any mischief* **happen**, then compensation is to be made on the principle of the *lex talionis. Vv.* 23—25 are, however, worded quite generally, and mention many injuries not at all likely to happen to the woman in the special case contemplated in *v.* 22, or even to the combatants themselves (injuries to whom Di. thinks might be included in the 'mischief' meant): hence, probably, either (Budde, Bä.) *vv.* 23—25 are misplaced, and should be transposed to follow *vv.* 18, 19 (where the quarrel is of a more general kind, and serious consequences are contemplated as happening to one or other of the combatants), or (McNeile) 'mischief' in *v.* 22 means definitely the woman's death, and *v.* 23 assigns the penalty for it, and *vv.* 24, 25 are 'an abridged summary of the laws of retaliation, which has been added here though it is not relevant to the case in point—the death of the woman.' Similar specifications of the application of the

25 for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning *E*
for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26 And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of
his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for his
27 eye's sake. And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or
his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his
tooth's sake.

28 And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, the
ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten;

lex talionis are given in Dt. xix. 21 (in the special case of the punishment to be awarded to a malicious witness: cf. Ḥamm. §§ 3, 4, for cases of false witness), and Lev. xxiv. 18, 20 (H), in the case of any injury ('blemish') done to a neighbour. Comp. Mt. v. 38.

25. *wound*] Gen. iv. 23^c (lit. *for my wound*), Is. i. 6.

stripe] Gen. iv. 23^d (lit. *for my stripe*), Is. i. 6 [EVV. *bruises*], liii. 5.

The *talio* is a principle of punishment which was anciently, and still is, current widely in the world: Kn. quotes examples from the Thurians and Locrians (an eye for an eye), the Indians (Strabo, p. 710) the XII. Tables ('si membrum rupit, ni cum eo pacit, talio esto'): Rhadamanthys was said to have declared that it was a just punishment when a man suffered what he had done (Arist. *Eth. N.* v. 8. 3); and there are several cases in the code of Ḥammurabi, §§ 116, 196, 197, 200, 210, 219, 229, 235, 263, &c.: see Cook, p. 249). For numerous instances in modern times, see A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz* (1894—5), ii. 238 ff.

26, 27. Striking out the eye or tooth of a slave. The person of a slave being not as valuable as that of a free man, the *lex talionis* (*vv.* 23—25) is not applicable in his case (cf. Ḥamm. § 199, as compared with § 196): the slave, however, receives his freedom as compensation for his injury, and his master pays for his maltreatment of him by the loss of his services.

28—36. Bodily injuries due to animals, or neglect of reasonable precautions.

28—32. Injury done by a vicious ox to a free man or woman. Cf. Ḥamm. §§ 250—2.

28. *shall be stoned*] The sanctity of human life demanded that an animal, not less than a man, should suffer for violating it: cf. (in P) Gen. ix. 5. Stoning was a common punishment among the Hebrews: see e.g. Lev. xx. 2, 27, xxiv. 14, 16, 23, Dt. xiii. 10, xvii. 5, xxi. 21, xxii. 21, 24 f.: of an animal, as here, *vv.* 29, 32, xix. 13.

For the punishment of an animal—and even of an inanimate object, such as a piece of wood or stone—which had caused the death of a human being, there are many analogies. At Athens the court of the Phylobasileis ('Tribe-kings') in the Prytaneion, established, it was said, by Draco (B.C. 624), investigated cases thus arising (Demosth. *adv. Aristocr.*

E but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the ox were 29
wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to his
owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed
a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner
also shall be put to death. If there be laid on him a ransom, 30
then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatsoever
is laid upon him. Whether he have gored a son, or have 31

§ 76, p. 645, Arist. *Constit. of Athens*, 57 *end*); and so Plato (*Legg.* ix. 873 E—874 A) would have an animal or inanimate object that had killed a man tried, and, if found guilty, expelled from the country (the animal having been first slain). Pausanias (v. 27. 10; vi. 11. 6) mentions two cases of statues, one thrown into the sea, and the other ceremonially purified, for having caused a death. An interesting collection of parallels from many different nations is given by Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 370 ff. (cited by Cook, p. 252, who also refers to Baring-Gould, *Curiosities of Olden Times*, 1895, p. 57 ff.),—many taken from Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 126 ff. In mediaeval Europe animals charged with causing a death were often tried in a court of law, and, if found guilty, killed: a cow was executed in this way in France as late as 1740.

his flesh shall not be eaten] Blood-guilt would be resting upon it, which would be transferred to any one partaking of it.

quit] i.e. *pronounced innocent*, *acquitted*, as *v.* 19. The owner is acquitted, because it is assumed to be the first time that the animal has so acted. On 'quit,' see Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, s.v.

29. If, however, the owner of the animal had been warned that it was vicious, and had taken no precautions to keep it in, he is held responsible, if it kills any one, and must suffer the penalty of death himself.

30. The owner of the ox may, however, escape the extreme penalty of the law, if the relatives of the man who had been killed are willing to accept a money-compensation for his life. The owner's negligence amounted to murder only in theory, so it was reasonable to allow him this merciful alternative.

be laid on him (cf. *v.* 22)] viz. by the relatives of the man who has been killed.

a ransom] Heb. *kōpher*, the price of a life: see xxx. 12, Ps. xlix. 7, Prov. vi. 35, xiii. 8, xxi. 18, Is. xliii. 3. This and *v.* 32 are the only cases in which Heb. law allowed what was so common among many ancient nations, the ποινή, or 'wergild,' i.e. the money offered for the life of a murdered man to appease a kinsman's wrath: see Nu. xxxv. 31 f. (P), where the acceptance of a *kōpher* is forbidden.

redemption] The same word, in a similar connexion, Ps. xlix. 8 (where 'soul' = 'life' here, lit. *soul*). For the corresponding verb, used of the redemption of a life that is forfeit, see on xiii. 13.

31. The same law is to hold good, if the person who has been killed is (as we should say) a minor, of either sex.

gored a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be *E*
32 done unto him. If the ox gore a manservant or a maid-
servant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of
silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33 And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit
34 and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, the owner
of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the
owner of them, and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35 And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then
they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and

this judgement] The decision embodied in the preceding laws (*vv.* 28—30). Cf. on *v.* 1.

32. If the ox killed a slave, however, it was sufficient if its owner paid his master as compensation the ordinary value of a slave, and suffered at the same time the loss of his animal's services. Another instance of the lower value set upon a slave's life: he is in this case valued simply as a chattel.

a manservant or a maidservant] *a* **male** *or* **female slave.**

thirty shekels of silver] doubtless the average price of a slave at the time It seems that the intrinsic value of a shekel of silver was about 2*s.* 9*d.* (*DB.* iii. 420[a]), so that the silver of 30 shekels would be worth now about £4. 2*s.* 6*d.* (though its purchasing power would be many times greater: *ibid.* note, and 431 f.). The *free* Hebrew was valued at 50 shekels (Lev xxvii. 3 f.). The same sum was offered as his wages to the prophet who, in the allegory of Zech. xi., represented the rejected ruler of his people (*v.* 12: cf. Mt. xxvi. 15). Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites for twenty shekels of silver (Gen. xxxvii. 28[b] [J]).

33, 34. Injury caused by culpable neglect in leaving an open pit.

open] i.e. open a pit which already existed = *reopen.*

a pit] for the storage of water or (cf. Jer. xli. 8; Thomson, *L. and B.* i. 89, 90, ii. 194, iii. 458) grain, or perhaps also for the capture of wild beasts. Thomson (ii. 283) writes, 'I have been astonished at the recklessness with which wells and pits are left uncovered and unprotected all over this country'; and adds that he had seen a blind man walk into such a well, and known a valuable horse lost similarly

34. Having paid the value of the dead animal to the owner, he is naturally at liberty to keep the carcase himself. The carcase would be of value for its hide: but though 'that which died of itself' was forbidden later as food (Dt. xiv. 21; cf. Lev. xvii. 15 f. P), this may not have been the case at the time when the present code of laws was drawn up.

money] i.e. to the value of the beast; *its money* (= the *price of it*, *v.* 35: כספו for כסף) would be clearer, and should perhaps be restored.

35, 36. Injury done by an ox to one belonging to another person. If no neglect can be proved against the owner of the vicious ox, the

E the dead also they shall divide. Or if it be known that the 36
ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not
kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead
beast shall be his own.

[1] If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell **22**
it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for

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[1] [Ch. xxi. 37 in Heb.]

damage is to be divided equally between the owners of the two animals (*v.* 35): but if the owner of the vicious ox culpably neglects to keep it in, he is to make full compensation to the owner of the ox which has been killed.

35. 'If this admirable statute were faithfully administered now, it would prevent many angry, and sometimes fatal, feuds between herdsmen, and at the same time would be a very fair adjustment of the questions of equity that grow out of such accidents' (Thomson, *L. and B.* ii. 283). It is now the 'custom of the desert' (Doughty, *Arab. Deserta*, i. 351).

36. *and the dead* beast *shall be his*] as *v.* 34.

xxii. **1—4.** Theft of ox or sheep; and burglary.

1. If a man steals an ox or a sheep, and kills it or sells it (so as to make profit by it), he is to repay fivefold for the ox, and fourfold for the sheep. Cf. (with differences) Ḥamm. § 8 (see p. 420). The ox is reckoned as of higher value than the sheep on account especially of its being useful in agricultural work. The case of the animal being still alive, and in the thief's possession, is dealt with in *v.* 4. The fourfold restitution of a sheep is the penalty named by David in his reply to Nathan's parable (2 S. xii. 4): sevenfold restitution is mentioned only in the hyperbolical passage, Prov. vi. 31, but may be read rightly by the LXX. in 2 S. xii. 4, 'fourfold' being here not improbably a correction made on the basis of the present law. Fourfold restitution was also the penalty, when the thief was caught in the act, by the later Roman law; and for the theft of an animal it is still usual among the modern Bedawin (Cook, p. 216). Multiple restitution (in varying ratios) is the penalty prescribed by Ḥammurabi for many cases of fraud (*DB.* v. 596^b): and it is still in many parts of the world a common penalty for theft (Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurispr.* ii. 430 f.).

and kill it] The word (*ṭābaḥ*) is the one regularly used of slaughtering cattle for food (Gen. xliii. 16, 1 S. xxv. 11 *al.*).

2—3^a. A thief caught breaking in by night may be killed without any guilt being incurred by his death, but not if the act take place by day. In the dark the householder would probably not be able to recognize the burglar, so as to bring him to justice, nor would he know whether he might not intend murder: a mortal blow, given in defence of his life and property, would therefore be excusable under the circumstances: but no such excuse could be made for it in the light of day.

2 a sheep. [1]If the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten *E*
3 that he die, there shall be no [2]bloodguiltiness for him. If
the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for
him: he should make restitution; if he have nothing, then
4 he shall be sold for his theft. If the theft be found in his
hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay
double.

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[1] [Ch. xxii. 1 in Heb.]

[2] Heb. *blood.*

A thief might also be killed in the night with impunity by Athenian law (Dem. *Timocr.* § 113, p. 736; cf. Plato, *Legg.* ix. 874 B), and by the law of the XII. Tables (viii. 12) 'si nox furtum factum sit, si im (eum) occisit, iure caesus esto.' Ḥamm. § 21 is not really parallel: see Cook, p. 213.

2. *breaking in*] **digging through**: cf. Jer. ii. 34, Job xxiv. 16, Mt. vi. 19 RVm. Still the usual method of housebreakers in Syria: see Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), p. 260 f.

for him] i.e. for the householder, if he kills him in the darkness. For the expression, cf. Nu. xxxv. 27 RVm. (אין לו דם); and for 'blood' (marg.), implying 'bloodguiltiness,' Ps. li. 14. Elsewhere blood is said to be 'upon' a person, Dt. xix. 10.

3^{a}. *upon him*] i.e. upon the thief.

for him] the householder, as *v.* 2.

3^{b}. If the text is correct, we must understand tacitly after *v.* 3^{a}, '[He ought not therefore to be killed;] he should make restitution, &c.' This however is a good deal to supply: both *v.* 2 and *v.* 3^{a} start distinctly from the supposition that the thief *is* slain; and the ox, ass, or sheep, of *v.* 4, are hardly likely to have been found in the house that was 'dug' into, *v.* 2. Hence there is great probability in Budde's view that *vv.* 2, 3^{a} are out of place; and that *vv.* 3^{b}, 4 form really the sequel to *v.* 1, stating what is to be done in the two other alternative cases, (1) if the thief have nothing, (2) if the stolen animal be found in his possession alive. Render then (directly following *v.* 1): (*v.* 3^{b}) 'he shall surely make restitution [the word rendered 'pay' in *vv.* 1, 4]: if he have nothing, then he shall be sold,' &c. (to the end of *v.* 4).

for his theft] i.e. not 'as a punishment for his act of stealing,' but 'as compensation for the thing stolen.' 'According to Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 1. 1 a thief sold under these circumstances was not sold to a foreigner, and became free in the 7th year (ch. xxi. 2)' (Kn.).

4. If the stolen animal be not killed, or sold (*v.* 1), but still alive in his possession, he only repays double, i.e. the stolen animal itself, and a second as a fine. The same principle of double restitution recurs *vv.* 7, 9; it was adopted also 'in the laws of Manu (viii. 329), at least in the case of things of small value; by Solon, for theft; in Athenian law, in cases of damage (βλάβη) done intentionally (Dem. *adv. Mid.* § 43, p. 528: in unintentional βλάβη simple restitution was prescribed);

E If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution. 5

by Plato, *Legg.* ix., p. 857 A, for theft; in both the XII. Tables (Gell. XI. 18. 15) and the later Roman law, for theft, when the thief was not caught in the act' (Kn.); and by Ḥammurabi in various cases of fraudulent claim (§§ 101, 120, 124, 160, 161); cf. *DB.* v. 596^b.

5, 6. Compensation to be paid for damage done by cattle being allowed negligently to stray (*v.* 5—if the text be sound); and by fire spreading accidentally (*v.* 6) to another man's field.

5. *a field*] i.e. a field of his own, from which he allows the cattle to stray into the field of a neighbour.

the best] The Heb. as Gen. xlvii. 6, 11, also of land. The verse contains difficulties, however; and two corrections have accordingly been proposed. (1) Why, as no malicious intention seems to be imputed to the owner of the cattle, is compensation to be made from the *best* of his field? LXX. Sam. read words after 'another man's field,' which remove this difficulty, viz. '[he shall surely make it good from his own field according to its produce; but if it eat the whole of the field,] of the best of his own field,' &c.; the *whole* of the crop is eaten; the carelessness is accordingly greater, no judgement can be formed of the quality of the destroyed crop, and it is consequently to be replaced from the best which can be given. (2) This however by no means removes all the difficulties: (*a*) a 'vineyard' was not a pasture-ground for cattle, it was protected against animals by a stone fence, Is. v. 5; (*b*) the renderings 'cause to be eaten' and 'feed' (הבעיר and בער) are doubtful: to 'eat' or to 'feed' (i.e. to *graze*) is an uncertain rendering of בער, even in Is. iii. 14, v. 5, vi. 13; and both words elsewhere mean only to *kindle* (fire: so in *v.* 6), to *burn*, or (fig.) to *destroy*. Hence it is very probable that we should read with slight changes (הבערה for בעירה, and ובערה for ובער), 'If a man **cause** a field or a vineyard **to be burnt** [to destroy stubble or weeds, as is still the custom in Palestine in summer: cf. on ch. xv. 7, and Verg. *G.* i. 84 f.], and let **the burning** (same word as in *v.* 6^b, 'the fire') **spread**, and **it burn in** another man's field, of the best,' &c. (so Bä.; and, long before him, Aldis Wright, *Journ. of Phil.* iv., 1872, p. 72 f.): as the damage is due to carelessness, if not (Wright) to incendiarism, the reason why compensation is to be made of the 'best' becomes apparent (cf. Cook, p. 202). Fire spreads rapidly in the hot summers of Palestine; and such carelessness is punished severely by the Arabs (*L. and B.* ii. 293).

6. Damage done by fire spreading accidentally to another man's field. In this case compensation according to the damage done is sufficient, as no blame, or malice, attaches to the person who kindled the fire.

6 If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks *E*
of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed;
he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.
7 If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff
to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the
8 thief be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be not
found, then the master of the house shall come near unto
[1]God, *to see* whether he have not put his hand unto his
9 neighbour's goods. For every matter of trespass, whether
it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, *or* for any
manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it, the cause

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[1] Or, *the judges*

break out] lit. *go forth* (Nu. xxi. 28), i.e. spread from the place in which it originated—being blown, for instance, by the wind. Contrast in *v.* 5 *let the burning spread*, viz. through culpable neglect.

thorns] such as were used to form a 'hedge' about fields (cf. Is. v. 5^a, Ecclus. xxviii. 24).

7—13. Compensation for loss or damage in various cases of deposit. At the present day, among the Bedawin, a man going on a journey for instance will deposit money or goods with another for safety during his absence. Such a deposit is regarded by the Arabs as a sacred trust (Cook, p. 227; Doughty, i. 176, 267, 280, ii. 301).

7, 8. If a man receives money or any household article for safe custody, and it is stolen, the thief, if he can be discovered, is to repay twofold (*v.* 7); if the thief cannot be discovered, the man to whom the property was entrusted must be acquitted at a sanctuary of the suspicion which will then naturally light upon him (*v.* 8).

7. *stuff*] Heb. *kēlim*, plur. of *k^{e}li*, a very general term, including both household articles (Gen. xlv. 20; Jos. vii. 11 'stuff,' as here; Lev. xiii. 49 'thing'), vessels (ch. xxvii. 3; 2 K. iv. 3), jewels or ornaments (ch. iii. 22), as also weapons or armour (Gen. xxvii. 3, 1 S. xiv. 1, &c.), instruments (Ex. xxvii. 19 *al.*; Am. vi. 5), &c.

to keep] for safety (cf. the story of the *παρακαταθήκη*, or 'deposit,' entrusted to the Spartan, Glaucus, in Hdt. vi. 86).

8. *unto God*] i.e. to the local sanctuary. On the term 'God,' here and *v.* 9, and the paraphrase 'the judges' (marg.), see on xxi. 6 and xviii. 15. To judge by the analogy of *v.* 11, a denial on oath was sufficient for an acquittal. Comp. 1 K. viii. 31, 32.

9. Extension of the principle of *v.* 8 to *all* cases of suspected misappropriation of property, whether arising out of a 'deposit,' or not.

any manner of lost thing] which is found, it is implied, suspiciously in the possession of another.

This is it] viz. the thing that I have lost.

E of both parties shall come before [1]God; he whom [1]God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.

If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or 10
a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or
driven away, no man seeing it: the oath of the LORD shall 11
be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand
unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall
accept it, and he shall not make restitution. But if it be 12
stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner

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[1] Or, *the judges*

he whom, &c.] i.e. whoever, in such a case, is convicted of being in the unlawful possession of property. How the conviction was effected, is not stated: perhaps the oath was only one element in a judicial enquiry; perhaps it was accompanied by an ordeal, and if this was not passed successfully, it was regarded as God's condemnation.

double] as in *vv.* 4, 7; not fourfold (*v.* 1), the disputed article being still, in the general case assumed in *v.* 9, in the possession of the party accused.

10—13. Procedure to be followed, when the property deposited, and afterwards injured or lost, is an animal.

10. *be hurt*] lit. *be broken*, i.e. be maimed or wounded: so *v.* 14, Ez. xxxiv. 4, 16, Zech. xi. 16, Lev. xxii. 22.

or driven away] better, *carried away*, viz. by raiders (Job i. 15, 17); 1 Ch. v. 21 Heb., 2 Ch. xiv. 15. The word commonly rendered *taken captive*, 1 S. xxx. 3, 5, &c.

11. *the oath of* **Yahweh**] 2 S. xxi. 7, 1 K. ii. 43. The person to whom the animal had been entrusted must swear solemnly that he has not appropriated it himself.

shall accept it] viz. the oath. Both Burckhardt (*Bedouins*, i. 126—9) and Doughty (*Arab. Deserta*, i. 267), state that among the Arabs now, if a person suspected of theft is willing to take certain specially solemn oaths, he is considered to be acquitted.

not make restitution] no reasonable precaution having been neglected. In primitive and semi-primitive societies an accused or suspected person is often allowed to clear himself by taking a solemn oath of purgation; there are several examples in the Code of Hammurabi (see p. 423; cf. also 1 K. viii. 31 f.). The practice was also common in the Middle Ages (see E. B. Tylor's arts. OATH and ORDEAL in the *Encycl. Brit.* and 'Ordeals and Oaths' in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1876). The oath might be followed by an ordeal (see Manu viii. 109—116, cited by Gray, *Numbers*, p. 45); or it might involve such curses upon the person taking it, if he did not speak the truth, that the act of taking it constituted itself the ordeal.

12. If, however, the animal be stolen, this might have been guarded against by greater care, and compensation must be made.

13 thereof. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring it for witness; *E*
he shall not make good that which was torn.

14 And if a man [1]borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be
hurt, or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall
15 surely make restitution. If the owner thereof be with it, he
shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, [2]it came for
its hire.

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[1] Heb. *ask*. [2] Or, *it is reckoned in* (Heb. *cometh into*) *its hire*

13. If the animal be torn by wild beasts, the man entrusted with it has only to produce its torn flesh as evidence of the fact, and he need make no compensation. No reasonable precautions could guard against this most common misfortune to cattle in the East (cf. Gen. xxxi. 39); and the fact that the remains of the flesh could be produced would show that the shepherd had been watchful, and had even driven off the wild beast before it had completely consumed the carcase (1 S. xvii. 35, Am. iii. 12). Cf. Ḥamm. § 244 (a *hired* animal); and Manu viii. 235 f.

14, 15. Compensation for injury to a borrowed animal. If the owner is not with it, the borrower is responsible and must make restitution; if the owner is with it, it is presumed that he might have prevented any ill-usage or injury, and the borrower is not responsible. Cf. Ḥamm. §§ 245—6 (a *hired* animal).

14. *borrow* (an animal)] No object is expressed in the Heb.: it must be understood from *vv.* 10—13. The sequel shews that an animal is intended. 'Borrow' is lit. *ask*: so 2 K. vi. 5. Cf. on xii. 36. *be hurt*] lit. *broken*, as *v.* 10.

15. *it came for its hire*] and therefore, it is presumed, the owner was prepared to take the risk, so that compensation for injury is unnecessary. The sense expressed by the marg. is hardly likely: for if the cost of compensation in the possible case of injury or death were included in the hire, it would make this unreasonably high. Others understand *sākīr* in its usual sense of a 'hired servant,' and make an entirely new case of *v.* 15^b, rendering: *If it be a hired servant* (who, viz., has injured his own master's animal), *it* (the damage) *cometh into his hire*, and is gradually worked off by him (so Kautzsch and Socin, Bä., Ryssel). The connexion with *vv.* 14, 15^a is however in this case inexact; for the 'it' is not, as in *v.* 15^a, one who has *borrowed* the animal from its owner, but one who has been *entrusted* with it by his master.

16, 17. Compensation for the seduction of an unbetrothed maiden. The unmarried and unbetrothed daughter counts as part of her father's property; by the loss of her virginity her value is diminished; her father consequently has a claim for compensation; and the seducer must pay the price sufficient to make the girl his wife. Comp. Dt. xxii. 28, 29 (where, however, the case contemplated is one not of seduction, but of rape). The seduction of a *betrothed* maiden is regarded as virtually the same thing as adultery: this is dealt with in Dt. xxii. 23—27.

E And if a man entice a virgin that is not betrothed, and 16
lie with her, he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be his
wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he 17
shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.

Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live. 18

16. *a* **marriage-price**] Heb. *mōhar*, Arab. *mahr*; i.e.—not a 'dowry,' but—the price paid for the wife to her parents or family, according to ancient Hebrew custom (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 12, 1 S. xviii. 25). The same custom prevailed anciently, and prevails still, in many other parts of the world (see Post, *Familienrecht*, pp. 157 ff., 173 ff.): cf., for instance, the Homeric ἕδνα or ἔεδνα, *Il.* xvi. 178; *Od.* xvi. 391 f., xxi. 160—162, &c.; and, for Arabia, W. R. Smith, *Marriage and Kinship in Ancient Arabia*, p. 78 f. The *mōhar* was paid at the time of betrothal; and its payment ratified the engagement. The amount varied naturally with the relative circumstances of the two parties; and was a subject of mutual agreement between the suitor and the girl's family (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 12).

17. If, however, the father will not give her in marriage to her seducer, he must still pay him the usual **marriage-price** that would be expected for a daughter. In Dt. xxii. 28 the penalty for rape is 50 shekels of silver (about £7), not quite twice the ordinary price of a slave (Ex. xxi. 32).

xxii. **18**—xxiii. **19.** A collection of miscellaneous moral, religious, and ceremonial commands, not very systematically arranged. They correspond to the 'words' of xxiv. 3 (see on xxi. 1): with few exceptions, all are introduced by *Thou shalt*: even where the opening word is *If*, *thou shalt* generally follows (xxii. 25, 26, xxiii. 4, 5). The moral commands are prompted chiefly by motives of philanthropy and equity: the religious and ceremonial ones are comprised in xxii. 20, 28—31, xxiii. 10—13, 14—19 (cf. xx. 23—26). It is probable that in parts the original laws have had parenetic additions made to them by the compiler.

18. Magic and divination were practised extensively in the ancient world, as indeed they are still among uncivilised peoples and among the uneducated even in civilised countries: we have particularly abundant information respecting the practice of them in Assyria (see briefly the writer's *Daniel*, in the *Camb. Bible*, p. 13 ff., more fully Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Ass.* (1898), pp. 352—406). As inconsistent with the spirit of the religion of Jehovah, as fostering superstition, and as associated commonly with heathen beliefs, they are condemned repeatedly in the OT.: see Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27 (all H), and esp. Dt. xviii. 10, 11, the *locus classicus* on the subject, where eight types are enumerated (see the writer's note *ad loc.*); and often in the prophets. See further on the subject, with numerous illustrations of the methods of magic practised in different parts of the world, O. C. Whitehouse's articles MAGIC, SOOTHSAYER, SORCERY, in *DB*.

a sorceress] The fem. (only here) of the word rendered *sorcerer* in

19 Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death. *E*
20 He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD
21 only, shall be [1]utterly destroyed. And a stranger shalt thou

[1] Heb. *devoted.* See Lev. xxvii. 29.

Dt. xviii. 10, Mal. iii. 5, 2 Ch. xxxiii. 6, Dan. ii. 2†: cf. Jer. xxvii. 9; and *sorceries* in 2 K. ix. 22, Mic. v. 11, Nah. iii. 4, Is. xlvii. 9, 12†. Mic. v. 11 seems to shew that the 'sorceries' were something *material*, such as drugs, herbs, &c., used superstitiously for the purpose of producing magical effects. Sorcery was resorted to for all kinds of purposes, to heal diseases, to ward off disasters, to bring misfortune upon a neighbour, to inspire a woman with love, &c.; it was often supposed to operate by the power obtained through incantations or other spells over spirits (the Arab. *jinn*).

The law is one which, as the reader need hardly be reminded, has often been wofully misapplied, and led to the committal of great cruelties: witches were often burnt in the middle ages; and they were executed in England as late as 1716. The right feeling that sorcery is debasing and superstitious finds expression in a law which is no doubt not out of harmony with the severe punishments common in the East, even to modern times,—and even, we may add, in mediaeval Europe; but the law belongs to the older dispensation, and does not breathe the spirit of Christ (Luke ix. 55). The rise of a historical sense, and the recognition that the revelation contained in the OT. was progressive, and that the laws given to Israel are not, simply as such, binding upon Christian nations, have taught men that an injunction such as this can have no place in a Christian law-book.

19. Cf. Lev. xviii. 23, xx. 15 f. (both H); Dt. xxvii. 21.

20. Sacrifice by an Israelite to any god save Jehovah to be punished with the ban. Jehovah is a 'jealous God' (xx. 5), who does not tolerate the worship of any other god beside Himself.

utterly destroyed] **banned** or **devoted.** The 'ban' (*ḥērem*) was an archaic institution, often alluded to in the OT. A city or nation that was hostile to Jehovah was 'banned,' or 'devoted' (etymologically, as Arabic shews, *separated* or *set apart*[1]), i.e. given over to Him as a form of offering, human beings being destroyed, with or without the cattle and spoil as well, according to the gravity of the occasion. For examples, see Dt. ii. 34 f., iii. 6 f., vii. 2, xiii. 12—18 (an idolatrous Isr. city to be 'devoted'), Jos. vi. 17—19, 21, Jud. i. 17, xxi. 11, 1 S. xv. 3, 9. Here the 'ban' is to be put in force against the Israelite who is disloyal to Jehovah. The ban was also a Moabite institution. Mesha in his inscription (see *DB.* s.v. MOAB, or *EB.* s.v. MESHA), ll. 16—18 tells us how, after he had carried off the 'vessels of Yahweh' from the town

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[1] The root is the Arabic *ḥarama*, to *shut off, set apart*, whence *ḥarām*, the sacred enclosure round the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, and *ḥarīm*, the secluded part of a Mohammedan establishment, in which the women live, applied also to its occupants, i.e. the 'harem.'

R^{JE} not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: | for ye were
strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any 22
E widow, or fatherless child. | If thou afflict them in any wise, 23
and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry;

of Nebo (Nu. xxxii. 38), and dragged them before Chemosh, he slew 7000 Israelite prisoners, for he had 'devoted' the city to Ashtor-Chemosh (cf. Nu. xxi. 2 f.). See further *DB.* v. 619^{b}, *EB.* BAN.

In AV. *heḥĕrîm* was usually rendered 'utterly destroy,' and the corresponding subst. *ḥérem* 'cursed thing' (Dt. vii. 26), or (in Jos. vi., vii.) 'accursed thing': but these renderings both express secondary ideas, besides being to all appearance entirely unrelated to each other: in RV. the verb, when applied to *things*, is rendered 'devote' (as Lev. xxvii. 29 AV.); when applied to *human beings* it is still rendered 'utterly destroy,' but 'Heb. *devote*' has been added on the margin; and 'devoted thing' has been substituted for 'cursed' and 'accursed thing' (e.g. Jos. vi. 18, vii. 1 ff.): the connexion between the two cognate terms has thus been preserved throughout.

21—27. A group of humanitarian laws. The *gêr*, or resident foreigner, the widow, and the orphan not to be oppressed, *vv.* 21—24; interest not to be taken from the poor, *v.* 25; a garment taken in pledge to be returned before nightfall, *vv.* 26 f.

21. *a* **sojourner** *shalt thou not wrong...: for ye were* **sojourners** *in the land of Egypt*] The 'sojourner' (*gêr*), or resident foreigner (see on xii. 48; and cf. ii. 22, xx. 10), had at this time no legal status in Israel, and was thus liable in many ways to injustice and oppression. With this injunction comp. Lev. xix. 33, 34, Dt. i. 16, x. 18 f., and the other passages from Dt. and Jer. cited on *v.* 22; for allusions to the oppression of the *gêr*, see Ez. xxii. 7, 29, Mal. iii. 5.

wrong] Heb. *hônāh*; cf. Lev. xix. 33 ('oppress'), also of the *gêr*.

oppress] lit. *crush* (Nu. xxii. 25): fig. of external oppressors, Jud. ii. 18 *al.*; as here, only Ex. xxiii. 9 besides.

for ye were **sojourners**, &c.] The same motive, in exactly the same words, in xxiii. 9, Lev. xix. 34 (H), Dt. x. 19. For the cognate verb used of the 'sojourn' in Egypt, see Gen. xii. 10 (of Abraham), Ex. vi. 4, Dt. xxvi. 5, Is. lii. 4, Ps. cv. 12.

22. The helpless widow, and orphan, not to be oppressed. The widow, the orphan, and the 'sojourner,' as liable in various ways to suffer from rapacious judges, and hard-hearted moneyed men, are constantly commended to the philanthropic regard of the Israelite in Dt. (x. 18, xiv. 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 17, 19, 20, 21, xxvi. 12, 13, xxvii. 19); so in the prophets, Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3; cf. Is. i. 17, and elsewhere. Contrast Job's conduct (xxxi. 16, 17, 21).

23, 24. If the Israelite does this, Jehovah will treat him with a just retribution.

23. *If thou afflict* **him** *in any wise, and* **he** *cry at all unto me, I will surely hear* **his** *cry*] so the Heb., making it probable that *vv.* 21^{b}, 22 (which are moreover distinguished from the context by the plur. *ye*), 24

24 | and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the *RJE*
sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children
fatherless.

25 If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that is *E*
poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither shall
26 ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy neighbour's

(which will naturally go with *v.* 22) are an addition to the original text. It is true, there are not unfrequent cases in poetry, when a class of persons has been spoken of, of their being referred to individually by a sing. pronoun (see G.-K. § 145^{m}; and the passages collected in the writer's *Jeremiah*, p. 362); but this is very unusual in prose: such passages as Gen. ii. 19, Lev. xxi. 7, xxv. 31, Dt. vii. 3, Jos. xxiv. 7, Jud. xii. 5, xxi. 6, are hardly parallel to the present one.

cry...unto me] cf. Dt. xv. 9, xxiv. 15; also Jas. v. 4.

24. Those who had shewn heartlessness towards widows and orphans will perish in battle (cf. Is. ix. 17), and their wives and children will become widows and orphans themselves.

25. Interest not to be taken on money lent to the poor.

as a creditor] exacting and impatient: cf. 2 K. iv. 1, Ps. cix. 11 (where the same word is rendered 'extortioner').

usury] **interest.** This was formerly the sense of 'usury' (Lat. *usura*, something paid for the *use* of money); but the word is now restricted to exorbitant interest; the rendering has consequently become misleading. The taking of interest is prohibited also in Lev. xxv. 36 f. (H), and Dt. xxiii. 19 f.: it is referred to also with disapproval in Ez. xviii. 8, 13, 17, xxii. 12, Prov. xxviii. 8, Ps. xv. 5 (as what the model Israelite would not do). The same feeling against taking interest on money lent was entertained by Greek thinkers (see Plato, *Legg.* v. 742; Arist. *Polit.* i. 10. 5): it was also shared largely in the early Christian Church. Many good Christians, however, now put out their money on interest: what, then, is the cause of the change of feeling? The cause is to be found in the different purpose for which money is now lent. In modern times money is commonly lent for *commercial* purposes, to enable the borrower to increase his capital and develope his business: and it is as natural and proper that a reasonable payment should be made for this accommodation, as that it should be made for the loan (i.e. the hire) of a house, or any other commodity. But this use of loans is a modern development: in ancient times money was commonly lent for the relief of poverty brought about by misfortune or debt; it partook thus of the nature of a *charity*; and to take interest on money thus lent was felt to be making gain out of a neighbour's need. The interest which ancient feeling condemned was thus not the interest taken on a *commercial* loan, such as is taken habitually in the modern world, but the interest taken on a *charitable* loan, which only increases the borrower's distress. But the feeling with which the ancients regarded *all* interest is of course still rightly maintained against *usurious* interest, such as 'money-lenders'

E garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the
sun goeth down: for that is his only covering, it is his garment 27
for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass,
when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.
Thou shalt not revile [1]God, nor curse a ruler of thy 28

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[1] Or, *the judges*

often exact from those whom need drives into their hands. Cf. the remarks of Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, Part II., ch. xi., in connexion with the measures adopted by Solon at Athens for the relief of those who had borrowed money on the security of their own persons (cf. 2 K. iv. 1).

26, 27. A garment taken in pledge to be returned before sun-down. Cf. Ḥamm. § 241. Comp. Dt. xxiv. 6, 10—13, where other limitations are placed on the arbitrary power of the creditor. Loans on interest are forbidden, in Dt. (xxiii. 19 f.) not less than here (*v.* 25): but loans on the security of a pledge are permitted, under certain provisos checking harsh or arbitrary action on the part of the creditor; he is not, for instance, to enter the house of the debtor to choose his own pledge, or to take in pledge an article necessary to life, such as the domestic hand-mill. For pledges given on a large scale as security for a loan, see Neh. v. 3 (where houses and vineyards were, as we should say in such a case, mortgaged), 5 (children). Allusions to abuses in the exaction or retention of pledges are contained in Am. ii. 8, Ez. xviii. 12, 16 (contrast *v.* 7), xxxiii. 15, Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 3, 9.

26. *garment*] **mantle** (Heb. *salmāh*), the large rectangular piece of cloth described in the note on xii. 34; perhaps the only article that a poor man would have to offer as a pledge, as well as his only covering by night (*v.* 27). The mantle might be retained by the debtor, in order that he might sleep in it himself: see Dt. xxiv. 12. A garment was a common pledge: see not only Am. ii. 8, Job xxii. 6, already quoted, but also Prov. xx. 16 = xxvii. 13. The poor still sleep in Palestine in their ordinary clothes (*L. and B.* i. 54, 99, iii. 89); cf. Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant* (1738), p. 290 (cited by Kn.).

27. *wherein*, &c.] i.e. wherein *else* can he sleep?

gracious] see on xxxiv. 6; and cf. xxxiii. 19.

28. Reverence to be shewn to God, and to those in authority.

revile] the word (*ḳālal*) usually rendered *curse* (e.g. xxi. 17): here represented by *revile*, because of the syn. (*'ārar*) in *v.* 28^{b}.

God] The paraphrase *judges* (RVm.) is not here admissible; for though 'to go to God' might mean to go to the judges, as the representatives or spokesmen of God, this would not justify 'God' in any connexion being taken to signify *judges*. LXX. θεούς, Vulg. *diis*, AV. *the gods*; and so Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8, 10, *c. Ap.* ii. 33, and Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. p. 166, *de Mon.* i. p. 219 (cited by Kn.), understanding the passage, in a sense agreeable to the circumstances of their own time, of heathen gods: but this, though quite legitimate grammatically, would make the precept one very alien to the spirit of the OT.

a ruler] lit. *one lifted up*, i.e. placed above others in a position of

29 people. Thou shalt not delay to offer of [1]the abundance *E*
of thy fruits, and of thy liquors. The firstborn of thy sons

[1] Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear.*

authority. A word very common (see on xvi. 22) in P and Ezek., but rare elsewhere. The command is quoted by St Paul in Acts xxiii. 5, almost exactly as it stands in the LXX. Cf. Prov. xxiv. 21, Rom. xiii. 1, 1 Pet. i. 17, ii. 13.

29—31. A group of fundamental ceremonial injunctions. Jehovah's customary due from the first annual produce of the threshing-floor and the wine-press to be promptly paid: firstborn males, both of men and animals, to be given to Him; flesh torn of beasts not to be eaten. The laws are stated here tersely and generally: more detailed, and sometimes discrepant, regulations are given in the later codes.

29^a. *thy* **fulness** *and thy* **trickling** *thou shalt not delay*] A paraphrase is a necessity for English idiom: but it obliterates the characteristic curtness of the original. The two substantives are paraphrased by LXX., no doubt correctly, by 'the firstfruits of thy threshing-floor and of thy wine-press.' Both expressions are, however, peculiar, and no doubt archaic. 'Fulness' is used similarly in Nu. xviii. 27 (P) 'like the *fulness* [in the parallel, *v.* 30, 'increase,' 'produce'] from the wine-vat, and the corn from the threshing-floor' (offered viz. by the Israelites as tithe): it seems to mean properly *full yield* (RVm. *abundance*)—here of the newly threshed corn, as in Nu. *l.c.* of the freshly expressed grape-juice. Naturally it does not signify here the *whole* yield of the year, but only that part of it which was offered to Jehovah as 'firstfruits' (cf. xxiii. 16, 19). 'Trickling' (the masc. of the ordinary Heb. word for 'tear'), whatever the true explanation of the expression may be[1], pretty clearly denotes the freshly extracted juice of the grape (*tīrōsh*, 'must'),—perhaps also (but see footnote) of the olive (*yiẓhār*, 'fresh oil') as well.

The dedication to the deity of a portion of the new produce of the year is a widely prevalent custom. 'Primitive peoples often partake of the new corn sacramentally, because they suppose it to be instinct with a divine spirit of life. At a later age, when the fruits of the earth are conceived as created rather than as animated by divinity, the new fruits are no longer partaken of sacramentally; but a portion of them is presented as a thank-offering to the divine beings who are supposed to have produced them....Till the firstfruits have been presented to the deity, people are not at liberty to eat of the new crops' (Frazer, *The Golden*

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[1] Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 913, cites the expression '*tear* of the vine' for wine; and A. R. S. Kennedy (*EB.* iv. 5314, s.v. WINE AND STRONG DRINK) refers to the Spanish *lagrima*, 'tear,' the name for wine made from grape-juice which has exuded from the grapes without pressure. Such wine has always been considered superior to that made from juice extracted by treading the grapes; and as this method of obtaining grape-juice is mentioned in the Mishnah, and is still practised in Syria,—the grapes being laid out for some days on a *mishtāḥ*, or 'spreading-place,' from which the exuding juice trickled down into the wine-vat (see *ibid.*),—it is possible that the choice juice so obtained is what is here meant. If this explanation is correct, however, 'oil' will not have been included in the term; and the inclusion of this in the firstfruits (Dt. xviii. 4, &c.) will not have taken place till later.

E shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine 30
oxen, *and* with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its
dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me. And ye 31
shall be holy men unto me: therefore ye shall not eat any

Bough,[2] ii. 459, with numerous examples, pp. 318—340, 459—471, some excerpted by Dr Gray, *Numbers*, p. 225 f.). Cf. Lev. xxiii. 14^a (H), Dt. xxvi. 1—11.

29^b, 30. Like the firstfruits of the soil, the firstborn of men and animals are also to be given to Jehovah. This principle has been laid down before, xiii. 1, 2 (P), 11—16 (J): see on xiii. 1, 2, and p. 409.

shalt thou give unto me] *how* it is to be given is not stated: exactly the same expression is used in *v.* 30 of animals (which were sacrificed). The principle is formulated in general terms, which must have been interpreted in the light of the usage of the time: how it was understood in practice is stated by J (xiii. 13^b=xxxiv. 20^b).

30. The firstling of a cow or sheep to be given to Jehovah on the eighth day after birth. The 'eighth day' agrees with the general principle (Lev. xxii. 27 H), that no animal might be offered in sacrifice till it was of that age. The present law evidently presupposes a plurality of local sanctuaries (cf. on xx. 24): a journey to Jerusalem, every time that a firstling of cow or sheep was born, would naturally be out of the question. In Dt. (xv. 19 f.) no age-limit is prescribed, but the firstlings are to be taken 'year by year,'—i.e. no doubt mostly, as cattle in Arabia chiefly yean in spring (p. 411; *Rel. Sem.*[2] 465), at *Maẓẓoth*,—to the central sanctuary, and eaten there at a sacred meal by the owner and his household: the older usage has thus been accommodated to the later principle of a single sanctuary. Nothing is said here about the firstlings of *unclean* animals: see in J xiii. 13^a=xxxiv. 20^a.

31^a. Flesh torn by wild beasts not to be eaten.

holy men] 'Holy' is a word with a history; and the ideas expressed by it in the OT. do not appear to have been always the same. 'Its connotation would seem to have been at first physical and ceremonial, and to have become gradually more and more ethical and spiritual' (Sanday-Headlam on Rom. i. 7). Originally, like all such words, it had naturally a physical sense, now completely lost both in Heb. and in the other Semitic languages, but conjectured to have been that of separation. In actual usage it expresses the idea of *belonging to deity*, whether of the character of deity itself (cf. on xv. 11), or of the character of men or things as belonging to Him: as the conception of deity became elevated and purified, the idea expressed by 'holy' became elevated and purified likewise, till at last it expressed the idea of most absolute purity and sanctity. Here the context shews that it must be used in one of its lower senses: it is followed by a command, not to shun and abhor every kind of evil, for instance, or to be morally pure or saintly, but by the purely *ceremonial* command not to eat flesh torn by beasts: the 'holiness' is thus not moral, but *ritual*. In Dt. vii. 6,

flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to *E*
the dogs.

23 Thou shalt not take up a false report: put not thine hand
2 with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness. Thou shalt
not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou [1]speak

[1] Or, *bear witness*

xiv. 2, xxvi. 19, it is used in a higher sense: for it is in each case connected with some prohibition of idolatry or superstition, or an exhortation to obey Jehovah's moral commands. See further, on the idea of Holiness, Sanday-Headlam, *l.c.*; A. B. Davidson, *Theol. of OT.*, pp. 144—160; Skinner, art. HOLINESS in *DB.*; Simcox, art. CLEAN AND UNCLEAN in *EB.*

and *flesh in the field*, **a torn animal,** *ye shall not eat*] The Heb. is not very natural; and perhaps, with LXX. (who express 'flesh torn of beasts' alone), Budde, Bä., we should read simply, 'and the flesh of a torn animal ye shall not eat,' regarding בשׂדה 'in the field' as a dittograph of בשׂר 'flesh.' For *ṭ^{e}rēphāh*, 'that which is torn (by wild beasts),' or 'a torn animal,' see *v.* 13, Gen. xxxi. 39. With the present law, comp. Lev. xvii. 15 (P), where lustrations are prescribed for those who have eaten either *n^{e}bhēlāh* ('a carcase,' 'that which dieth of itself') or *ṭ^{e}rēphāh*, but neither is in so many words prohibited as food[1], and Dt. xiv. 21, where the eating of *n^{e}bhēlāh* is prohibited, but nothing is said about *ṭ^{e}rēphāh.* The reason of both prohibitions is doubtless to be found in the fact that such flesh had not been properly drained of blood (Dt. xii. 16, 23, &c.).

xxiii. **1—3.** Veracity and impartiality to be observed, especially in giving evidence in a court of law. Cf. (in H) Lev. xix. 15—18.

1^a. A groundless report not to be given currency—as might readily happen, for instance, from thoughtlessness or malice. Cf. Lev. xix. 16.

take up] on the lips, i.e. *utter.* Cf. on xx. 7.

a **groundless** *report*] On *shāw'*, 'groundless,' see on xx. 7.

1^b. Not to assist the evildoer by giving dishonest witness.

put not thy hand with] make not common cause with: cf. for the idiom 2 K. xv. 19, Jer. xxvi. 24.

the wicked] or, as in ii. 13, **him that is in the wrong.**

an unrighteous witness] better, *a* **malicious** *witness*: lit. *a witness* **of violence** (so Dt. xix. 16, Ps. xxxv. 11 †), i.e. a witness who seeks to subvert the innocent, either (*ll.cc.*) directly, or, as here, by assisting to clear the guilty.

2. Not to follow a majority blindly for evil purposes, or, in particular, to pervert justice.

to do evil] lit. *into evil things.*

speak] **answer** (in a court of law), i.e. **bear witness** (RVm.), as xx. 16. The Heb. *'ānāh* never means simply to 'speak.'

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[1] Both were prohibited absolutely to *priests* (Lev. xxii. 8; Ez. xliv. 31, cf. iv. 14).

E in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to wrest *judgement*:
neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause. 3
If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, 4
thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see 5
the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, [1]and
wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with
him.

[1] Or, *and wouldest forbear to release* it *for him*, *thou shalt surely release* it *with him*

to turn aside after] Jud. ix. 3 Heb., 1 S. viii. 3, 1 K. ii. 28 Heb.
to wrest] or, as the same word is rendered in *v.* 6 and elsewhere, *to pervert* (lit. to *turn aside*): see Dt. xvi. 19, xxiv. 17, xxvii. 19, 1 S. viii. 3, Lam. iii. 35. (To 'turn aside' a man from his right is also said (sometimes with 'from his right' omitted): Is. x. 2, xxix. 21, Am. v. 12, Prov. xviii. 5, Mal. iii. 5). The text of this verse is in parts suspicious: but no doubt the same general sense was always expressed by it.

3. Judgement to be given with strict impartiality.
favour] lit. *adorn*, i.e. *honour* (Lev. xix. 15, 32, Lam. v. 12)—in a bad sense, *honour unduly=favour*, viz. out of false sympathy, or antipathy to the rich and powerful. 'The sense is good, and supported by Lev. xix. 15: one would expect, however, a warning against the far more common fault of favouring a great man, if not in place of the present warning, at least (as in Lev. xix. 15) by the side of it' (Di.). Kn., Bä. and others, by a very slight change (גדל for ודל), would read, 'Thou shalt not honour *a great man* in his cause.'

4, 5. An *enemy's* beast to be preserved from harm. These two injunctions breathe a spirit unusual in the OT. (cf., however, Lev. xix. 17, 18), and reminding one of Mt. v. 44. They are repeated in Dt. xxii. 1—4, in an expanded form, accommodating them to the spirit and point of view of Deuteronomy. They can hardly be here in their original place; for they evidently interrupt the connexion between *vv.* 1—3 and *vv.* 6—9: they would follow better after xxii. 24 or 27.

4. *thine enemy's ox*] that such a service would be rendered to a *friend*, is taken for granted. In Dt. the comprehensive term 'brother,' i.e. fellow-countryman, is employed, in accordance with the prevalent usage of that book (cf. Dt. xv. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, xvii. 15 *al.*).

5. *and wouldest forbear*, &c.] This rend. (=AV.) of the existing text is quite impossible: *'āzab* means to *leave*, *forsake*, &c., but never to 'help.' That of the marg. is much preferable: for the uncommon sense *let loose* or *release*, cf. Dt. xxxii. 36, Job x. 1. Ges., Di., Keil render, *thou shalt forbear to leave* (it) *to him* (alone); *thou shalt surely release* (it) *with him*; the objection to this is that *'āzab* is taken in a different sense in the two parts of the verse; Ges., however, supposed the play to be intentional. The difficulty could be removed by reading

6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his *E*
7 cause. Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent
and righteous slay thou not: for I will not justify the wicked.
8 And thou shalt take no gift: for a gift blindeth them that
9 have sight, and perverteth the [1]words of the righteous. And

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[1] Or, *cause*

in the last clause, with Bochart, Bä., *thou shalt* **surely help** *with him* (עזר תעזר for עזב תעזב). The rend. *thou shalt forbear* is perfectly grammatical: but it is in favour of RVm. that nearly everywhere else in these laws (e.g. *v.* 4) the apodosis after *ki* is introduced by a bare impf. Dt. xxii. 4 has, 'thou shalt surely *lift* (them) *up* with him.'

6—9. Justice to be administered impartially: bribes not to be taken; the poor and the *gêr* not to be oppressed. The verses form the continuation of *vv.* 1—3, *vv.* 1—3 dealing with fairness in bearing *witness*, and these verses with fairness in administering *justice*.

6. Cf. Dt. i. 17; and, more generally, Lev. xix. 15 (H), Dt. xvi. 19. As is well known, the maladministration of justice is, and always has been, a crying evil among Oriental nations; and the poor, especially, are rarely able to get their rights. Comp. allusions in the OT., Am. v. 12, Is. x. 2, Jer. v. 28, Ps. x. 17, lxxxii. 4, Prov. xxxi. 9; also Jer. xxii. 16 (where Josiah is praised for having 'judged the cause of the poor and the needy'), Ps. lxxii. 12—14.

7. *a false matter*] i.e., as the context shews, a case that can only be carried through with the help of false statements, and false witnesses.

slay thou not] by false accusations, false witness, or an unjust sentence. The words are addressed indifferently to accuser, witness, and judge. Cf. Dt. xxvii. 25, Ps. xciv. 6, 21.

for I **do** *not justify the wicked*] I do not justify the man who is in the wrong (*v.* 1^b), and who accuses the innocent unjustly; and therefore the judges should act similarly. LXX. however read, **and thou shalt** *not justify the wicked*, which may be the original reading (Bä.); cf. Dt. xxv. 1.

8. *gift* (twice)] **bribe**, as the same word is rendered in EVV. of 1 S. viii. 3, Is. xxxiii. 15, and in RV. of Ez. xxii. 12. It is true, 'gift' had this sense in Old English; but the Heb. word means distinctively a 'bribe,' and there are places in which the sense of 'gift' is not clear. The same word (*shōḥad*) is also sometimes rendered 'reward.' See, for allusions to the practice of taking bribes, Is. i. 23, v. 23, Mic. iii. 11, Ez. xxii. 12, Ps. xxvi. 10, Prov. xvii. 8, 23; it is what the righteous man never does, Ps. xv. 5, Is. xxxiii. 15, nor Jehovah, Dt. x. 17; it is forbidden, as here, in Dt. xvi. 19, and cursed, if its object be to 'slay an innocent person,' in Dt. xxvii. 25. The prevalence of bribery in the East is notorious; see a singular case, in which the chief Ḳaḍi of Cairo was implicated, in Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i. 145 ff.

for a **bribe** *blindeth* **the open-eyed,** *and* **subverteth** *the* **cause** (RVm.) *of the righteous*] The whole verse is repeated *verbatim* in Dt. xvi. 19,

R^{JE} a stranger shalt thou not oppress: | for ye know the heart
of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.
E And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather 10
in the increase thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt 11

except that 'eyes of the wise' is substituted for 'open-eyed.' For 'words,' i.e. statements, arguments, pleas, which in a forensic connexion are tantamount in the aggregate to a 'case' or 'cause,' see xxiv. 14, with the note, Jos. xx. 4 (lit. 'his *words*'), 2 S. xv. 3 (lit. 'thy *words*'). For 'subverteth,' cf. Prov. xix. 3, xxii. 12 ('overthroweth').

9. The *gêr*, or foreigner 'sojourning' in Israel, not to be 'crushed.' Identical, in great measure verbally, with xxii. 21: here, no doubt, directed specially against unfair judgement (cf. Dt. xxiv. 17 'Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of the *sojourner*,' xxvii. 19, Mal. iii. 5).

stranger (each time)] **sojourner**: see on xxii. 21.

for **ye** (emph.) *know...*, *seeing ye were* **sojourners**, &c.] see on xxii. 21.

the heart] lit. *the soul*, i.e. the feelings.

10—12. The seventh year to be a fallow year, and the seventh day to be a day of rest. The motive, it may be noticed, is in each case a philanthropic one.

10, 11. The fallow year. In every seventh year the fields, vineyards, and olive-gardens are to remain uncultivated, such produce as they bear naturally being not gathered by the owners, but left to the poor. The terms in which the law is expressed leave it uncertain whether (as is generally supposed) a year common to the whole land is intended, or (Riehm, *HWB.* s.v. SABBATHJAHR; Wellh. *Hist.* p. 117 f.; Nowack, *Archäol.* ii. 162; W. R. Smith in *EB.* iv. 4180; Bä.) one varying with the different properties, and reckoned in each from the year in which it first began to be cultivated: the analogy of *v.* 12 would favour the former interpretation; practical considerations, and the analogy of Lev. xix. 23—25, would support the latter. In Lev. xxv. 1—7 (H) it is represented as a fixed year to be observed throughout the country simultaneously; but this does not determine the question whether it had that character from the beginning. A common septennial fallow year, must, in practice, have had its inconveniences: 2 Ch. xxxvi. 21 (cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, 35) seems to imply that it was not observed, at least regularly, before the exile: but there are several notices of its observance in the Greek period (e.g. 1 Macc. vi. 49, 53: *DB.* iv. 325$^{\mathrm{b}}$).

11. *thou shalt* **let it drop** *and* **abandon it**] viz. the land, less probably the increase: RV. (substantially = AV.) is a paraphrase. The word rendered *let drop* means properly to *fling* or *throw down* (2 K. ix. 33, of Jezebel). In Dt. xv. 2, 3 it is differently applied; and is used of *letting* a debt *drop* every seventh year, in the 'year of *dropping*' or 'of release' (Dt. xv. 1, 2, 9); and the rend. *release* in RVm. here brings out this connexion—though, it is true, it is not more than a verbal one—with the law of Dt. xv. 1—6.

[1]let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may *E*
eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat.
In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, *and* with
12 thy oliveyard. Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on
the seventh day thou shalt [2]rest: that thine ox and thine
ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and

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[1] Or, *release it and let it lie fallow* See Deut. xv. 2.
[2] Or, *keep sabbath*

abandon] or *leave*, *let go*; rendered 'forgo' in Neh. x. 31.

that the poor, &c.] contrast Lev. xxv. 6, 7.

In Lev. xxv. 1—7, 20—22 (H), the fallow year, whatever may be the case in Ex., becomes, as has just been remarked, a fixed year for the whole country; and the motive is no longer exclusively a philanthropic one, but a *religious* one, viz. that the land may 'keep a sabbath to Jehovah' (whence the term 'sabbatical year'): in Dt. xv. 1—6 it receives an entirely different application, and becomes a fixed septennial 'year of release,' applied for the relief of the poor debtor, by the exaction of debts being prohibited in it. Whether however even the present passage gives the original motive of the institution may be doubted. Analogous usages in other countries (see Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, pp. 77—79, 107—113, &c.; Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, 1880, pp. 24—26, 29—32, 64—70) suggest that it may be a relic of communistic agriculture, i.e. of a stage of society in which the fields belonging to a village are the property of the villagers collectively, individuals only acquiring the use of particular portions for a limited period, and the produce, at stated intervals, reverting to the use of the community generally. The fallow year of Ex. and Lev. is similarly an institution limiting the rights of individual ownership in the interests of the community generally: in Ex. the institution is applied so as to minister to the needs of the poorer classes; in Lev. xxv. 1—7 the prominent idea is the benefit which the land would derive from remaining periodically uncultivated.

12. The sabbath, treated here as a day of cessation from (in particular) *field-labour*, designed with a humanitarian end.

thy work] The word (*ma'ăseh*),—which is not the same as the one (*m^{e}lā'khāh*) rendered 'work' in xx. 10,—though in itself a general one, seems rather from the context to suggest work in the field: cf. *v.* 16, where it is twice rendered 'labours'; also Dt. xiv. 29, xvi. 15, xxiv. 19, xxviii. 12 (note in each case the context).

rest] **desist** (from work), or **keep sabbath** (RVm.): see on xx 8.

and thine ass may **rest**] as xx. 11. This is the word that expresses the positive idea of *rest* (Job iii. 13, 17). ('Have rest' in RV. is intended for distinction from 'rest' just before; but it is better to express the distinction by giving a more exact rendering of *shābath*.)

the son of thy **bondwoman**] i.e. a slave 'born in the house' (cf. on xii. 44), of parents who were themselves slaves—intended, it must be

R^{JE} the stranger, may be refreshed. | And in all things that I have 13
said unto you take ye heed: and make no mention of the
name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy
mouth.

supposed, to represent slaves in general (cf. Dt. v. 14 *end*): as Di. remarks, most slaves were probably of this kind. Bertholet (*Die Stellung der Isr. u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 55) and Bä. think 'the son of thy concubine' to be meant (cf. the sense of *'āmāh* in xxi. 7 [see note]); but there seems no sufficient reason for this limitation.

the **sojourner**] the sojourner in thy employment (xx. 10).

be refreshed] properly, *get breath*: so xxxi. 17, 2 S. xvi. 14†.

13. God's commands to be honoured; and 'other gods' not even to be mentioned, still less invoked in worship. The verse can hardly be in place in the midst of laws relating to sacred seasons. It reads like the conclusion, perhaps added by a compiler, either to the Book of the Covenant itself, or to one of the smaller collections of laws, out of which (cf. p. 203) the Book of the Covenant seems to have been formed. Probably it has found its present place as a result of successive expansions or transpositions of the text. It is impossible to determine its original position: but it would follow suitably *v.* 19.

make] Heb. *make ye*; Sam. *make thou*.

other gods] See on xx. 3. With the clause itself comp. Jos. xxiii. 7 (D^{2}).

upon (Ps. l. 16 Heb.) *thy mouth*] Cf. Hos. ii. 17 [Heb. 19], Zech. xiii. 2, Ps. xvi. 4.

14—19. Further ceremonial regulations (cf. xx. 24—26, xxii. 29—31).

14—17. The three annual pilgrimages, at which every male was to appear before God at a sanctuary. These pilgrimages were festivals which marked originally stages in the agricultural operations of the year: they were the occasions of thanksgiving to Jehovah, the Owner of the land, for the gifts of the soil—the festivals of *Maẓẓoth* and Harvest celebrating the beginning and close of harvest, and the feast of Ingathering the completion of the vintage and olive-gathering. In later times a historical significance was attached to them, and they were regarded as commemorative of events connected with the Exodus; in the case of *Maẓẓoth* and Ingathering this character is attached to them in the OT. itself, in the case of the feast of Harvest (or of Weeks), it is first met with in the post-Bibl. literature (see on *v.* 16^{a}). The present passage, with the nearly verbal parallel in xxxiv. 18, 22 f., contains the earliest legislation on the subject: the festivals are already recognized institutions; and the Israelite is merely commanded to observe them. The later codes prescribe the ritual with which, as time went on, they gradually came to be celebrated: see Dt. xvi. 1—17; Lev. xxiii. (H, expanded in parts from P); Nu. xxviii.—xxix. (P); and (for *Maẓẓoth*) Ex. xii. 14—20 (also P).

14 Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year. *E*
15 The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: | seven *R^{JE}*
days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded
thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it
thou camest out from Egypt); and none shall appear before

14. *times*] Heb. *r^{e}gālīm*, lit. *feet*, i.e. *foot-beats*, fig. for 'times'; so besides only Nu. xxii. 28, 32, 33 (also E). In *v.* 17 the more ordinary Heb. word is used (*p^{e}ʽāmīm*).

keep a **pilgrimage**] The word (*ḥag*) means a feast accompanied by a pilgrimage (see on x. 9): there were only *three* of these in the Jewish year. *Ḥag* is to be carefully distinguished from the wider term *môʽēd* (rendered variously in RV. *set feast*, *appointed feast*, *solemn* [i.e., like the Lat. *solemnis*, *stated*, *recurring*] *feast*, *solemn assembly*, *solemnity*: see e.g. Lev. xxiii. 2, 4, 37, 44, Hos. ii. 11, ix. 5, xii. 9, Is. i. 14, xxxiii. 20, Lam. i. 4, 15, ii. 6, 7, Ez. xxxvi. 38, xliv. 24, xlv. 17, xlvi. 9, 11), which means properly a *fixed time* or *season*, and is applied to any *fixed sacred season* (including e.g. the Day of Atonement and New Year's Day), whether observed by a pilgrimage or not (see esp. Lev. xxiii., which, as *vv.* 2, 4 shew, is a Calendar of such *môʽădim*).

15^{a}. The *first* pilgrimage, the seven days' festival of *Maẓẓoth* or *Unleavened Cakes*. Cf. the parallel xxxiv. 18; and the later regulations in Dt. xvi. 3, 4, 8; Lev. xxiii. 6—8 (P), 9—14 (H and P); Ex. xii. 14—20 and Nu. xxviii. 17—25 (both P). This feast celebrated the beginning of the barley-harvest (which begins in Palestine towards the end of April or the beginning of May, some weeks before the wheat-harvest): cf. Lev. xxiii. 10—14 H (the 'wave-sheaf' of the first-fruits of the harvest to be presented then to Jehovah). The reason why this spring festival was observed in particular by eating unleavened cakes must remain matter of conjecture: perhaps it was simply because, at a time when men were busy with the harvest, such cakes (cf. on xii. 8) were most quickly and easily prepared (Wellh. *Hist.* p. 87; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 146; *EB.* iii. 3591). Eerdmans (*Expositor*, Nov. 1909, p. 459 ff.) conjectures that it was to preserve, in accordance with a primitive conception, the 'soul' of the corn for the seed of the year to come. The feast is regarded as commemorating the day of the Exodus in Ex. xiii. 3—10 (JE), Dt. xvi. 3, Ex. xii. 14—20 (P): in Ex. xii. 34, 39 (J) a historical motive for the use of unleavened cakes is suggested; the haste viz. with which the Israelites left Egypt gave them no time to leaven their dough.

seven days...empty] These words, breaking the grammatical connexion between *v.* 15^{a} and *v.* 16, have been most probably introduced here by a later hand from xxxiv. 18^{b}, 20^{c}. The words, 'as I commanded thee,' refer apparently to xiii. 6 J (cf. *v.* 4 'Abib'), and are in their proper place in J's covenant (xxxiv. 10—26; see p. 372), but cannot well be original in E.

15^{b}. *none shall appear before me empty*] So xxxiv. 20^{c}, Dt. xvi. 16^{c}

E me empty: | and the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy 16
labours, which thou sowest in the field: and the feast of

(with the explanation in *v.* 17 'every man shall give [an offering] as he is able, according to the blessing of Jehovah which he hath given thee,' i.e. according as he can afford to give, out of the produce of the year). In Dt. xvi. 16^c the clause actually follows the one corresponding to Ex. xxiii. 17 = xxxiv. 23, so that it refers to all three pilgrimages; and no doubt this was its original place (viz. after xxxiv. 23 = xxiii. 17): it would be natural to expect an offering to be prescribed for *each* pilgrimage.

appear before me] The standing phrase for visiting a sanctuary as a worshipper, esp. at the three great pilgrimages (Ex. xxxiv. 20, 23, 24, Dt. xxxi. 11, 1 S. i. 22), but also used more generally (Is. i. 12, Ps. xlii. 2). It is however held by many,—on the basis, primarily, of grammatical considerations affecting Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, Is. i. 12, and Ps. xlii. 2,—that in these and similar passages (Ex. xxxiv. 23, 24, Dt. xvi. 16 (twice), xxxi. 11) the existing punctuation does not represent the original vocalization, and that the true sense of the phrase is (with other vowel points) *see my face*, *see the face of Yahweh*, i.e. visit Him as Sovereign (so Ges., Dillm., Kirkpatrick on Ps. xlii. 2, and others). The usual phrase for admission to the presence of a royal person (2 S. iii. 13, xiv. 28, 32, 2 K. xxv. 19; cf. Gen. xliii. 3) was applied to visiting the sanctuary; but as objection came to be felt to the expression 'seeing the face of God' (cf. Ex. xxxiii. 20), the vocalization,—and perhaps, in Ex. xxiii. 17, 1 S. i. 22, even the consonantal text,—was altered so as to express the idea of 'appearing before God.'

16^a. The *second* pilgrimage, the Feast of *Harvest*, celebrating the completion of the wheat harvest (xxxiv. 22), in June, and marked by the offering of firstfruits from the ripened grain (in xxxiv. 22 'the firstfruits of *wheat harvest*' takes the place of 'the firstfruits of *thy labours*' here). The term 'Feast of Harvest' is found only here: in xxxiv. 22 and in Dt. (xvi. 10, 16) it is called the *Feast of Weeks*, on account of its being kept seven weeks after the sickle was first put to the corn, Dt. xvi. 9, or (in H) after the first sheaf of the year's harvest had been presented to Jehovah as a wave-offering, Lev. xxiii. 15 (see *v.* 10); and in Nu. xxviii. 26 (P) the *Day of firstfruits*. For the regulations in the other codes, see Dt. xvi. 9—12; Lev. xxiii. 15—21 (H and P: in H a loaf of fine flour, baked with leaven, is to be 'waved' as firstfruits to Jehovah; in a gloss (based on Nu. xxviii. 27—30) the required sacrifices are prescribed); Nu. xxviii. 26—31 (P).

labours] **work**, as *v.* 12 (G.-K. § 93^ss); cf. 1 S. xxv. 2 Heb. The following words explain what is meant: (even) **of that** *which thou sowest* would be clearer.

(even) **of** *the firstfruits* &c.] Heb. *bikkurim* (cognate with *b^ekōr*, 'firstborn,' 'firstling'), denoting properly *firstripe fruit* (including cereals) in general (as Nah. iii. 12 lit. 'figtrees with *bikkurim*'), but used specially of those portions of the 'firstripe fruit' which were

ingathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in *E*
17 thy labours out of the field. | Three times in the year all *R^JE*
thy males shall appear before the Lord God.

presented to Jehovah. *Bikkurim* occurs besides *v.* 19 (and the ‖‖ xxxiv. 22, 26), Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 17, 20, Nu. xiii. 20, xviii. 13, xxviii. 26, 2 K. iv. 42 ('bread of firstfruits' brought to Elisha), Neh. x. 35, xiii. 31, Ez. xliv. 30†. Cf. p. 246.

No historical significance is in the OT. attached to this festival; but by the later Jews it was regarded as commemorating the giving of the law 'in the third month' of the Exodus (Ex. xix. 1), which was supposed to have taken place 50 days after the 15th of the first month (Lev. xxiii. 6; the morning after the Passover on the 14th, Ex. xii. 18).

16^b^. The *third* pilgrimage, the Feast of *Ingathering*, held at the end of the year, in September, when the threshing was finished, the vintage over, and the juice pressed out from the grapes and olives (Dt. xvi. 13 'when thou gatherest in *from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-vat*'). It is called the 'Feast of Ingathering' also in Ex. xxxiv. 22†: in Dt. (xvi. 13, 16, xxxi. 10) and P (Lev. xxiii. 34), as also in later writers generally (Ezr. iii. 4, 2 Ch. viii. 13, Zech. xiv. 16, 18, 19†), it is called, from the custom of dwelling at the time in booths made of the branches of trees (Lev. xxiii. 40, 42 [H]; Neh. viii. 14—17), the *Feast of Booths*. This feast, according to Dt. (xvi. 13, 15), H and P (Lev. xxiii. 34, 39, Nu. xxix. 12), lasted for 7 days (cf. Neh. viii. 18). It was an occasion of hilarity (cf. Dt. xvi. 15 *end*, Lev. xxiii. 40^b^): in Jud. ix. 27 a festival is mentioned, which seems to have been its Canaanite counterpart. Cf. also Jud. xxi. 19, 21. Comp., in the other codes, Dt. xvi. 13—15; Lev. xxiii. 39—43 (mostly H); Lev. xxiii. 33—36, Nu. xxix. 12—38 (both P). In Lev. xxiii. 43 (H) the custom of dwelling in booths is explained as commemorating the fact that the Israelites dwelt in 'booths' after their departure from Egypt. 'Booths,' or huts, are not however the same as tents: and the actual origin of the custom is more probably to be found in the fact that those employed in gathering the fruit-harvest would sleep at the time in huts in the vineyards and olive-gardens (cf. Is. i. 8). Afterwards, however, the ancient practice had a commemorative meaning attached to it (cf. on *vv.* 14—17); and it was treated as a reminder of important events.

at the **going out** *of the year*] The old Hebrew year ended, with the agricultural operations for the year, in autumn: cf. on xii. 2.

labours] lit. *work*—here of the product of the year's work in agriculture.

17. Every male to appear before (see on *v.* 15) Jehovah three times in the year. The substantial identity with *v.* 14, coupled with the different word for 'times,' makes it probable that the verse has been introduced here from xxxiv. 23.

the Lord God] i.e. *the Lord*, **Jehovah**. The title 'Lord' is an indication that these pilgrimages are to be observed as marks of homage and respect to Jehovah, as Sovereign of the land (Di., Bä.).

E Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with 18
leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my feast remain

18. Two regulations respecting sacrifice, designed to guard a sacrifice against contamination by anything corrupt or tainted.

18[a]. Jehovah's sacrifices not to be offered with leavened bread. Cf. the ‖ xxxiv. 25; Lev. ii. 11, vi. 17; and the note on ch. xii. 8. 'In the earliest times bread was entirely unleavened. Flour or barley was mixed with water and kneaded in a "kneading-bowl" (viii. 3), and then baked into "unleavened cakes" (see on xii. 8), such as are still the usual food of the Bedawin. In a more advanced stage of society the bread was made in this way only in cases of emergency (Gen. xix. 3), or for purposes of ritual. The ordinary bread of the Hebrews was made lighter by fermentation' (Kennedy, in *EB.* i. 604). The reason why leavened bread was prohibited for ritual purposes was, probably, partly because unleavened bread had the sanction of antiquity (Kennedy, *ib.* iii. 2753), partly because leaven, being produced by fermentation, was regarded as tainted with a species of corruption (*ib.* p. 2754; *OTJC.*[2] p. 345; *Rel. Sem.* p. 203 f., ed. 2, p. 220 f.). Leavened bread was permitted only when the offering was not to be placed upon the altar, but eaten by the priests, Lev. vii. 13, xxiii. 17, 20 *end.*

offer] lit. *kill* or *slay* (Dt. xii. 15), but the word (*zābaḥ*) is nearly always used of slaying for sacrifice (cf. on xx. 24). It occurs only here with 'blood' as its object. In the ‖, xxxiv. 25[a], *slaughter* (*shāḥaṭ*) is used: this is often said of the slaughter of an animal for sacrifice (xxix. 11, Lev. i. 5, &c.), but, like *zābaḥ*, is not found elsewhere with 'blood' as its object. The use of both words in this law is peculiar.

18[b]. The fat of a festal sacrifice,—which, like the fat of other sacrifices, as the most esteemed part of the animal, was regularly consumed in sweet smoke (see on xxix. 13) upon the altar (Lev. i. 8, iii. 3 f. &c.), as an offering to the Deity,—is not to remain unburnt till the next morning (when it would in any case be stale, and in a hot climate might even be tainted). The fat meant is not all fat found in an animal, but specifically that about the kidneys and other intestines (Lev. iii. 3 f.: *Rel. Sem.*[2] 379 f.; *EB.* ii. 1545; Driver and White, *Leviticus* in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the OT.*, illustr. opp. to p. 4).

the fat of my feast] Lit. *of my pilgrimage* (Heb. *ḥag*), i.e. of the animals sacrificed at my pilgrimages (cf. Mal. ii. 3, Ps. cxviii. 27 Heb.).

The ‖, xxxiv. 25[b], has 'the sacrifice of the pilgrimage of the passover'; hence it is commonly thought that the reference (in both clauses) is to the passover (so already Onk., expressly in cl.[a], and by implication in cl.[b]). No doubt these two regulations might have been formulated at a time when the Passover was the principal Heb. sacrifice: on the other hand, this is nowhere else (except in xxxiv. 25) called a *ḥag*; and (Di.) the terms being perfectly general, the limitation seems hardly legitimate: the fat pieces of a sacrifice offered at *any* pilgrimage are to be burnt upon the altar the same day. Why the regulation is limited to these sacrifices does not appear: was it because greater

19 all night until the morning. The first of the firstfruits of *E*
thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD thy
God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

strictness and formality were expected on these occasions than when the sacrifice was an ordinary private one? There are similar regulations in P for the *flesh*, not only of the Passover (ch. xii. 10), but also of the ram of installation (xxix. 34), and of the thanksgiving-offering (Lev. vii. 15, xxii. 30). The *fat* of the Passover is not elsewhere specified.

19^{a}. Firstfruits to be brought to Jehovah's house.

the first of the **firstripe fruits**] 'Firstripe fruits' (*bikkurim*) seems to be used here in the wider sense noticed on *v.* 16; and it is said either (Ges.) that the *earliest*, or (Kn., Ke.) that the *first* (i.e. the *choicest*, *best*: *rēshīth* as Am. vi. 1, 6), of these are to be presented to Jehovah: comp. esp. Ez. xliv. 30. The rend. *the best*, (even) *the firstripe fruits*, *of thy ground* (Di., Benzinger, *EB.* iv. 4910, Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 256, Bä.) is less natural. As regards the relation of this law to that in *v.* 16, *v.* 16 alludes only to the *bikkurim* to be presented at the Feast of Weeks; the present law is wider, and would include for instance the firstfruits of the grape and olive harvest, which fell later in the year (according to the Mishna, *bikkurim* were offered on 'seven kinds,' viz. wheat, barley, vines, figtrees, pomegranates, oil, and honey: see Gray, *Numbers*, p. 228). It seems to be a parallel to the law in xxii. 29; the two laws probably belonged originally to two distinct collections, and both were preserved on account of the difference in their form.

The *amount* of firstfruits to be offered is not prescribed; and is evidently left to the free will of the individual offerer (cf. *v.* 15^{b}; Dt. xvi. 17).

the house of **Jehovah**] The expression might denote the *hêkāl*, or temple, at Shiloh (Jud. xviii. 31, 1 S. i. 7, 24, iii. 15), or the Temple of Solomon (1 K. viii. 10, and often): it might also, presumably, denote the local sanctuary nearest to the offerer's own home; for these, or at least the principal ones, had almost certainly 'houses' or shrines (cf. 1 K. xii. 31, 2 K. xvii. 32, Am. vii. 13, ix. 1). The Tent of meeting might also perhaps be spoken of generally as the 'house,' or abode, of Jehovah; but the term is not a very natural one to apply to it; and where it does apparently denote the Tent of meeting (Jos. vi. 24 [but 'the house of' omitted in LXX., as in *v.* 19 in the Heb.], ix. 23 *end*), or the tent erected for the ark by David (2 S. xii. 20, cf. vi. 17), it is open to the suspicion of having been used by the writers on account of their familiarity with the Temple of Solomon (in 2 S. vii. 6 a 'tent' is denied to be a 'house'). The present law must have been formulated, it seems natural to think, without any reference to the Tent of meeting.

19^{b}. A kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk. Repeated *verbatim* in the ‖ xxxiv. 26^{b}, and Dt. xiv. 21^{b}. The law, to judge from its position beside ritual injunctions, will have had not, as might have been supposed, a humanitarian, but a religious motive. Di. and most suppose that it is aimed against some superstitious custom—perhaps (Maimonides;

E Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by the 20
way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.
Take ye heed of him, and hearken unto his voice; [1]provoke 21
him not: for he will not pardon your transgression; for my
name is in him. But if thou shalt indeed hearken unto his 22

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[1] Or, *be not rebellious against him*

Spencer, *Legg. Hebr.* (1686), II. viii.; *al.*) that of using milk thus prepared as a charm for rendering fields and orchards more productive. Frazer ('Folk-lore in the OT.,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 151 ff.) quotes examples shewing that among many pastoral tribes in Africa there is a strong aversion to boiling milk, lest (on the principle of 'sympathetic magic') it should injure or even kill the cow which yielded it: but this case is not quite the same as the one here. Ibn Ezra (11 cent.) *ad loc.*, and Burckhardt (*Bedouins*, i. 63), both mention boiling a lamb or kid in milk as an Arab custom.

20—33. Hortatory epilogue. The laws which Israel is to observe have been defined: and now Jehovah declares what He will do for His people if it is obedient to His voice (*v.* 22): He will give it prosperity, freedom from sickness and long life, success in its contests with the nations of Canaan, and extension of territory afterwards. Comp. the similar, but longer and more elaborated, hortatory discourses (including curses on disobedience), concluding the codes of H (Lev. xxvi. 3—45) and Dt. (Dt. xxviii.). It is remarkable that the commands which Israel is to obey are not those embodied in ch. xx. 22—xxiii. 19, but (*v.* 22) those to be given it in the *future* by the angel on the way to Canaan. Perhaps (Bä.) the passage was written originally for a different context: but even if that were the case, it must be intended, where it now stands, to suggest motives for the observance of the preceding laws.

20, 21. An angel is to guide Israel on its journey to Canaan: his instructions must be received with the same respect and fear as those of Jehovah Himself; for Jehovah will Himself be speaking in him.

20. *an angel*] such as guided and protected the patriarchs (Gen. xxiv. 7, xxxi. 11, xlviii. 16); cf. Ex. xiv. 19 (on xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, see the notes), Nu xx. 16. It is true, the expression here used is '*an* angel' (so Nu. xx. 16: contrast ch. iii. 2); but he appears in *v.* 21 as Jehovah's full representative (see on iii. 2). Elsewhere in JE the pillar of cloud (see on xiii. 21), Hobab (Nu. x. 31), and the ark (Nu. x. 33), are severally described as guiding Israel in the wilderness.

21. A warning against disobedience.

hearken unto his voice] Cf. xv. 26, xix. 5.

be not rebellious (or **defiant**) **against him**] Nu. xx. 24, Ps. lxxviii. 40 *al.*

my name] The manifestation of My being. The 'name' is almost an objective reality; it is almost a personal manifestation of Jehovah

voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy *E*
unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries.
23 | For mine angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in *R^{JE}*
unto the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and
the Canaanite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and I will cut
24 them off. Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor
serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly
25 overthrow them, and break in pieces their [1]pillars. And ye

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[1] Or, *obelisks* See Lev. xxvi. 1, 2 Kings iii. 2.

(*DB.* v. 641^{a}): cf. Ps. xx. 1, liv. 3, Dt. xii. 5, &c.; and esp. Is. xxx. 27. The 'angel' is Jehovah Himself 'in a temporary descent to visibility for a special purpose' (McNeile). Cf. on iii. 2: also xxxiii. 2; *DB.* v. 638 f.; and G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, ii. 310—319.

22. Obedience to God's commands will be, as ever, the guarantee of His effectual help.

all that I speak] viz. through the angel. His speech is identical with Jehovah's.

23—25^{a}. Generally regarded as an expansion of the original text: as Di. points out, the warning against idolatry *in* Canaan is not only out of place in a series of *promises* (*vv.* 22^{b}, 25^{b}, 26, &c.), but it anticipates the conquest promised in *v.* 27 f. With both these verses and *vv.* 31^{b}—33, comp. xxxiv. 12—16.

23. *the Amorite*, &c.] see on iii. 8.

cut them off] ix. 15, 1 K. xiii. 34 (D^{2}). A rare word.

24. *Thou shalt not bow down to..., nor serve them*] as xx. 5.

nor do after their works] Cf. Lev. xviii. 3.

overthrow] properly, *tear down* (viz. their images).

pillars] so RV. always, AV. sometimes wrongly *images*; RVm. *obelisks*; best, perhaps, **standing-stones**: Heb. *maẓẓēbōth.* The *maẓẓēbāh* (lit. something *set up*) was a large oblong block of stone—originally, no doubt (cf. on xx. 24, and the writer's note on Gen. xxviii. 18, p. 267), conceived as the abode of a *numen* or deity—set up in or near a temple or high place, or beside an altar. Several such *maẓẓēbāhs*, or 'standing-stones,' have been excavated recently at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo: at Gezer, for instance, there is a striking row of ten, and at Taanach a double row, each consisting of five (see the writer's *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*, 1908, pp. 62—5, 84). *Maẓẓēbāhs* were the regular accompaniment of a Canaanite temple or other sacred place (cf. 2 K. x. 26 f., in the temple of Baal in Samaria); and during the earlier period of Israel's history they seem to have been used freely in the worship of Jehovah as well: Moses erects twelve (ch. xxiv. 4); Hos. iii. 4, x. 1 f. alludes to them as religious symbols of which Israel will be deprived on account of its sins; in Is. xix. 19 a *maẓẓēbāh* is a symbol of Egypt's conversion to Jehovah. Later, however, they were proscribed on account of their heathen associations: Moses is represented as having commanded

E shall serve the LORD your God, | and he shall bless thy
bread, and thy water; and I will take sickness away from
the midst of thee. There shall none cast her young, nor be 26
barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.
I will send my terror before thee, and will discomfit all the 27
people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine
enemies turn their backs unto thee. And I will send the 28
hornet before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the
Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. I will not 29
drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land

the demolition of the Canaanite 'standing-stones' (here, xxxiv. 13, Dt. vii. 5, xii. 3: cf. Mic. v. 13); and their erection beside Jehovah's altar is prohibited (Dt. xvi. 22; Lev. xxvi. 1 H): the same view of them is also reflected in the notices by the Deuteronomic compiler in 1 K. xiv. 23, 2 K. xvii. 10. See further *DB.* iii. s.v. PILLAR, and *EB.* iii. s.v. MASSEBAH.

25ᵃ. The positive complement of *v.* 24: Jehovah is to be the object of Israel's worship.

25ᵇ, 26. The blessings which will follow upon Israel's obedience: abundance of food, freedom from sickness, fertility of flocks and herds, and long life.

25ᵇ. *and he shall bless*] read with LXX., Vulg., Di., &c., *and* I *will bless* (cf. the following, 'and *I* will take'); originally (if *vv.* 23—25ᵃ be a later insertion) the continuation of *v.* 22 *end.*

take sickness away, &c.] Cf. xv. 26; and the reminiscence of the present passage in Dt. vii. 15 (as of *v.* 26ᵃ in Dt. vii. 14ᵇ).

26ᵃ. Cf. Dt. vii. 14ᵇ; also (expressed positively) the blessings promised in Dt. xxviii. 11, xxx. 9, and Lev. xxvi. 9 (H).

26ᵇ. *I will fulfil*] Life will not come to an end prematurely, either for the individual, or for the nation (cf. xx. 12).

27—30. Jehovah will further help Israel effectually to drive out the nations of Canaan.

27. *my terror*] a terror greater than ordinary causes would seem capable of producing, and so attributed directly to God: what we should call a *panic.* Cf. the 'terror' (not the Heb. word used here), and 'trembling,' 'of God,' in the same sense, in Gen. xxxv. 5, 1 S. xiv. 15 (RVm.); and Zech. xiv. 13.

discomfit] i.e. throw into confusion: cf. xiv. 24.

28. *the hornet*] so Dt. vii. 20; Jos. xxiv. 12 (E). The writer imagines swarms of this terrible insect employed to clear the Canaanites away before Israel, and expel them even from their hiding-places (see Dt. *l.c.*).

the Hivite, &c.] see on iii. 8.

29, 30. The expulsion of the Canaanites will however be gradual: it will not be completed till the Israelites are numerous enough to fill

become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against *E*
30 thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before
31 thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land. And
I will set thy border from the Red Sea even unto the sea of
the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto [1]the River:
| for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your *R*^{JE}

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[1] That is, the Euphrates.

effectually the territory vacated by them. Hence, with verbal variations, Dt. vii. 22. The representation is in striking contrast to the idealized pictures of rapid conquests drawn in the Deuteronomic sections of the book of Joshua, from which the popular conception of the 'extermination of the Canaanites' is derived (e.g. Jos. x. 28—39, 40—43, xi. 16—23, xxi. 43—45); but it agrees with the accounts given in the older strata of Joshua and Judges, according to which there were many districts from which the Israelites were unable to expel the Canaanites, and the country as a whole was only occupied by them gradually (Jos. xiii. 13, xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 11—13, 14—18, Jud. i. 19, 21, 27—35, ix.). The historical reason why the Canaanites thus remained so long in many parts of the land was because the Israelites had not the military resources enabling them to cope with them (cf. Jud. i. 19); but the fact nevertheless remained one which many religiously-minded Israelites found it difficult to reconcile with their sense of Jehovah's sovereignty; and different moral, or religious, theories were framed to account for it. Here it is explained as due to Jehovah's care that unoccupied spots should not be left in the land, on which wild beasts might multiply and become a danger to the Israelites (2 K. xvii. 25 f.; cf. Lev. xxvi. 22, Ez. xiv. 15, 21): for other theories, see Jud. ii. 20—iii. 4 (comp. *LOT.*^{8} p. 165 f.).

31^{a}. Israel's territory will reach, beyond Canaan itself, from the Red Sea to the 'sea of the Philistines' (i.e. the SE. coast of the Medit. Sea, including the Philistine territory itself), and from 'the wilderness' (i.e. the wilderness on the S. of Palestine) to the Euphrates. An ideal description of the extent of Isr. territory, once, at least according to tradition, realised in history, under Solomon (1 K. iv. 21). For similar promises, see Gen. xv. 18, Dt. xi. 24 (whence Jos. i. 4); and cf. (in the picture of the restored Israel of the future) Is. xxvii. 12.

the River] i.e. *the* River, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, to the Hebrews, the Euphrates. The word, when the Euphrates is intended, is always in RV. printed with a capital R: see e.g. Is. vii. 20, xxvii. 12, Ps. lxxii. 8, lxxx. 11.

31^{b}—33. Regarded by We., Di., Bä. and most critics as another expansion of the original text, similar to *vv.* 23—25^{a}, partly because it reverts to the subject of Israel's attitude towards the gods of Canaan, already dealt with in *v.* 24, but chiefly because, whereas in *vv.* 27—30 Jehovah promises that He will Himself drive out the Canaanites before Israel, here their expulsion is laid as a duty upon Israel.

R^{JE} hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee. Thou 32
shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.
They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin 33
against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a
snare unto thee.

32, 33. No treaty of friendship or alliance to be entered into with the Canaanites, lest Israel be seduced by them into idolatry. The same warning (with the consequences of such alliance more fully developed), Ex. xxxiv. 12—16, Dt. vii. 2—5; cf. Jos. xxiii. 12, 13 (D^2), Jud. ii. 2, 3 (compiler).

33. for *thou* **wilt** *serve their gods*, **for** *it will become a snare unto thee.* So the Heb. literally. There must be some fault in the text; but the general sense of the passage is no doubt correctly given. '*And thou shalt not* serve,' &c. (LXX., Pesh.; cf. Dt. vii. 16^{b}) would be the simplest change; but it is not easy palaeographically (ולא for כי).

a snare] i.e.—not, an enticement to sin, but—a lure to destruction. Cf. on x. 7; and see esp. 1 S. xviii. 21. Of the gods of Canaan, as here, xxxiv. 12, and in the reminiscences, Dt. vii. 16, Jud. ii. 3; and of the Canaanites themselves, Jos. xxiii. 13 (D^2). Warnings against holding intercourse with the Canaanites, and commands to overthrow their altars, &c. (*vv.* 23—25^{a}, and 31^{b}—33), are also characteristic of Deuteronomy: see e.g. Dt. vii. 2—5, xii. 2—3, 29—31.

CHAP. XXIV.

The vision of Jehovah (*vv.* 1—2, 9—11). *The ratification of the covenant* (*vv.* 3—8). *Moses ascends the mount to receive* (E) *the tables of stone* (*vv.* 12—15^{a}, 18^{b}), *and* (P) *directions for the construction of a sanctuary* (*vv.* 15^{b}—18^{a}).

The chapter is evidently not a unity. In xxiv. 1 Moses is directed to 'come up' where he already is, and where he has been since xx. 21: on the other hand, *vv.* 3—8 form a natural and excellent sequel to xx. 22—xxiii. 33; Moses communicates to the people the words which he has received, and they agree solemnly to abide by them. Similarly if *v.* 12 is the true sequel of *vv.* 9—11, Moses is again commanded to come up where he already is: *v.* 12, however, would follow *v.* 8 (where Moses is below, with the people) quite naturally, and *vv.* 9—11 are obviously the proper sequel to *vv.* 1—2 (comp. *v.* 9 with *v.* 1). In the latter part of the ch., *vv.* 15^{b}—18^{a} are shewn by their phraseology to belong to P. It is thus evident that the narrative of E (xx. 1—xxiii. 33, xxiv. 3—8, 12—15^{a}, 18^{b}) has been interrupted in this chapter by the introduction of *vv.* 1—2, 9—11 from J, and of *vv.* 15^{b}—18^{a} from P. For the sequel in E to *v.* 18^{b}, see xxxi. 18^{b}.

xxiv. **1—2** (J). Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, are summoned up into the mountain, to Jehovah. The sequel follows in *vv.* 9—11.

24 And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, *J*
and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of
2 Israel; and worship ye afar off: and Moses alone shall
come near unto the LORD; but they shall not come near;
3 neither shall the people go up with him. | And Moses came *E*
and told the people all the words of the LORD, | and all the R^D
judgements: | and all the people answered with one voice, *E*
and said, All the words which the LORD hath spoken will
4 we do. And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and

1. *And* **unto Moses he said**] so the Heb. The emphasis on 'Moses' implies that Jehovah had before, in a part of the narrative now lost, been speaking to someone else. The last preceding passage from J was xix. 20—25, ending abruptly, in the middle of a sentence. It may be inferred that the intermediate lost parts of J contained the words 'said' (xix. 25) by Moses to the people, and after those some commands given by Jehovah to the people,—perhaps (cf. Di., C.-H. ii. 134, McNeile, xxxii, Bä. XII, and the lucid statement in the *Interpreter*, Oct. 1908, p. 9 f.), xxxiv. 1—5, 10—28, in its original form (see p. 364 f.),—with which the instructions now given by Him to Moses are contrasted.

unto **Jehovah**] Jehovah speaking of Himself in the third person, as ix. 2, xix. 11, 21, 22, 24.

Nadab and Abihu] Aaron's sons: vi. 23, xxviii. 1, Lev. x. 1 ff.

seventy of the elders] representing the people generally.

worship ye afar off] in preparation, as it were, for the vision which they were to have afterwards, *vv.* 9—11.

2. **they** (emph.)] Aaron, his two sons, and the elders.

neither, &c.] Observe the gradation: the people generally are to remain at the foot of the mountain; Aaron, his two sons, and the elders come partly up the mountain; only Moses goes to the top (cf. xix. 21, xx. 21).

3—8 (E). The sequel to xxiii. 33. Moses communicates to the people the words which Jehovah has spoken; and upon their expressing their assent to them, solemnly concludes a covenant, on the basis of them, between Jehovah and the nation.

3. *the words...and the judgements*] i.e. (see on xxi. 1) both the positive commands, and the 'judgements,' or decisions prescribing what is to be done in particular cases, contained in xx. 22—xxiii. 33. The Decalogue, which the people had heard themselves, cannot be included in the terms used. The fact, however, that only the 'words' are referred to in clause^{b} suggests that 'and the judgements' in cl.^{a} may be an addition of the redactor who placed the 'judgements' of xxi. 2—xxii. 17 in their present position (cf. on *v.* 12).

4. *wrote*] that they might be preserved in a tangible form, and form the basis of a permanent covenant (*v.* 7).

E rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under
the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes
of Israel. And he sent young men of the children of Israel, 5
which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings
of oxen unto the LORD. And Moses took half of the blood, 6
and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on
the altar. And he took the book of the covenant, and read 7
in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the
LORD hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. And 8

builded an altar] Cf. xvii. 15; and on xx. 24.

under the mount] Cf. xix. 17.

pillars] or **standing-stones** (see on xxiii. 24); partly, as the usual adjunct of an altar, partly, perhaps, that they might be witnesses of the ratification of the covenant (cf. Gen. xxxi. 45; also Jos. xxiv. 27).

5. **the** *young men*, &c.] upon whom (cf. Jud. xvii. 5), as the strongest and most active members of the community (Ew., Di.), devolved in these times the duty of killing and cleaning the animal, and arranging its parts upon the altar, &c. Onk. *the firstborn.*

burnt offerings, and...peace offerings] see on xx. 24.

6. Half of the blood was thrown against the altar; the other half (*v.* 8) was thrown over the people. Covenants were ratified in different ways: sometimes, for instance, the contracting parties were held to be bound by eating salt together (cf. Lev. ii. 13, Nu. xviii. 19, 2 Ch. xiii. 5), sometimes by partaking together in a sacrificial meal (Gen. xxxi. 54; cf. *v.* 11 here), in Gen. xv., Jer. xxxiv. 18 f., by passing between the divided pieces of slaughtered animals; and especially by the use, still prevalent in many parts of the world, of blood, as by each of the parties tasting the other's blood, or smearing himself with it, or letting it be mingled with his own, &c., or by both jointly dipping their hands in the blood of a slaughtered animal, &c. (cf. Hdt. iii. 8, iv. 70, Aesch. *Theb.* 43—48, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2. 9: see very fully Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, 1885, pp. 4—65). So analogously here: Jehovah and the people are symbolically joined together by the sacrificial blood being thrown over the altar (representing Jehovah) and the people; and thus the 'covenant,' or agreement, between them is ratified (cf. Ps. l. 5).

basons] Heb. *'aggānōth*, elsewhere only Is. xxii. 24, Cant. vii. 3. Not the technical priestly term (*mizrāḳ*) used in xxvii. 3.

sprinkled] **tossed** (or **threw**): see on xxix. 16. So *v.* 8.

on] or **against**,—at least, if the later sense of the expression (see on xxix. 16) may be here presupposed.

7. *the book of the covenant*] The 'book,' or scroll, just written (*v.* 4), containing the laws of xx. 22—xxiii. 33, on the basis of which (*v.* 8) the 'covenant' was to be concluded. If, however, the view expressed on *vv.* 3, 12 is correct, the 'book' will not have included the 'judgements,' xxi. 2—xxii. 17.

Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and *E*
said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD
9 hath made with you [1]concerning all these words. | Then *J*
went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy
10 of the elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel;
and there was under his feet as it were [2]a paved work of
sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness.
11 And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not
his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.

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[1] Or, *upon all these conditions* [2] Or, *work of bright sapphire*

8. *the blood of the covenant*] the blood by which the covenant is ratified. Cf. Heb. ix. 20, xii. 24 (noting *vv.* 18—21); 1 P. i. 2, with Hort's note (p. 23 f.); and the 'blood of the' new 'covenant,' founded by Christ, Mt. xxvi. 28 = Mk. xiv. 24 (cf. Luke xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25).

concerning] **upon** (the basis of). The marg. paraphrases correctly.

9—11 (J). The sequel to *vv.* 1—2. Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders, as directed in *v.* 1, go up into the mount, and have a vision of Jehovah's glory.

10. *and they saw*, &c.] LXX., to avoid its being supposed that God could be 'seen' (cf. on xxiii. 15^{b}, xxxiii. 20), paraphrase by 'and they saw the place where the God of Israel stood.'

and there was under his feet, &c.] The idea appears to be that they saw the Divine glory, not directly, but as they looked up at it from below, through what seemed to be a transparent blue sapphire pavement, comparable only to the sky in its clearness. Cf. the sapphire throne upon which, in his vision, Ezekiel sees the Divine form (Ez. i. 26). On what is meant by 'sapphire,' see on xxviii. 18.

paved work] lit. *brick-* or *tile-work*. *Bright* (RVm.) is a meaning unsupported by usage.

11. It was the general belief (see on xxxiii. 20) that God could not be 'seen,'—except in a purely spiritual sense,—with impunity; but upon this occasion *Jehovah* **put** *not* **forth** *his hand* (ix. 15, xxii. 8) *upon* Moses or his companions, to harm them.

nobles] Heb. *‘ăẓīlīm*, only here in this sense. The etym. is uncertain. In Is. xli. 9 *'āẓīl* means *angle*, *corner*: so perhaps, like *pinnāh* (see Jud. xx. 2 RVm.), the word denotes men of position and responsibility, as the *corners*, or *supports*, of the community.

beheld] Heb. *ḥāzāh*, in prose only xviii. 21 besides, but often used of a prophet *seeing* a vision (e.g. Nu. xxiv. 4), and the verb of which one of the words rendered 'seer' (Am. vii. 12 *al.*) is the partic. LXX. (cf. on *v.* 10) paraphrase by '*appeared* in the place of God.'

did eat and drink] viz. at a sacrificial meal: see on xviii. 12.

12—15^{a} (E). The sequel to *vv.* 3—8. Moses ascends the mount to receive the two tables of stone.

E And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the 12
mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of
R^D *E* stone, | and the law and the commandment, | which I have
written, that thou mayest teach them. And Moses rose up, 13
and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up into the mount
of God. And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, 14

12. *the tables of stone*] on which the Decalogue was inscribed. They are mentioned frequently in the sequel; and, remarkably enough, by different expressions, corresponding to the three principal Pent. sources: 'in xxxi. 18^b E, as here, says "tables of stone"; P says "the two tables of the testimony" (xxxi. 18^a, xxxii. 15^a, xxxiv. 29); J and Dt. say "the two tables of stone*s*" (xxxiv. 1, 4, Dt. iv. 13, v. 22 [Heb. 19], ix. 9—11, x. 1, 3)' (Di.): Dt. says also (cf. p. 175) 'the tables of the covenant' (ix. 9, 11, 15).

and the **direction** (*tôrāh*) *and the commandment, which I have written*, **to direct** *them* (i.e. the people)] What these words refer to is a difficult and uncertain question. It cannot be the Decalogue; for not only must it be something different from the 'tables of stone,' but the Decalogue would not be spoken of as *tôrāh*. It cannot be the 'Book of the Covenant'; for this has been already both 'given' to Moses and 'written' (*vv.* 4, 7). As nothing is spoken of as 'written' by Jehovah, except the Decalogue, it is an extremely probable conjecture that the words 'which I have written' are out of place, and ought to follow 'the tables of stone': 'the direction and the commandment' may then refer to something future ('will give'): but it still remains a question what that is. It cannot be the directions about the Tabernacle contained in chs. xxv.—xxxi. (even granting that these were by the same hand as xxiv. 12—15^a); for these would not be called *tôrāh*. Most probably (Bä. XLIX) the reference is to the 'commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements,' which Moses is said in Dt. v. 31 to have received at Horeb, but in vi. 1 to have first formally promulgated to the people on the eve of their entering Canaan. And the 'commandment,' &c., thus referred to, seem to have been in fact the 'judgements' of xxi. 2—xxii. 17. These 'judgements' (cf. on *v.* 3), it is probable, were originally recorded by E at the point of the narrative where Dt. now stands. The Deuteronomist puts his version of the 'judgements,' as of other older laws, into Moses' mouth not at Horeb but in the steppes of Moab: when, then, Dt. was combined with JE, the compiler could not well put the two versions side by side, so he put back the earlier version (xxi. 2—xxii. 17) into conjunction with the rest of E's laws at Horeb (cf. Kuenen, *Hex.* § xiii. 32; Bä. *l.c.*; McNeile, p. xxvii f.).

13. *Joshua*] first mentioned in xvii. 9.

his minister] Joshua's standing title: xxxiii. 11, Nu. xi. 28, Jos. i. 1.

and Moses went up, &c.] leaving Joshua on the lower part of the mountain; cf. xxxii. 17, with the note.

the mount of God] See on iii. 1.

until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and *E*
Hur are with you: whosoever hath a cause, let him come
15 near unto them. And Moses went up into the mount, | and *P*
16 the cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the LORD
abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days:
and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst
17 of the cloud. And the appearance of the glory of the LORD
was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes
18 of the children of Israel. And Moses entered into the
midst of the cloud, and went up into the mount: | and *E*
Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

14. *And* **unto the elders he said**] viz. before going up into the mount (*v.* 13). The elders are not the seventy mentioned by J in *vv.* 1, 9 (among whom Hur is not named, and who are not likely to have had forensic differences while waiting for Moses' return), but the elders in the camp, who would naturally take the lead during Moses' absence, and who are bidden here not to move (with the camp) from where they are, till he and Joshua return. Perhaps (Nöld., We., Bä.) *elders* is even a harmonistic correction for *people*, suggested by *vv.* 1, 9.

whosoever hath a cause, &c.] if during Moses' absence any differences arise among the people, requiring for their settlement the intervention of a judge, they must be referred to Aaron and Hur (xvii. 10, 12), as his representatives. The judicial organization established in ch. xviii. does not seem to be presupposed; the verse thus supports the conclusion (p. 162) that ch. xviii. once stood *after* ch. xxiv.

a cause] lit. *words*: see on xxiii. 8; cf. (for the Heb.) Is. l. 8.

15^{b}—18^{a} (P). Moses is summoned up into the cloud on the top of the mount. The verses are P's parallel to the narrative of JE in ch. xix.

15^{b}. The sequel in P to xix. 1, 2^{a}.

the cloud] the one which in P regularly enshrouds the 'glory' of Jehovah (cf. on the tabernacle, xl. 34 f.; and the note on xiii. 21, 22, at the end). Here it covers the mount, immediately upon Israel's arrival at Sinai: contrast xix. 16.

16. *the glory of* **Jehovah**] see on xvi. 10.

abode] or *dwelt*: a word often used in P of Jehovah, the cloud, or the glory. Cf. xxv. 8, xxix. 45, 46, xl. 35; Nu. v. 3, ix. 17, 18, 22, x. 12, xxxv. 34; and on xxv. 8, 9.

17. The brilliance of the 'glory' broke through the cloud in which it was enveloped, and became visible to the people.

devouring fire] i.e. blazing fire. Cf. Is. xxix. 6, xxx. 27, 30.

18^{b} (E). The sequel (with the original connecting words omitted) follows in xxxi. 18^{b}. That Moses, according to E, was some time in the mount, is evident from the terms of xxxii. 1: the 'forty days' are alluded to in Dt. ix. 9, 11.

CHAPTERS XXV.—XXXI.

We come now to the long section of P, which contains the instructions stated to have been given by God to Moses on the mount for the construction and equipment of a sanctuary, and for the vestments and consecration of a priesthood. These instructions fall into two parts: (1) chs. xxv.—xxix.; (2) chs. xxx.—xxxi. The instructions contained in chs. xxv.—xxix. relate to (*a*) the vessels of the sanctuary, viz. the ark, the table of Presence-bread, and the candlestick,—named naturally first, as being of primary interest and importance (ch. xxv.); (*b*) the curtains, and wooden framework supporting them, to contain and guard the sacred vessels (ch. xxvi.); (*c*) the court round the Sanctuary, and the Altar of Burnt offering, standing in it (ch. xxvii.); (*d*) the vestments (ch. xxviii.) and the consecration (ch. xxix.) of the priests who are to serve in the sanctuary (xxix. 1—37); (*e*) the daily burnt-offering, the maintenance of which is a primary duty of the priesthood (xxix. 38—42), followed by what is apparently the final close of the whole body of instructions, xxix. 43—46, in which Jehovah promises that He will bless the sanctuary thus established with His presence. Chs. xxx.—xxxi. relate to (*a*) the Altar of Incense (xxx. 1—10); (*b*) the monetary contributions for the maintenance of public service (xxx. 11—16); (*c*) the Bronze Laver (xxx. 17—21); (*d*) the holy Anointing Oil (xxx. 22—33); (*e*) the Incense (xxx. 34—38); (*f*) the nomination of two skilled artificers, Bezal'el and Oholiab, to make the sanctuary and its appurtenances (xxxi. 1—11); (*g*) the observance of the Sabbath (xxxi. 12—17).

The principal *names* of what we—adopting a rendering based upon Jerome's *tabernaculum* (i.e. 'tent')—commonly call the 'Tabernacle' are the *Tent of Meeting* (xxvii. 21), the Tent where God 'met' and talked with Moses; the *Tent*; the *Tent of the Witness* or *Testimony*, i.e. (see on xxv. 16) the Tent containing the Ark, in which were deposited the two tables of the Decalogue; the *Dwelling* (xxv. 9 *al.*), the *Dwelling of Jehovah* (Nu. xvi. 9 *al.*), or the *Dwelling of the Testimony* (Ex. xxxviii. 21 *al.*); and the *Sanctuary* (see on xxv. 8). The first two of these designations are found in both JE and P; the others are used exclusively by P. If the passages in which E and J speak of the 'Tent of Meeting' or the 'Tent'—viz. Ex. xxxiii. 7—11, Nu. xi. 16f., 24, 26, xii. 5, 10, Dt. xxxi. 14f.—are read carefully, it will be found that the representation which they give of it differs in several respects very materially from that given by P. In E the Tent of Meeting is *outside* the camp (xxxiii. 7, Nu. xi. 26f., cf. *v.* 30, xii. 4: on Nu. xiv. 44, see p. 428); it is guarded by one attendant, Joshua, who never leaves it (xxxiii. 11; cf. Nu. xi. 28); though it had probably some decoration (cf. on xxxiii. 6), it was obviously a much simpler, less ornate structure than that described by P; Moses used to *go out* to it, and enter into it to speak with God, and the pillar of cloud then descended, and stood at the entrance of the Tent, and Jehovah spoke to him from it (xxxiii. 8—11; cf. Nu. xi. 17, 25, xii. 5, 10, Dt. xxxi. 14f.); on the march also, the ark *precedes* the host, to seek out a camping-place for it (Nu. x. 33). In P, on the contrary, the Tent of Meeting is in the *centre* of the camp, with the Levites around it on the west, south, and north, and Aaron and his sons on the east, and the other tribes, three on each side, outside them (Nu. ii., iii. 23, 29, 35, 38); it is served by Aaron and his sons, and a large body of Levites (in Nu. iv. 48, 8580); it is a highly decorated, costly structure (chs. xxv.—xxvii.); the cloud (which is not in P spoken of as a 'pillar'), instead of descending from time to time, as occasion requires, to the entrance of the Tent, that Jehovah may speak with Moses, rests upon the Tent *always*, when the camp is stationary (xl. 35—38, Nu. ix. 15—23), and Jehovah, instead of speaking to Moses at its 'entrance,' speaks to him from between the cherubim above the ark (xxv. 22, Nu. vii. 89); on the march, also, the ark, borne, covered up, by the Kohathites, with the other sacred vessels, is in the *centre* of the long procession of Israelites, six tribes preceding it, and six following it (Nu. ii. 17, iii. 31, iv. 5 ff., x. 21). Lastly in P the Tent of Meeting is the centre of an elaborate sacrificial and ceremonial system (Lev. i.—xxvii., &c.), such as is nowhere mentioned in connexion with the Tent of Meeting of J and E, and, in view of the subsequent history (Judg., Sam.), not historically probable,—at least on anything like the same scale. Unquestionably (cf. p. 359) both representations have common features: in both, in particular, the Tent is the place where God speaks with Moses, and communicates to him His will; nor need it be doubted, though it is not stated in so many words, that the Tent of JE, like that of P, sheltered the ark (though a much simpler ark than P's): but there are also wide differences between them. Here it will be sufficient to have noted these differences: in explanation of them see p. 430 ff.

The Tabernacle, with its various appurtenances, is described as having been made by Bezal'el and Oholiab, and other skilled workmen acting under them, in accordance with detailed specifications given by God to Moses (chs. xxv.—xxxi.), and a 'pattern,' or model, shewn to Moses in the mount (xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8). It is designed as a 'dwelling' (xxv. 8, 9) in which God may permanently dwell among His people (xxix. 45); and after it has been erected and consecrated, He gives manifest tokens of His presence in it, He fills it with His glory (xl. 34—39), He habitually speaks in it with Moses (xxv. 22), and He gives him many of His instructions from it (Lev. i. 1, Nu. i. 1). It is also the centre at which all sacrifices are to be offered (Lev. i. 3, 5, iii. 2, &c.).

In its general principle the 'Tabernacle' of P is a *portable Temple* (so Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6. 1 μεταφερόμενος καὶ συμπερινοστῶν ναός). On the one hand, it is a *tent*, and is repeatedly so called, formed of tent-hangings, or curtains, held in their places by cords and tent-pins, of oblong shape, and with a flat upper surface (without a ridge pole), like the tents of Bedawin at the present day (see ill. in Smith, *DB.* iii. 1467; *Judges* in *SBOT.* (Engl. vol.), p. 63; Doughty, i. 226; or (best) Benzinger, *Bilderatlas zur Bibelkunde*, 1905, No. 287, or *Arch.*^{2} 89), and divided into two compartments, in this respect also (Kn. on xxvi. 37) resembling the tents of Bedawin, in which a separate compartment is formed by a curtain for the women (Burckh. *Bed.* i. 39 f.; *EB.* iv. 4972); on the other hand, the Tabernacle has also the form of a *temple* of a type very common in antiquity, and in fact represented by Solomon's temple, consisting of an oblong rectangular structure, with pillars on its front, standing in a large court, and divided into two parts, the *hall* (in Greek *πρόναος*, 'fore-shrine'; in Solomon's temple, the *hêkāl*, 1 K. vi. 3, 5, 17, &c. [in EVV. rendered badly 'temple,' suggesting the *whole* building]), corresponding to the Holy Place, and the *shrine* (*ναός* Hdt. i. 183, or *ἄδυτον*, the 'part not to be entered,' Lat. *cella*; Heb. *d^ebīr*, the 'hindmost part,' 1 K. vi. 5, 16, &c. [in EVV., through a false etymology, the 'oracle']), corresponding to the Most Holy Place,—both without windows, and the latter containing, if there was one, the image of the deity to whom the temple was sacred, and usually entered only by the priests. The 'Tabernacle' was however primarily and essentially a *tent*; it was the tapestry curtains alone which formed the real 'Dwelling' of Jehovah (see on xxvi. 1); the 'boards,' or framework, were merely intended to give the tent greater stability and security than ordinary tent-poles would do. An altar, a priesthood, with regulations determining who might hold it, and prescribing the sacrifices and other religious offices to be maintained, often also an ark containing some sacred object, a table on which food was laid out for the deity, lavers for ceremonial ablutions, &c., were likewise, in one form or other, the necessary elements in an ancient Temple establishment. The Tabernacle of P was an elaborate and ornate structure. Metals more or less precious, and woven materials more or less ornamented, and more or less richly coloured, were employed; the general distinction observed being that the nearer an object was to the Presence of Jehovah in the Holy of holies, the costlier and more beautiful it was, the commoner materials, such as bronze and ordinary woven stuff, being reserved for the objects further off (cf. on xxv. 3). In the same way, the high priest had a specially gorgeous and splendid attire, while that of the ordinary priests was much plainer.

In their dimensions, both the 'Tabernacle' and the court display great symmetry. The ruling numbers are 3, 4, 7, 10, their parts (1½, 2, 2½, 5), and their multiples (6, 9, 12, 20, 28, 30, 42, 48, 50, 60, 100). If, without indulging in fantastic extravagances, we may discern a symbolism in numbers, we may perhaps see in *three* a symbol of the divine, in *four*—suggesting the four quarters of the earth—the totality of what is human, in *seven* and *twelve* numbers which, deriving their original significance from astronomy, came to be regarded as symbols of completeness, and in *ten* and its multiples numbers specially suggestive of symmetry and perfection. In the prominence given to the numbers mentioned, we may perhaps recognize an effort 'to give concrete expression—in a manner, it is true, which our Western thought finds it difficult to appreciate—to the sacred harmonies and perfection of the character of the Deity for whose "dwelling" the sanctuary is destined' (Kennedy, *DB.* iv. 667^{b}). The Holy place is 20 cubits (30 ft.) long, by 10 cubits (15 ft.) high and broad, and the Holy of holies a perfect cube of 10 cubits (exactly half the dimensions of the Holy of holies in Solomon's temple); and these ratios, a perfect cube, or two cubes placed side by side, are, we are told (*Enc. Brit.*[9] ARCHITECTURE, cited *ibid.*), still considered the most pleasing in architectural art; while the perfect cube, forming the Holy of holies, may be intended to represent symbolically the 'perfection of Jehovah's character and dwelling place, the harmony and equipoise of all His attributes.' Comp. how, in Rev. xxi. 16, the ideal perfection of the New Jerusalem is expressed in the fact that 'the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.'

The 'Tabernacle,' moreover, symbolizes directly, and gives visible expression to, various theological and religious truths. It must, however, be clearly understood that in the text itself no symbolism or significance whatever is attributed either to the Tabernacle or to any of its appurtenances; so that, if we go beyond what is suggested directly by the names or uses of the Tabernacle, or its parts, we are in danger of falling into what is arbitrary or baseless. Bearing this in our minds, we may however observe that by one of its principal names, the *mishkān*, or 'Dwelling' (see on xxv. 9), the Tabernacle expresses in a sensible form the truth of God's presence in the midst of His people; by another of its principal names, the 'Tent of Meeting' (xxvii. 21), it gives expression to the truth that God is not only present with His people, but that He reveals Himself to them; by its third name, the 'Tent (*or* Dwelling) of the Witness *or* Testimony,' it reminded the Israelite that in the Decalogue, inscribed on the Tables in the Ark, it contained an ever-present witness to the claims of God and the duty of man. These three, especially the first, are the fundamental ideas symbolized by the Tabernacle. But there are also other ideas. Thus the gold, and costly, beautifully worked fabrics, which decorated, especially, the Holy of holies, and were also conspicuous in the gorgeous vestments of the high priest, give expression to the thought that the Dwelling, and the most responsible ministers of God, should be decked, or apparelled, with becoming splendour and dignity. The Bronze Altar, standing midway between the entrance to the court and the Tent, emphasized the importance of sacrifice in general under the old Dispensation (see further on Lev. i.—v.), and taught the truth that 'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (Heb. ix. 22); while the burnt-offering, offered daily upon it on behalf of the community, gave expression to the spirit of worship by which Israel as a whole should ever be actuated, and symbolized its constant sense of the devotion due from it to its divine Lord. The Laver, standing probably directly in front of the entrance to the Tent, in which the priests washed their hands and feet before their ministrations, secured the ceremonial purity, which was an emblem of the moral purity, that should belong to those who are the ministers of God. The Presence-bread—whatever it may have denoted originally (see on xxv. 30)—is an expression of thankfulness, and an acknowledgement that man's daily bread,—like all other 'blessings of this life,'—is a divine gift. The symbolism of the Candlestick is less obvious: none is suggested by the text; and any that may be proposed is in danger of being far-fetched, or of being read into the description as an afterthought: but—whether this was its *original* intention, or not—the candlestick may perhaps be most easily regarded as symbolizing the people of Israel, shining with the light of divine truth (cf. the figure of 'light' in Is. li. 4, Mt. v. 16 f., Phil. ii. 15; and Rev. i. 12, 20, where the seven golden candlesticks seen in vision are said to denote the seven churches). The interpretation of Zech. iv. 1—4, 11—13 is too uncertain to be used in explaining the symbolism of the candlestick in the Tabernacle (see the *Century Bible*, p. 203 f.): moreover, the candlestick there is differently constructed, and the lamps are differently supplied with oil. The Altar of Incense symbolized a higher form of devotion than the altar of burnt-offering: the smoke of incense was finer and choicer than that of animal victims; and it symbolized the devotion not of action, but of aspiration and prayer (cf. Ps. cxli. 2, Rev. v. 8, viii. 3 f.): the blood of the sin-offering was also applied to the altar of incense, when it was offered for the high priest or the community (Lev. iv. 7, 18: see also Ex. xxx. 10). The ark itself, sacred though it is, does not in P enshrine or symbolize the divine Presence: it contains the Decalogue, which is the 'witness' to God's claims and man's duty: but the Presence is symbolized by the golden cherubim upon it—which are regularly the emblems of the nearness of deity (see on xxv. 18—20)—'from between' which, and *above* the ark, Jehovah speaks with Moses. And the cherubim rest upon the golden mercy-seat, or 'propitiatory,' symbolizing, with special emphasis and clearness, the mercifulness of God (Ex. xxxiv. 6 f.), and His readiness to forgive sin which has been repented of, and duly purged away (p. 332) by a propitiatory rite. The purification of the altar of burnt-offering (see on xxix. 36 f.), and the anointing of the Tabernacle and its vessels after their completion (xxx. 26—29), signified that objects designed for sacred purposes must be properly consecrated before being actually used in the service of Jehovah. And the ascending degrees of sanctity, attaching to the court, the Holy place, and the Holy of holies, marked both by the materials of which they were constructed, and by the fact that while the people generally might enter the court, only the priests could enter the Holy place, and only the high priest, and he only once a year, and that 'not without blood,' the Holy of holies, safeguarded, in an impressive and significant manner, the holiness of God; and shewed that, though the way to Him was open, it was open only under restrictions (Heb. ix. 8), and especially that the Presence of God Himself could be approached only by those who were, in a special sense, 'holy' (cf. Lev. xix. 2), and who carried with them the blood of atonement. According to the historical view of the Old Testament, these truths and principles do not date from Moses' time, but were acquired gradually as the result of divinely guided meditation and reflection upon sacred things: but the question of the actual date at which they were acquired does not affect their reality and value.

The symbolical meanings attached to the Tabernacle and its vessels, the vestments of the high priest, &c., by Josephus and Philo (see Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 238 f.), are cleverly drawn out, and testify to the reverence and regard with which the Tabernacle was viewed, but are too remote to possess probability.

In the NT. the Tabernacle is explained symbolically from a different point of view. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is represented as constructed so as to reproduce a heavenly archetype—not a mere architect's model, such as Ex. xxv. 9 would naturally suggest, but—a real and eternal heavenly original, the genuine 'tent,' pitched by God, not man (viii. 2), —'a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, and not of this creation,' i.e. not of this visible order of things (ix. 11),—whether by this is meant heaven itself, or an ideal celestial temple *in* heaven,—of which the earthly tabernacle is merely a secondary representation, a copy (*ὑπόδειγμα*, viii. 5, ix. 23: cf. Wisd. ix. 8) and shadow (viii. 5), or counterpart (*ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν*). And into this heavenly Temple, the archetype of the earthly tabernacle, Christ, the ideal and perfect High Priest, entered, like the Jewish high priest, only not with the blood of animal victims, but with His own blood, to appear before God, having obtained eternal redemption for us (ix. 12, 23—26; cf. on Lev. xvi.). Thus while Josephus and Philo regarded the Tabernacle as a microcosm, or 'epitome of that which is presented on a larger scale in the world of finite being' (Westcott, p. 240), the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews regards it as the temporal and material counterpart of an eternal and invisible temple in heaven. The Tabernacle further corresponds to Christ's humanity. God 'dwelt' in the midst of His people in the 'Dwelling' (xxv. 9) of a tent; and the Word, when He took flesh, 'dwelt as in a tent or tabernacle' (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) among us, and manifested His 'glory' to the world (John i. 14). And entrance into the presence of God, which was all but closed under the older Dispensation, is now opened, by the blood of Jesus, 'through a new and living way, which he hath dedicated for us, through the veil, that is to say, through his flesh' (Heb. x. 20); on which A. B. Davidson (*ad loc.*) remarks, 'This beautiful allegorizing of the veil cannot of course be made part of a consistent and complete typology. It is not meant for this. But as the veil stood locally before the holiest in the Mosaic Tabernacle, the way into which lay through it, so Christ's life in the flesh stood between Him and His entrance before God, and His flesh had to be rent ere He could enter.'

There is no question that the Tent of Meeting, as described by J and E, is historical; but there are strong reasons for holding that the Tent of Meeting, as described by P, represents an *ideal*, and had no historical reality. See on this question p. 426 ff.

The execution of the directions given in chs. xxv.—xxxi. is narrated in chs. xxxv.—xl., and (xxix. 1—37) Lev. viii.,—mostly in the same words, with merely the future tenses changed into pasts, but with a few cases of abridgment, omission, and transposition. In the notes on xxv.—xxxi. the passages in xxxv.—xl. which correspond are noted at the beginning of each paragraph by 'cf.'

The general structure and character of the Tabernacle are perfectly clear: but great difficulty and uncertainty attach to some of the details. It is impossible within the limits of the present commentary to

P And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the 25
children of Israel, that they take for me an [1]offering: of 2
every man whose heart maketh him willing ye shall take my

[1] Or, *heave offering*

discuss the doubtful or disputed points. The following notes are indebted frequently to Kennedy's full and illuminative art. TABERNACLE in *DB.*; a statement and criticism of divergent views upon the principal doubtful points will be found in Benzinger's ably written art. TABERNACLE in *EB.*

xxv. **1—9.** *Contribution of materials for a sanctuary* (cf. xxxv. 20—29). All liberally-minded Israelites are invited to contribute the materials necessary for the construction and equipment of a sanctuary—its fabric, its sacred vessels, and (ch. xxviii.) the vestments of its priests. The materials are to include metals, textile fabrics, skins, wood, oil, spices, and precious stones. The sanctuary, when completed, is to form an abode in which Jehovah may dwell in the midst of His people (*v.* 8).

2. *offering*] better, **contribution.** The Heb. *tĕrūmāh* (from *hērīm*, *to lift* or *take off*) denotes properly what is 'taken off' from a larger mass, and so separated from it for sacred purposes (LXX. often ἀφαίρεμα, 'something *taken off*'; Targ. אפרשותא, 'something *separated*'). RVm. *heave-offering* (also sometimes in the text, as Nu. xviii. 8, 11) is due to the mistaken idea that the term implies a rite of elevation: see against this, Oehler, *Theol. of OT.* § 133, or Di. on Lev. vii. 32. *Tĕrūmāh* is used in particular (1) of gifts taken from the produce of the soil (as tithe, firstfruits, and firstlings), Dt. xii. 6, 11, 17, Nu. xv. 19—21, xviii. 11 (see *vv.* 12, 13), Neh. x. 37, 39; (2) of contributions of money, spoil, &c., offered for sacred purposes, as here, *v.* 3, xxx. 13—15, xxxv. 5, 21, 24, xxxvi. 3, 6, Nu. xxxi. 29, Ezr. viii. 25; and in Ezek. of the land reserved for the priests and Levites (Ez. xlv. 1, 6, 7, &c.—here rendered 'oblation'); (3) in connexion with sacrifices, only of portions 'taken off' the rest, and forming the priest's due, especially of the so-called 'heave-' thigh (comp. on xxix. 27). See more fully the writer's note on Dt. xii. 6, or *DB.* OFFER, OFFERING, **5.** The term is a distinctive one, and differs entirely in both meaning and application from *minḥāh* and *ḳorbān*, both of which are also in RV. often rendered 'offering,' 'oblation': see *DB. l.c.* The reader who wishes to distinguish accurately the uses of these three terms is advised to ascertain, with the help of the *Englishman's Heb. Concordance to the OT.*, their occurrences, and to place a mark against each on the margin—'ת (*t.*), 'מ (*m.*), or 'ק (*ḳ.*), as the case may be.

whose heart maketh him willing] or *liberal*, *ready*: cf. xxxv. 5, 21, 22, 29; also the cognate verb, in the reflexive conj., Jud. v. 2, 9 (of *volunteering* in a campaign), and 16 times in Chr., Ezr., Neh., esp. in the Chronicler's representations of the offerings made willingly for both the first and the second Temples (1 Ch. xxix. 5, 6, 9, 14, 17; Ezr. i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5).

3 [1]offering. And this is the [1]offering which ye shall take of *P*
4 them; gold, and silver, and brass; and blue, and purple,

[1] Or, *heave offering*

3. The metals. Gold, silver, and copper are specified, the gold being prescribed, in accordance with a significant gradation, for those vessels and parts of the sanctuary which were nearest to Jehovah, the silver and the copper for those which were further off and less important. Of gold there was a superior kind, called *pure* (lit. *clean*) *gold*, i.e. gold more carefully freed from silver or alloy than ordinary gold. 'Pure gold' is thus prescribed for the gilding of the ark, and for the mercy-seat (*vv.* 11, 17); for the gilding of the table of Presence-bread, and for its vessels (*vv.* 24, 29); for the candlestick and its utensils (*vv.* 31, 36ff.); for the gilding of the altar of incense (xxx. 3); and for the chains for the sacred pouch, and the plate on the mitre, in the high priest's dress (xxviii. 14, 22, 36). Ordinary gold is prescribed for the rim and rings, and for the gilding of the staves, of the Ark, table of Presence-bread, and incense altar (xxv. 11, 12, 13; 24, 25, 26, 28; xxx. 3, 4, 5); for the cherubim on the mercy-seat (xxv. 18); for the clasps of the curtains (xxvi. 6); for the gilding of the frames and of the bars outside, and of the pillars for the veil and for the screen (xxvi. 29, 32, 37); for the rings outside the frames for the bars (xxvi. 29); for the hooks attaching the veil and the screen to their pillars (xxvi. 32, 37); and for the gold thread, rosettes, rings for the sacred pouch, and bells, in the high priest's dress (xxviii. 6, 8, 15; 11, 13, 20; 23, 26, 27; 33). Silver is prescribed for the sockets of the frames, and of the pillars for the veil (xxvi. 19, 25, 32); and for the hooks and fillets of the pillars of the court (xxvii. 10, 11, 27); and copper for the altar of burnt-offering (xxvii. 2—4, 6); the sockets and pins of the court (xxvii. 10f., 17—19); and the laver (xxx. 18).

brass] **bronze,** or **copper** (Gen. iv. 22 RVm.), which, indeed, was the meaning of 'brass' in old English: in Holland's *Pliny*, for instance, mention is made of '*mines* of brass' (cf. Dt. viii. 9). The alloy of copper and zinc which we call 'brass' was not known to the ancients. 'Bronze,' i.e. copper hardened by tin, was much used anciently for weapons and other implements, before iron came into general use.

4. Materials spun or woven.

blue] more exactly, **purple-blue** (LXX. ὑάκινθος, ὑακίνθινος, 'dark-blue'), or **violet** (Est. i. 6 AV.), i.e. yarn or stuff so coloured by means of a dye obtained from a shell-fish, found adhering to rocks in the Medit. Sea (cf. Ez. xxvii. 7), and said to be the *Helix Ianthina* (Ges. *Thes.* 1503; *DB.* i. 457^{a}). Both this and the next named stuff were highly prized in antiquity, on account of their costliness and brilliancy. Violet is mostly mentioned in connexion with the Tent of meeting: but see also Jer. x. 9, Ez. xxiii. 7, xxvii. 7, 24, Est. i. 6, viii. 15, Ecclus. vi. 30.

purple] more exactly, **purple-red** (LXX. πορφύρα), a dye extracted

P and scarlet, and [1]fine linen, and goats' *hair*; and rams' 5
P_3 skins dyed red, and [2]sealskins, and acacia wood; | oil for the 6

[1] Or, *cotton* [2] Or, *porpoise-skins*

from a small gland in the throat of two other species of shell-fish, the *Murex brandaris* and *Murex trunculus*, found on the coasts of Phoenicia (cf. Verg. '*Tyrio*que ardebat *murice* laena'). Robes of this colour were particularly distinctive of wealth and royalty: comp. Jud. viii. 26, Ez. xxiii. 6, Cant. iii. 10, 1 Macc. iv. 23, x. 20, Mk. xv. 17, Lk. xvi. 19; and the frequent mention of *purpura*, *purpureus* by Latin authors in connexion with royalty.

scarlet] lit. 'worm of *shānī*,' i.e. probably (comp. the Arab. *sanā*, to *shine*) 'of brilliancy' (cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiii. 40 'cocci *nitor*'). The 'worm' is the cochineal insect, which resembles a berry, and is found attached to the leaves and twigs of the Syrian Holm-oak (whence its technical name of *coccus ilicis*): the colouring matter is obtained from the dried body of the female. (Our word 'crimson' comes from *ḳirmiz*, the Arabic name of the same insect.) See further *NHB*. 319, *EB*. i. 956, *DB*. iv. 416^b. For allusions to this colour (outside the following chapters), see Is. i. 18, Jer. iv. 30, 2 S. i. 24, Pr. xxxi. 21.

fine linen] Heb. *shēsh*, prob. of Egypt. origin (cf. Ez. xxvii. 7; and Copt. *shens* = byssus): linen was much worn in Egypt by men of rank; see Erman, Index, or *DB*. s.v.; and cf. Gen. xli. 42. LXX. *βύσσος*, *βύσσινος*, from *būẓ*, the later Heb. syn. of *shēsh* (found exclusively in Chr., Est., as 1 Ch. xv. 27). The marg. *cotton* is less probable: see *EB*. iii. 2800. There was a superior quality of fine linen, called 'fine *twined* linen' (xxvi. 1, 31, 36, xxvii. 9, 16, 18, xxviii. 6, 8, 15, xxxix. 28, 29): this was made from yarn of which each thread was composed of many delicate strands. The Egyptians excelled in work of this kind: Amāsis (B.C. 564—526) was said to have sent to Rhodes a corslet of which each thread consisted of 360 separate strands (Hdt. iii. 47, cited by Kn.; cf. Wilkinson-Birch, ii. 166 f.).

goats' hair] This was spun by women into yarn (xxxv. 26): the fabric woven from it formed the 'tent,' or first covering, over the curtains constituting the 'Dwelling' (xxvi. 7). See also 1 S. xix. 13.

5. Skins and wood.

rams' skins dyed red] These formed the second covering over the curtains (xxvi. 14).

sealskins] Heb. 'skins of *tĕḥāshim*,' a word of uncertain meaning. In Arab. *tuḥas* or *duḥas* means a dolphin, which makes it probable that the dugong (Malay *duyong*, a sea-cow) is meant, an animal in general appearance not unlike a dolphin, though with a larger and blunter nose (see ill. in Toy's *Ezekiel*, in *SBOT.*, p. 124), species of which are common in the Red Sea; their thick and hard skins supply the Bedawin of the Sin. Peninsula with material for sandals (*NHB*. 44 f.; *EB*. i. 450 f.). An alternative view has been propounded lately, which may also be right, that *taḥash* is a loan-word from the Egypt. *tḥs*, 'leather' (Bondi, *Aegyptiaca*, 1 ff., with a full discussion of different

light, spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; P_3
7 | [1]onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for *P*
8 the breastplate. And let them make me a sanctuary; that
9 I may dwell among them. According to all that I shew

[1] Or, *beryl*

views). The third or outermost covering over the curtains forming the 'Dwelling' (xxvi. 14, &c.), wrappings for the sacred vessels on transport (Nu. iv. 6 ff.), and women's sandals (Ez. xvi. 10), are mentioned as made of *taḥash* skins. AV. *badgers*, though some such animal is advocated in the Talm., lacks philological foundation, and has no probability. It is doubtful also whether either *seals* or *porpoises* (RV. and RVm.) are sufficiently common in either the Red Sea or the Medit. to be the animals intended.

acacia] Heb. *shiṭṭim* [for *shinṭim*], shewn to be acacia, from *sanṭ*, the Arab. name of that tree. Several species of acacia are found in Palestine, the Sin. Peninsula, and the Arabian desert (*EB.* s.v. SHITTAH TREE): the *Acacia seyāl* flourishes in dry wādys, and grows freely in the Peninsula, and along the W. shore of the Dead Sea: it is a gnarled and thorny tree, some 15—25 feet in height: and its wood is hard, close-grained, and durable (cf. the rend. of LXX. ξύλα ἄσεπτα). According to Doughty (*Arab. Des.* ii. 678, cited in *EB.* l.c.), another species is used for shipbuilding on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea. The wood of the tree is mentioned only in the Pent., in connexion with the Tent of Meeting: the tree itself is mentioned also in Is. xli. 19. See further *NHB.* 390 ff., *DB.* SHIṬṬAH TREE, the illustration above, p. 181; and the note on Joel iii. 18 in the *Camb. Bible.*

6. Oil and spices. For the reason of the verse being assigned to P_3, see pp. 296, 328: cf. pp. 378 f., and xi f.

oil for the light] See on xxvii. 20.

spices for the anointing oil] xxx. 22 ff.

and for the incense **of fragrant powders**] xxx. 34 ff.

7. Precious stones.

onyx] Heb. *shōham*, a precious stone highly valued in OT. times (cf. Gen. ii. 12, Ez. xxviii. 13, Job xxviii. 16, 1 Ch. xxix. 2). There is, however, some uncertainty what the *shōham* was, though it is generally supposed to be either the *onyx* (LXX. in Job; Vulg.) or (RVm.) the *beryl* (LXX. in Ex.; Targ., Pesh.): see further on xxviii. 20. For the use made of these stones, see xxviii. 17, 20.

stones to be set] Cf. 1 Ch. xxix. 2; and see on Ex. xxviii. 17, 20.

for the ephod, and for the **pouch**] xxviii. 6 ff., 13 ff.

8. *sanctuary*] about 12 times in H and P (as Lev. xix. 30; xii. 4); often in Ezek., of the Temple (as v. 11, viii. 6, xliv. 1, 5, &c.), and occasionally besides (as ch. xv. 17, Jer. xvii. 12, Ps. lxxiii. 17).

that I may dwell **in their midst**] Cf. xxix. 45 f., Nu. v. 3: also Ez. xliii. 7, 9, Zech. ii. 10, 11, viii. 3; and, in the ideal consummation, Rev. xxi. 3. This is the essential aim and object of the Tent of Meeting as conceived by P. Cf. the next note but one. The verb is the one

P thee, the pattern of the [1]tabernacle, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof, even so shall ye make it.

[1] Heb. *dwelling*.

from which *Shekinah*, 'that which dwelleth,' the post-Bibl. term for the Presence or Manifestation of Jehovah, is derived: see the *Jewish Encycl.* or *DB.* s.v. It is very common in the Targums: thus Dt. i. 42 is in Onk. 'for my Shekinah is not among you.' For the idea of Jehovah's being, or 'dwelling,' 'in the midst' (בתוך) of His people see also Lev. xv. 31, xvi. 16, xxii. 32, xxvi. 11, 12, Nu. xvi. 3, xviii. 20, xxxv. 34 (all P or H).

9. The sanctuary is to be constructed in accordance with a **model** shewn to Moses in the mount (*v.* 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8; Nu. viii. 4). Gudea, king of Lagash (*c.* 3000 B.C.), was shewn in a dream, by the goddess Nina, the complete model of a temple which he was to erect in her honour: gold, precious stones, cedar, and other materials for the purpose were collected by him from the most distant countries (Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* i. 369 f.; Maspero, i. 610 f.).

the tabernacle] *the* **Dwelling**, Heb. *mishkān*, cognate with the verb rendered 'dwell' in *v.* 8. In AV. the word 'tabernacle' (derived from the *tabernaculum* of the Vulg., and therefore meaning properly simply a 'tent'), through a confusion originating with the LXX. (who in the Pent. rendered both words by σκηνή), was used indiscriminately for *'ōhel* ('tent') and *mishkān* ('dwelling'): in RV. the distinction has been preserved by rendering *'ōhel* 'tent,' and *mishkān* 'tabernacle.' This is undoubtedly a great improvement: the retention of 'tabernacle' for *mishkān* has, however, the disadvantage of obliterating the connexion between *mishkān*, 'dwelling,' and the cognate verb *shākan*, to 'dwell.' **Dwelling** would have been the better rend. for *mishkān* throughout.

As regards *mishkān*, it is to be observed that it is used in P in both a narrower and a wider sense. In its narrower, and stricter sense, it is used of the tapestry curtains with their supporting frames, which constituted the 'Dwelling' *par excellence* (see xxvi. 1, 6, 15; and cf. xl. 2, 6, Nu. iii. 25); but in its wider sense it is extended so as to be a general term for the entire fabric of the sanctuary, including the 'tent' and other coverings (xxvi. 7, 14) over the 'Dwelling' (so here, Nu. xvi. 9, xvii. 13, and elsewhere). *Mishkān*, in one or other of these technical senses, occurs about 100 times in P; and is used similarly a few times in Chr. (as 1 Ch. vi. 32, xvi. 39): otherwise the word is rare, and mostly poetical. The commonest expression (about 130 times) for the sanctuary as a whole is, however, the 'Tent of Meeting' (see on xxvii. 21).

furniture] The wide term explained on xxii. 7, and including here all articles, vessels, utensils, &c., belonging to the sanctuary.

10—22 (cf. xxxvii. 1—9). The *Ark*, the most sacred and important of the articles contained in the sanctuary. The ark, as described by P, is an oblong chest of acacia wood, overlaid within and without with gold, about 3 ft. 9 in. long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and 2 ft. 3 in. deep; each of its sides is finished with a rim, or moulding, of solid gold; and for its

10 And they shall make an ark of acacia wood: two cubits *P*
and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a
half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height
11 thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within
and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a
12 [1]crown of gold round about. And thou shalt cast four

[1] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

transport it is provided with two poles of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, which pass through four rings, attached to its four feet. Distinct from the ark, but resting upon it, is the 'mercy-seat,' or 'propitiatory,' a slab of solid gold, of the same length and breadth as the ark (its thickness is not stated): and near the ends of this, soldered securely into it, and facing each other, with their wings spread out over the mercy-seat, stand two small emblematic figures, the cherubim, made of beaten gold. Inside the ark are the two tables upon which the Decalogue is inscribed. From between the cherubim above the mercy-seat Jehovah 'meets' Moses, and speaks with him (xxv. 22, xxx. 6, Nu. vii. 89).

10. *an ark*] The Heb. word (*'ārōn*: not the word used of Moses 'ark,' ii. 3) signifies a *box* or *chest*: it is used in Gen. l. 26 of a mummy-case, and in 2 K. xii. 9, 10, of a coffer for the collection of money. The *cubit* may be reckoned approximately at 18 inches[1].

11. *pure gold*] See on *v.* 3.

a crown] Heb. *zēr*, the Syr. *zīr* means a *collar* or *necklace*. What is meant is prob. an ornamental **moulding**, running in relief round the ark —whether at the top of its four sides, or in the middle, is not stated—and worked perhaps in the shape of a bead or rope (LXX. *κυμάτια στρεπτά*: cf. the description in Pseudo-Aristeas (ed. Wendland, § 58 (cited *DB.* iv. 663^{a}); or in Swete, *Introd. to OT. in Greek*, p. 530) of the *zēr* on the Table of Presence-bread, made for the Temple of Leontopolis, *τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινίδων ἔκτυπον*). The table of Presence-bread, and the altar of incense, had similar decorations (*vv.* 24 f., xxx. 3 f.). 'Crown' comes through the Vulg. *corona* (xxv. 11, xxx. 3) from LXX. *στεφάνη* (xxv. 24, xxx. 3); but it does not suggest a very clear idea of what is intended. If the *zēr* ran round the top of the ark, it may have projected upwards and outwards a little, so that the mercy-seat might rest within it.

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[1] The dimensions of the restored Temple, pictured by Ezek., are given (Ez. xl. 5, xliii. 13) in cubits measuring 'a cubit and an handbreadth' (=a cubit+$\frac{1}{6}$); and this fact, taken in conjunction with 2 Ch. iii. 3 [read *former* for *first*], has led to the conclusion that the cubit in use when the Temple was built was longer than the common cubit of Ez.'s day by $\frac{1}{6}$th. The shorter cubit is estimated at 17·6—7 inches, and the longer at 20·5—6 inches (see *DB.* iv. 906^{b} ff.; or *EB.* iv. 5292 f.). Which cubit is referred to by P is uncertain: but for the purpose of forming a general idea of the Tabernacle, as conceived by him, the difference is immaterial. It is remarkable that in Egypt also two cubits were in use, of almost exactly the same lengths, the 'short' cubit (= 17·68 in.) of 6 handbreadths, and the 'royal' cubit of 7 handbreadths (*DB.* iv. 907^{b}).

P rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet thereof;
and two rings shall be on the one [1]side of it, and two rings
on the other [1]side of it. And thou shalt make staves of 13
acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt 14
put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear
the ark withal. The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: 15
they shall not be taken from it. And thou shalt put into 16
the ark the testimony which I shall give thee. And 17
thou shalt make a [2]mercy-seat of pure gold: two cubits and

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[1] Heb. *rib*.

[2] Or, *covering*

12. *in*] **on**, i.e. fasten them *on to*.

feet] short supports for the ark. Not the word used in *v.* 26.

on the one side, &c.] It is not stated whether the longer or the shorter sides are meant. The former are commonly thought of: but if the writer thought that the Divine throne should always face in the direction in which it was borne (*v.* 14), the latter will have been intended (*DB.* iv. 665^{b}; cf. 1 K. viii. 8). 'Rib' (marg.) fig. for *side* occurs also *v.* 14, xxvi. 20, 26, 27, 35, xxvii. 7, 2 S. xvi. 13 *al.*

13—15. Poles of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, to be made for the transport of the ark. Cf. 1 K. viii. 7 f. Similar poles are provided for carrying the table of Presence-bread, *vv.* 27 f., the altar of burnt-offering, xxvi. 6 f., and the altar of incense, xxx. 4 f. The word (*bad*), except in these connexions, is rare. Egyptian shrines, and sacred 'arks,' were carried in procession similarly: see Wilk.-B. iii., Plate opp. p. 355, E; *EB.* i. 307; Erman, p. 276.

16. *the testimony*] i.e. *the attestation*, or (cf. the cognate verb in Ps. l. 7 'testify,' Jer. xi. 7 'protest') *affirmation*, *averment*, viz. of God's will, and man's duty, expressed in the *Decalogue*. In Dt. (iv. 45, vi. 17, 20), and Deuteronomic writers (as 1 K. ii. 3), and writers influenced by them (as Ps. cxix. 2, 14), the same—or almost the same—word is used, in the *plural*, of Divine commandments in general, as *averments* of God's will; in P, in the *singular*, it occurs 36 times, for the Decalogue in particular, both absolutely, as here, *v.* 21, xvi. 34, Lev. xvi. 13 *al.*, and in the expressions, the *ark*, *tables*, *Dwelling* (RV. *tabernacle*: see on *v.* 9), *tent*, and *veil*, *of the testimony* (*v.* 22, xxvi. 33, xxxi. 18, xxxviii. 21, Lev. xxiv. 3, Nu. i. 50, xvii. 7, &c.). Cf. p. 193. 'Testimony' may also denote the law in general (Ps. xix. 7, cxix. 88).

17—22. The mercy-seat and the two cherubim upon it.

17. *a mercy-seat*] or, if the word could be revived, *a* **propitiatory**. This was a slab of gold, of the same length and breadth as the ark, and laid upon its top. The term *mercy-seat* was used first by Tindale (1530), being adopted by him from Luther's *Gnadenstuhl* (1523). The Heb. is *kappōreth*, formed from *kipper*, to *make propitiation* (see on xxx. 10), and meaning properly *a propitiating thing*, or *means of propitiation* (LXX. mostly ἱλαστήριον [so in Philo, *EB.* iii. 3032, and Heb. ix. 5];

a half *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the *P*
18 breadth thereof. And thou shalt make two cherubim of

Vulg. *propitiatorium*, whence Wyclif's rend. the 'propitiatory'). It is true, the blood was the actual means of propitiation in the Lev. system (Lev. xvii. 11); but the term may have been applied to the 'mercy-seat' on account of its being the means of bringing the blood as near as possible to Jehovah on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 14 f.). *Covering* (RVm.), or *cover*, though adopted by many modern scholars (cf. LXX. here [not elsewhere] ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα, a 'propitiatory *cover* or *lid*'), is a questionable rend.: for though *kafara* means to *cover* or *conceal* in Arabic, *kāphar* in Heb., *if* 'cover' is its primary meaning (which is very doubtful: see on xxx. 10), means to 'cover' not in a literal sense, but always in a metaph. sense (by a gift, offering, or rite). See further on the word (and also on its Greek rend. ἱλαστήριον, both in LXX. and in Rom. iii. 25) Deissmann's full and interesting art. MERCY-SEAT in *EB*.

The special sanctity of the *kappōreth* was due naturally to the fact that Jehovah was regarded as speaking, or appearing, immediately above it (*v.* 22, Lev. xvi. 2, Nu. vii. 89); and so it is spoken of poetically as His *footstool* (Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7, 1 Ch. xxviii. 2). Outside P it is mentioned by name only in 1 Ch. xxviii. 11.

18—20. The *cherubim*. The cherubim were composite emblematic figures, always implying the *nearness of the deity*, and appearing distinctively in the OT. (1) as bearers of the deity, (2) as guardians of a sacred spot. Thus (1) in Ps. xviii. 10 Jehovah rides on a cherub in the thunderstorm; in Ps. lxxx. 1 and elsewhere, He is described, with allusion to the cherubim in the Temple, as 'sitting upon' them; and in the vision of Ezekiel (i. 5 ff., cf. x. 1 ff.) four cherubim bear the 'firmament,' which supports Jehovah's throne: in Ez. i. 6—10 it is said that each had four faces (of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle), four wings, the hands of a man, and the feet of calves. Figures of cherubim were also carved as ornaments upon the walls and doors of the Temple (1 K. vi. 29, 32, 35), and on the bases of the ten lavers (vii. 29): in Ex. xxvi. 31 they are to be worked into the veil in front of the Most holy place, and in Ez. xli. 18—20, 25 cherubim with *two* faces, one that of a man, the other that of a lion, are to be carved on the walls and doors of the restored Temple. (2) As guardians of a sacred spot, cherubim appear in Gen. iii. 24, and in the remarkable picture of the glory of the king of Tyre in Ez. xxviii. 13—17 [read, after LXX., in *v.* 14 'With the cherub I set thee, thou wast in the holy mountain of God,' and *v.* 16 *end* 'and the cherub destroyed thee from the midst,' &c.; see Davidson's notes in the *Camb. Bible*]. In origin, the cherub is doubtless a mythological conception; Ps. xviii. 10 would suggest that it arose in a personification of the thunder-cloud, within which the Hebrews believed Jehovah to be borne along (see on Ex. ix. 23^a). Composite figures of different kinds were, however, common in the art of many of Israel's neighbours,—Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hittites, Baby-

P gold; of [1]beaten work shalt thou make them, at the two
ends of the mercy-seat. And make one cherub at the one 19
end, and one cherub at the other end: [2]of one piece with
the mercy-seat shall ye make the cherubim on the two ends
thereof. And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on 20
high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their
faces one to another; toward the mercy-seat shall the faces
of the cherubim be. And thou shalt put the mercy- 21
seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the
testimony that I shall give thee. And there I will meet 22

[1] Or, *turned* [2] Heb. *out of the mercy-seat.*

lonians, and Assyrians,—from one or other of whom they also found their way into early Greek art[1]; and it is highly probable that elements from some of these quarters were also combined in the Hebrew idea of a cherub[2]. See further CHERUB in *DB.*, *EB.*,; and *DB.* v. 644.

18. *of beaten work*] like the lampstand (*v.* 31), and the two silver trumpets (Nu. x. 2). RVm. is not probable. LXX. here τορευτὸς (in Nu. ἐλατός), Vulg. *ductilis*, *perductilis*, i.e. *drawn* or *beaten out.*

19. *of one piece with*] Heb. *out of*: the same idiom, *vv.* 31, 35, xxvii. 2, xxviii. 8, xxx. 2. The meaning is, the cherubim were not to be removable, they were to be so securely soldered to the mercy-seat as to form a whole with it.

20. *shall spread out*] Heb. *shall be spreading out*, describing their permanent condition: the idiom, as Gen. i. 6, and frequently.

with their faces, &c.] These cherubim, unlike those of Ezek. (see above), are pictured therefore as having only *one* face each. The cherubim in Solomon's Temple (1 K. vi. 23—28), it is to be noted, differed materially from those here described. Solomon's cherubim were colossal figures, each ten cubits (15 ft.) high; they were not of gold, but of olive wood, overlaid with gold; they were not *upon* the ark, nor did they face each other; they stood, one on each side of the ark, facing the entrance to the Holy of holies, and their four outstretched wings, each 5 cubits (7½ ft.) long, extended across from one wall of the Holy of holies to the other.

21. Cf. xl. 20.

22. *And there I will meet with thee*] An explanation (cf. xxx. 6, 36; also, with the *people* as the object, xxix. 42, 43, Nu. xvii. 4) of the term

[1] Comp. the illustrations of winged human figures, including one with an eagle's head, in Ball's *Light from the East*, pp. 28—33; and the gold-guarding γρῦπες (eagle-headed lions), told of by the Greeks (Aesch. *P.V.* 803 f.; Hdt. iii. 116, iv. 13, 27), derived, as Furtwängler thinks, from Hittite art; also the winged animals on the bronze stands from Larnaka, figured in Burney's *Notes on the Heb. text of Kings*, opp. to p. 91. The etymology of *cherub* is not known; nor has the word been found hitherto [1910] in any Bab. or Ass. inscription (see *KAT.*[3] p. 632, *n.* 5).

[2] See Furtwängler's very full art. GRYPS in Roscher's *Mythologisches Lexicon.*

with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the *P*
mercy-seat, from between the two cherubim which are upon
the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee
in commandment unto the children of Israel.
23 And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits
shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof,
24 and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt
overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a [1]crown of
25 gold round about. And thou shalt make unto it a border

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[1] See ver. 11.

'Tent of Meeting' (see on xxvii. 21), as signifying the appointed place where Jehovah *met* Moses for the purpose of speaking with him. Not the word used in iii. 18, v. 3, which means to 'meet by *chance*.'

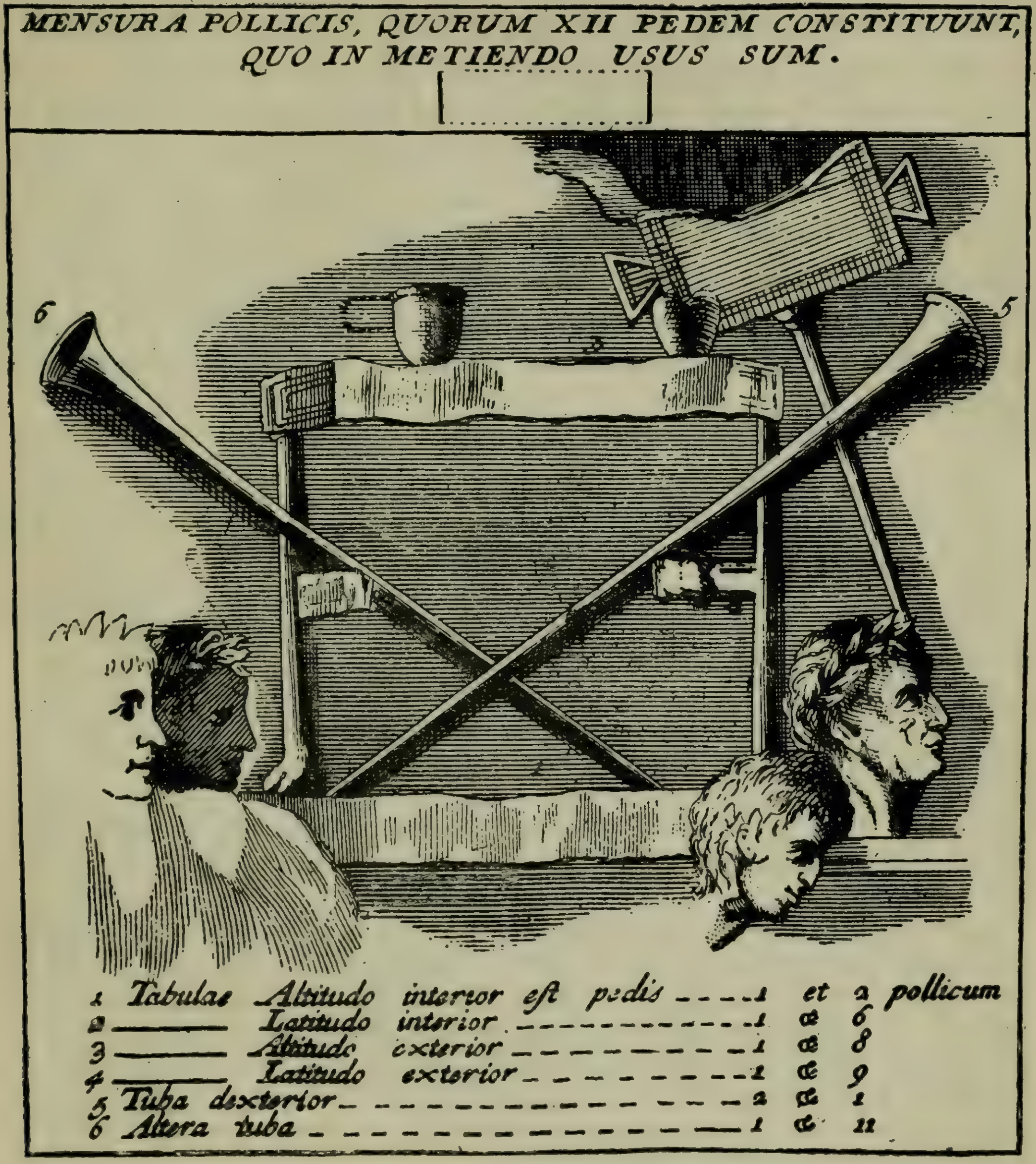
commune] an archaism for *converse*, occurring 28 times in AV., and 22 times in RV. (e.g. Gen. xviii. 33, xxxiv. 6, 8, 20). The Heb. is the ordinary word for *speak*.

from above, &c.] Cf. Nu. vii. 89.

23—30 (cf. xxxvii. 10—16). The *table of Presence-bread*. This was a table of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, 2 cubits (3 ft.) long, one cubit (1½ ft.) broad, and 1½ cubits (2 ft. 3 in.) high. The top,—to judge from that of the Table represented on the Arch of Titus,—was some 6 in. thick; and the sides and ends of this were each decorated with a solid gold moulding running round it, giving them the appearance of panels sunk into the table (see the left end of the top as represented in the fig.). The legs, according to Josephus, were square in the upper, and rounded in the lower half, terminating in claws: they were connected by cross-stays, or frames, about 3 in. broad, probably about half-way down (see fragments of these frames in the fig.), which also had golden mouldings upon them. On the four legs, close by the cross-stays, were four rings, through which poles of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, were passed, when the table had to be moved. For the service of the table, various dishes and other vessels were provided, all made of gold.

24. *a crown*] rather, *a* beaded or spiral **moulding**, as explained on *v.* 11. The moulding appears (see the fig.) to have run all round the edge of each end and side, producing the appearance of four sunk panels: cf. Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6. 6 'and it is hollowed out on each side, hollowing out as it were the surface (of the side) for four finger-breadths, a spiral (moulding) running round both the upper and the lower part of the body (of the table).'

25. *a border*] *a* **frame** (Heb. *enclosure*), about 3 in. broad, running round the Table, either (as in modern tables) immediately below the top, or (to judge from what seem to be the remains of a 'frame' in the fig.) about half-way down the legs,—in either case helping to hold the legs firm in their places. This frame was also decorated with a **moulding** of gold, running round it.


MENSURA POLLICIS, QUORUM XII PEDEM CONSTITUUNT, QUO IN METIENDO USUS SUM.

1 Tabulae Altitudo interior est pedis ---- 1 et 2 pollicum
2 ——— Latitudo interior ------------ 1 & 6
3 ——— Altitudo exterior ---------- 1 & 8
4 ——— Latitudo exterior --------- 1 & 9
5 Tuba dexterior ---------------- 2 & 1
6 Altera tuba ------------------ 1 & 11

The Table of Presence-bread, with incense-cups, and two silver trumpets (Numb. x. 2), as depicted on the Arch of Titus.

Reduced from Reland's *De spoliis Templi* (1716), p. 70.

of an handbreadth round about, and thou shalt make a *P*
26 golden crown to the border thereof round about. And
thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings
27 in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof. Close
by the border shall the rings be, for places for the staves to
28 bear the table. And thou shalt make the staves of acacia
wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be
29 borne with them. And thou shalt make the dishes thereof,
and the spoons thereof, and the flagons thereof, and the
bowls thereof, to pour out withal: of pure gold shalt thou
30 make them. And thou shalt set upon the table [1]shewbread
before me alway.

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[1] Or, *Presence-bread*

26. **on** (or **at**) *the four corners* **of** *the four feet*] The word for 'feet' is the one which ordinarily denotes the foot of a man or animal. The legs, it is probable, terminated in claws.

27. The rings were close by the points at which the 'frame' (*v.* 25) met the legs, and where probably the legs began to be rounded, and to assume the character of 'feet.'

28. The staves, or poles, were to be like those for the ark, *v.* 13.

29. *dishes*] also xxxvii. 16, Nu. iv. 7; and 14 times in Nu. vii. ('charger,' each weighing 130 shekels = *c.* 67 oz., and filled with fine flour mingled with oil). The root in Arab. signifies *to be deep*. A deep and large gold dish, or other similar vessel, must be thought of, in which the large oblong cakes were either brought to the Table, or laid out upon it.

spoons] **cups** for the frankincense, which was placed upon the loaves, and burnt (Lev. xxiv. 7) at the end of the week on the altar of burnt-offering: LXX. *θυίσκαι* ('incense-cups'), as 1 Macc. i. 22. Also xxxvii. 16, Nu. iv. 7, and 16 times in Nu. vii. (each 10 shekels = 5 oz. in weight, and filled with incense); and of the incense-cups in the Temple, 1 K. vii. 50 *al.* Cf. Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6. 6 'and above the loaves were placed two golden cups (*φιάλαι*) full of incense'; and the cups upon the Table on the Arch of Titus.

flagons...and **chalices** (*Speaker's Comm.*; LXX. *κύαθοι*)] viz. for the wine, which, though this is not stated explicitly in the OT., apparently entered into the ritual of the Presence-bread. The flagons (also xxxvii. 16, Nu. iv. 7, 1 Ch. xxviii. 17†) would be for keeping the wine in; the 'chalices' (xxxvii. 16, Nu. iv. 7, Jer. lii. 19†) for making the libations with,—we may suppose that, like other libations, they were poured out at the base of the Bronze altar (cf. xxix. 40; Ecclus. l. 15).

30. *shewbread*] This rend. is first found in Tindale's version of Heb. ix. 2 (1526), being derived by him apparently from Luther's *Schaubrot* (1522). Though, however, a possible paraphrase of the expression used by Jerome (see below), it does not correctly represent the expression

P And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of [1]beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its [2]base, 31

[1] Or, *turned* [2] Heb. *thigh.*

used here, which is undoubtedly **Presence-bread** (RVm.), i.e. bread set out in Jehovah's presence, and designed originally as His food. The custom of presenting food on a table as an oblation to a god was widely diffused among ancient peoples: it will be sufficient to instance the *lectisternia* of the Romans, the similar custom abundantly attested for Assyria, even with the use of 12 loaves (*EB.* iv. 4116; *KAT.*³ 600), the tables which the idolatrous Israelites laid out for Gad, the god of fortune (Is. lxv. 11), Baruch vi. 30, and the story of Bel and the Dragon. The gods were supposed to require food and drink; and reverence towards them naturally took the form of supplying their needs. These were the ideas out of which no doubt the Heb. institution originated; but in the light of the higher religion of Israel the 'continual bread' (Nu. iv. 7) acquired, we may be sure, a higher significance, and was regarded as a standing acknowledgement on the part of (Lev. xxiv. 8 RVm.) the children of Israel that Jehovah was the giver of their daily bread. See further on the Presence-bread (which is here mentioned only incidentally) the notes on Lev. xxiv. 5—9; Kennedy in *DB.* iv. 495 ff., 663; *Jewish Encycl.* art. SHOWBREAD; Edersheim, *The Temple and its ministry*, p. 155 f. (with quotations from the Mishna). The antiquity of the institution is attested by the familiar incident, 1 S. xxi. 4—6.

The post-exilic name of the Presence-bread—derived from the fact that the twelve large flat oblong cakes of which it consisted were arranged on the table in two piles (Lev. xxiv. 6)—was *Bread set out* (lit. *Bread of arrangement*), 1 Ch. ix. 32, xxiii. 29 *al.* (cf. on xl. 4). This was rendered by LXX. *οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως*, 'the loaves of setting before' (viz. before God: cf. *προτίθημι*, to 'set before,' of a meal), whence the NT. expression *ὁ ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως*, Mt. xii. 4 *al.* (for *ἡ πρ. τῶν ἄρτων* Heb. ix. 2, see 2 Ch. xiii. 11 LXX.). Jerome's *panes propositionis* is simply a lit. translation of the LXX. rend.; and this, understood as 'loaves of exhibition,' no doubt suggested to Luther his *Schaubrot*, whence our *shewbread.*

31—40 (cf. xxxvii. 17—24). The golden *candlestick* or **lampstand.** This consisted of a central stem, resting on feet, with three branches turned upwards and outwards on each side, the stem and branches being ornamented by the gold, at suitable distances, being beaten into the shape of the calyx and corolla of the almond-flower. The whole was of pure beaten gold, a talent (96 lb.) of the metal being employed in its construction. There were seven lamps, corresponding to the central stem and the six branches, which it was the duty of the priests to take off and trim daily, and to replace in the evening (xxvii. 21, xxx. 8).

31. *candlestick*] **Lampstand** would be a more accurate rendering; but no doubt 'candlestick' (though the expression involves an anachronism) is generally understood here in the same sense.

its base] Heb. *its thigh* (or *loins*), which seems to include rather

and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, shall be *P*
32 [1]of one piece with it: and there shall be six branches going
out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick
out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the
33 candlestick out of the other side thereof: three cups made
like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower;
and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other

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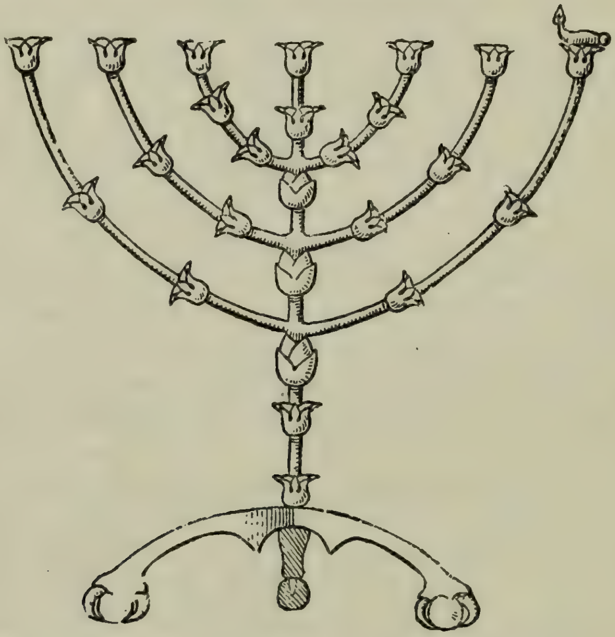
[1] Heb. *out of the same.*

more than the 'base,' viz. the part of the central stem below the lowest pair of branches, as well as the actual base, probably some kind of tripod, into which it must ultimately have expanded.



The Golden Lampstand, as reconstructed by Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy.

From Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. (1902), p. 663.

shaft] lit. *reed.*

its cups, (namely,) *its knops, and its flowers*] As *v.* 33 shews, the 'cup' is the whole opened flower, its component parts being the 'knop' and the 'flower,' or, in technical language, the calyx and the corolla, i.e. (roughly) the outer and inner leaves of the entire flower. 'Knop' is an old word meaning *knob*, or *bud.*

of one piece with it] See on *v.* 19.

33. There were three of these cups, shaped like almond-flowers, in each of the six branches.

P branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going
out of the candlestick: and in the candlestick four cups 34
made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the
flowers thereof: and a knop under two branches [1]of one 35
piece with it, and a knop under two branches [1]of one piece
with it, and a knop under two branches [1]of one piece with
it, for the six branches going out of the candlestick. Their 36
knops and their branches shall be [1]of one piece with it:
the whole of it one [2]beaten work of pure gold. And thou 37
shalt make the lamps thereof, seven: and they shall [3]light
the lamps thereof, to give light over against it. And the 38

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[1] Heb. *out of the same.* [2] Or, *turned*
[3] Or, *set up*

34, 35. There were also four similar cups in the candlestick itself, i.e. in its central shaft. *Vv.* 34, 35 are commonly understood to mean that there were four cups altogether in the central shaft, one towards the top, and the other three so placed that the 'knop' was just below the points where the three pairs of branches diverged from the central shaft; but (observe 'and' at the beginning of *v.* 35) Kennedy (p. 664^a) may be right in supposing the meaning to be that there were to be four 'knops and flowers' combined on the upper and lower parts of the shaft, and three 'knops' alone under the points where the three pairs of branches diverged from it.

35. *of one piece with it* (thrice)] i.e. with the candlestick.

37. *the lamps*] probably of the type called Phoenician, of which numerous specimens, made in terra cotta, have been found at Gezer, and other places excavated recently in Palestine: they are in shape like a shell or saucer, round or oval, open or covered in, as the case may be, and with the rim on one side pinched together, so as to form an orifice for the wick (see illustr. in *DB.* iii. 24).

light] **fix on** (cf. marg.), viz. every evening (xxx. 8). The Heb. is lit. *bring up*, i.e., as we should say, *fix on* (so xxvii. 20, xxx. 8, xl. 4, 25, Lev. xxiv. 2, Nu. viii. 2, 3†): the Rabb. interpretation 'light' is destitute of the smallest probability (for to 'make the *lamp* go up' is not the same thing as to 'make the *flame* go up').

over against it] **in front of it**, or **straight forward**, as the same expression is rendered in Ez. i. 9, 12, x. 22; cf. Nu. viii. 2, 3. The candlestick was to stand at the S. side of the Holy place; and the lamps were to be so adjusted that their wick-mouths turned northwards, and they lighted the space in front of the candlestick. 'Over against' is an old English expression meaning *opposite to*: but it is so little used now that it fails to convey a clear idea to the average reader.

tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure *P*
39 gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all
40 these vessels. And see that thou make them after their
pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

38. *tongs*] so xxxvii. 23, Nu. iv. 9, 1 K. vii. 49[b] (=2 Ch. iv. 21[a]), Is. vi. 6†. In Is. vi. 6 we should still say 'tongs' (the Heb. is lit. *the two takers*), but not in the other cases. Probably in all cases something of the nature of *tweezers* for drawing up the wick is meant (like the *forcipes* figured in Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiq.*[3] i. 872): 'snuffers,' which in the case of a lamp we should naturally think of, represents a different Heb. word (1 K. vii. 50 *al.*).

snuffdishes] so xxxvii. 23, Nu. iv. 9. The same word (lit. (fire-) *catcher*) is also used for what we should denote by the separate terms *fire-pan* (xxvii. 3 *al.*), and *censer* (Nu. xvi. 6 *al.*).

39. *a talent*] probably (*DB.* iv. 903[b], 906[a]) 673,500 grs. = *c.* 96 lb. avoirdupois,—worth, at the present value of gold, *c.* £5460.

40. Cf. *v.* 9: also Nu. viii. 4; and Acts vii. 44.

In Solomon's Temple there were ten golden candlesticks, five standing on each side of the Holy place, in front of the *adyton* (1 K. vii. 49; cf. Jer. lii. 19): in the post-exilic Temple there was only a single candlestick (1 Macc. i. 21, iv. 49). It is this which was taken from the Herodian Temple by the Romans, and is represented on the famous Arch of Titus. In the Temple at Shiloh there was only a single lamp (1 S. iii. 3).

The Ark.

It is impossible to give here a history of the Ark; but a few words may be permitted, respecting the religious ideas associated with it, and opinions as to its possible origin.

The oldest name of the ark was the 'ark of Jehovah,' Josh. iii. 13 &c. (or 'of God,' 1 S. iii. 3 &c.), or, less frequently, 'the ark' alone (Nu. x. 35 *al.*): the Deut. expression (see p. 193) is 'the ark of the covenant' (with or without 'of Jehovah' added): P's characteristic expression is the 'ark of the testimony' (13 times: see on xxv. 16, 22). Both these latter terms are used with allusion to the tables inscribed with the Decalogue, which,—as in our extant sources (see however on Ex. xxxiv. 3) we first learn from Dt. x. 2, 5,—were contained in it. In itself the 'ark' is similar in principle to the sacred chests in which many other ancient nations, as the Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, kept images, or other sacred objects, and sometimes also carried them in processions. Now it is noticeable that in nearly all the pre-Deuteronomic references, the ark—which in these passages 'must be thought of as a simple chest, very different from the gold-covered shrine of P, with its' massive golden 'mercy-seat, and over-arching cherubim' (Kennedy)—appears as much more than a mere receptacle of two inscribed stones; it is, in fact, in a very special sense, a symbol and pledge of Jehovah's presence; and it is even spoken of as if He were actually present in it, so that wherever the ark was, Jehovah was there with it. Especially in war is it thus regarded as the material vehicle or accompaniment of Jehovah's presence. In the ancient verses preserved in Nu. x. 35 f.—originally, to judge from the terms used, the prayer with which the Ark was sent forth to battle, and the welcome with which its return was greeted,—'Arise, O Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered, Let them that hate thee flee before thee,' and 'Return, O Jehovah, to the myriads of Israel's clans,' Jehovah is addressed as though He were present in the ark, and moved with it. The case is similar in 1 S. iv. 3, where the Hebrew sheikhs say, 'Let us fetch the ark of Jehovah ...from Shiloh, that it may come...and save us,' and when it arrives, the Philistines exclaim (*v.* 7), 'God is come into the camp'; and in vi. 19, where, after the ark has been brought back, and some of the men of Beth-shemesh are smitten, the others exclaim, 'Who is able to stand before Jehovah this holy God?' So in 2 S. vi. 5 ff. David and the Israelites, accompanying the ark with dancing and music, are described as playing 'before Jehovah' (*vv.* 5, 21); and in Jos. vii. 6—9 the Israelites fall down before the ark and pray to Him. It is also evidently as the pledge of Jehovah's presence and effectual help, that in 2 S. xi. 11 the ark is taken with the host on a campaign, and that in 2 S. xv. 24 f. Zadok takes it with David, when he leaves Jerusalem (though the king magnanimously sends it back): in Nu. xiv. 44, on the contrary, its absence from the host (which is tantamount to Jehovah's absence, *v.* 42) is the cause of defeat. Other ancient nations took images of their gods into battle (2 S. v. 21: *Rel. Sem.* 37, citing Polyb. vii. 9, Diod. xx. 65 [the Carthaginians' 'sacred tent']): the Israelites had a custom which was the same in principle; but their palladium was the image-less ark.

These passages, which shew that in early Israel the ark was, in a very real sense, identified with the *presence* of Jehovah, are not adequately explained if the only purpose of the ark was to form a receptacle for the two tables of stone. How the former conception of the ark arose, the extant narratives do not state: they describe the ark as made purely to receive the tables of stone; and in P Jehovah speaks not from the ark itself, but *from between* the cherubim upon it. We are therefore reduced to conjecture. When we remember that Jacob speaks of the stone at Bethel as being itself the 'house,' or abode, of God (Gen. xxviii. 22), one supposition that suggests itself is that in very remote times the ark may have sheltered a sacred stone, regarded by the primitive Israelites as the abode of a deity (so Benz. *Arch.*^{1} 369 [^{2}312 a very different view]; Bä.; in greater detail, Cheyne, *EB.* i. 307 f.), but 'transformed' ultimately, 'in reverent Hebrew thought "into a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God"' (McNeile, p. 163, without, however, definitely accepting this view). Such conjectures are not illegitimate: for our accounts of the beginnings of Israel's religion, it must be borne in mind, are both imperfect in themselves, and spring from a time when higher and more spiritual ideas were current than had once been the case. Another view, which admits of being more easily accommodated to Ex. xxxiii. 1—7, is

26 Moreover thou shalt make the [1]tabernacle with ten *P* curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman

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[1] See ch. xxv. 9.

that the ark contained a stone, or stones, taken from the sacred 'mount of God,' Horeb, which was regarded as an assurance of the protecting presence of Jehovah (whose abode was on Sinai, xix. 4) after they left it (Moore, *EB*. i. 2155): and there are independent reasons for thinking (see on xxxiii. 6) that the ark was originally conceived as supplying some kind of visible substitute for Jehovah's personal presence. Or, thirdly, Kennedy may be right (*Samuel*, in the *Century Bible*, p. 324) in seeing in the ark an embodiment of that 'Presence of Jehovah,' which it is promised shall accompany Israel to Canaan (xxxiii. 14), as, not indeed Jehovah Himself, but His sufficient representative (cf. *DB*. i. 150 f.).

It is common to all these theories to regard the ark as not originally intended to receive the tables of the Decalogue: it is not probable, it is argued, that laws of fundamental importance, intended to be observed by all, should be placed where they could not be seen. The question cannot be here pursued further; and it must suffice to refer the reader, for fuller discussion, to Kennedy, *DB*. i. s.v., and *Samuel*, p. 321 ff.; Kautzsch, *DB*. v. 628 f., and McNeile, p. 161 ff. Jehovah's presence, it is clear, was regarded as in some way 'objectively attached to the ark': but the historical origin of this idea our extant data do not enable us certainly to determine. And this is why we are driven to conjecture. It may only be worth while to add that in Jer. iii. 16 the time is looked forward to, by the spiritually-minded prophet, when no such material symbol of Jehovah's presence will be needed; and the ark, having served its purpose through many centuries, will be neither 'remembered, nor missed (RVm.), nor made again.'

Ch. xxvi. The **Dwelling**, or (RV.) 'tabernacle,' i.e. (see on xxv. 9) the interior fabric of curtains, supported upon a wooden framework, forming the Holy place, and the Holy of holies.

1—6 (cf. xxxvi. 8—13). The ornamented *curtains*, forming the Dwelling itself. These were ten in number, each 28 cubits (42 ft.) long, and 4 cubits (6 ft.) wide, all made of richly coloured tapestry, with figures of cherubim interwoven (the 'work of the designer'). When joined together, they formed a single large curtain, 40 cubits (60 ft.) long, and 28 cubits (42 ft.) broad.

1. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling**,—used here, as the passage itself clearly shews, in its stricter sense (see on xxv. 9) of the structure formed by the tapestry hangings. Cf. xl. 2 (with the note), 3, Nu. iii. 25.

fine twined linen] i.e. linen of superior fineness: see on xxv. 4.

blue, &c.] i.e. threads dyed with these colours (xxv. 4).

cherubim] the composite animal figures described on xxv. 18.

the work of the **designer**] or, *of the* **pattern-weaver**. 'Cunning workman' is not a good rendering; for it lacks the necessary distinctness. 'Cunning' (i.e. *kenning*, *knowing*) is an archaism for *skilful*—or (xxxi. 4)

P shalt thou make them. The length of each curtain shall be 2
eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain
four cubits: all the curtains shall have one measure. Five 3
curtains shall be coupled together one to another; and *the
other* five curtains shall be coupled one to another. And 4

skilfully made—used often in AV., and retained mostly in RV., to denote various kinds of technical skill (xxxviii. 23, Gen. xxv. 27, 1 S. xvi. 16, 2 Ch. ii. 7, Jer. ix. 17 *al.*). Even 'skilful workman' would not however be sufficiently distinctive: the Heb. word means *deviser* or *designer*, viz. of artistic designs in weaving, and is one of three terms, used repeatedly in these chapters, to distinguish three different grades of textile work. We have viz.:—

(1) *the* **work of the weaver** (xxviii. 32, xxxix. 22, 27), i.e. simple weaving, work woven of one material only: as of blue, xxvi. 4 (the loops for the curtains), xxviii. 28 (the lace attaching the sacred pouch to the ephod), 31 (the robe of the ephod), 37 (the lace attaching the gold plate to the high priest's turban); of white linen xxviii. 39 (the turban), xxxix. 27 f. (the priests' tunics and caps); or of fine twined linen, xxvii. 9 (the hangings of the court), xxxix. 28 (the priests' drawers).

(2) *the* **work of the variegator** (or **embroiderer**): xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16 (the screens for the entrances to the Dwelling and the court); xxviii. 39, xxxix. 29 (the sash of the high priest). There is no doubt that this term denotes work *variegated in colours*: but it is disputed whether it means work *woven* in colours, or *embroidered* in colours. According to Kn. Di. it is work woven of blue, purple, scarlet, and white yarns, arranged in stripes or checks, but without figures or gold thread (as No. 3): Kennedy (*EB.* iv. 5289) thinks that it is embroidery proper, i.e. woven work, decorated afterwards by the needle with figures embroidered on it in colours. The cognate subst. *variegated* (or *embroidered*) *work* occurs Jud. v. 30, Ez. xvi. 10, 13, 18, xvii. 3 (of variegated plumage), xxvi. 16, xxvii, 7, 16, 24, Ps. xlv. 14, 1 Ch. xxix. 2†; and the verb in Ps. cxxxix. 15 ('curiously wrought'). When the white woollen carpet which separates the men's from the women's compartment in a Bedawi tent is 'interwoven with patterns of flowers,' it is denoted in Arabic by the corresponding partic. *marḳūm*, 'variegated' (Burckh. *Bedouins*, i. 40).

(3) *the* **work of the designer**, i.e. work woven of blue, purple, scarlet, and white yarns, with figures (as here and *v.* 31), or gold thread (xxviii. 6, 15), artistically interwoven: xxvi. 1 (the curtains of the Dwelling), 31 (the veil), xxviii. 6 (the ephod), 15 (the pouch for the Urim and Thummim).

3. The curtains were to be joined together, so as to form two sets of five, each 28 cubits (42 ft.) long, and 20 cubits (30 ft.) broad. The Dwelling was 30 cubits long, and 10 cubits high and broad: and the curtain was spread over it in such a way that it hung down for the entire height of 10 cubits behind (the front, having a 'screen' of its own

thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one *P*
curtain [1]from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise
shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost
5 in the second [2]coupling. Fifty loops shalt thou make in
the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge
of the curtain that is in the second [2]coupling; the loops
6 shall be opposite one to another. And thou shalt make
fifty clasps of gold, and couple the curtains one to another
7 with the clasps: and the tabernacle shall be one. And
thou shalt make curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the
8 tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make them. The
length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth
of each curtain four cubits: the eleven curtains shall have
9 one measure. And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double
10 over the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tent. And

---

[1] Or, *that is outmost in the* first *set*

[2] Or, *set*

(*v.* 36), not needing any curtain), and for 9 cubits on each of the two sides.

4—6. These sets were to be coupled together so as to form a single large curtain 28 cubits (42 ft.) broad, and **40** cubits (60 ft.) long. The coupling was to be effected by 50 loops of violet tape being attached to one of the outer edges of each set, and fastened to the loop opposite to it by golden clasps.

4. *from the selvedge*, &c.] **at the extremity.**

in the (first) **set**] 'Coupling' = *things coupled together*, i.e. 'set.'

4 *end*, **5^b.** *coupling*] **set** (RVm.).

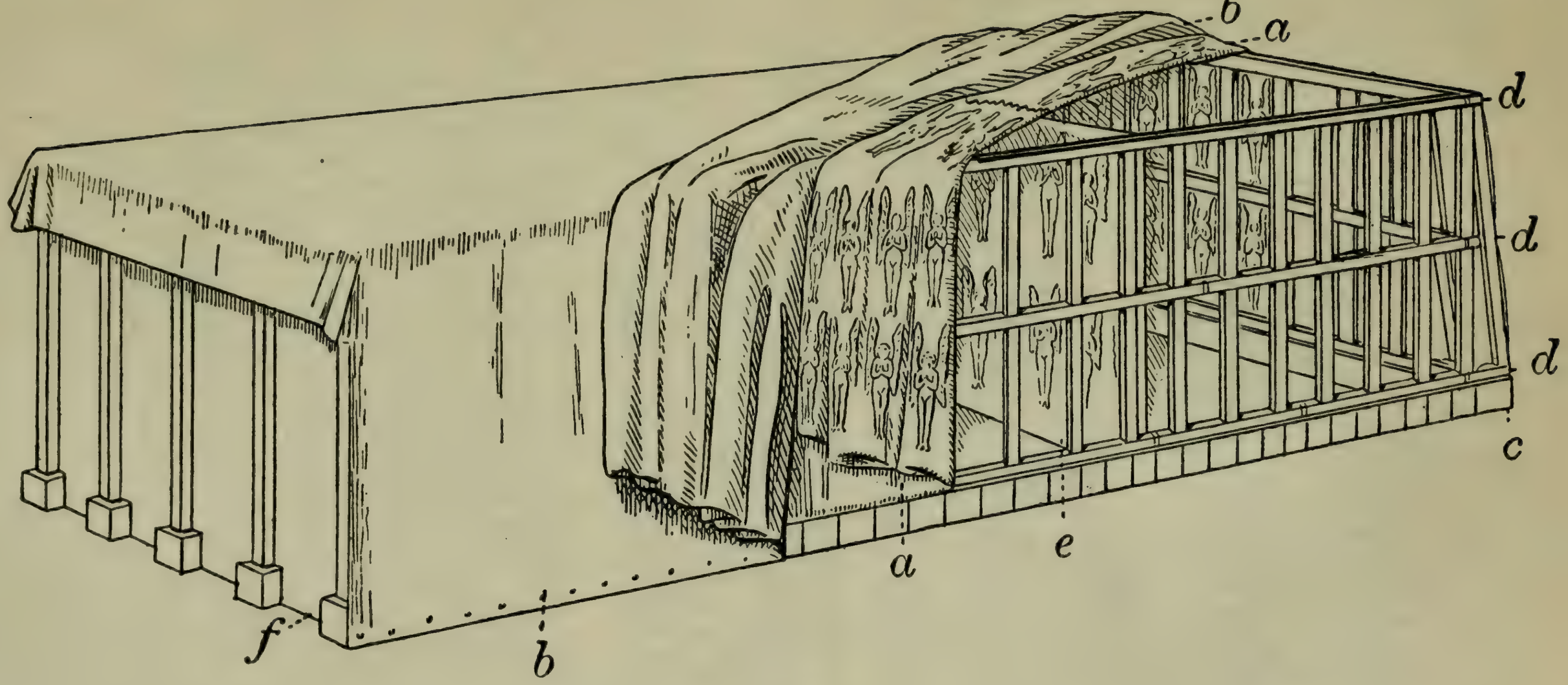
6 *and the* **Dwelling** *shall be one*] it will be formed by one single curtain.

7—13 (cf. xxxvi. 14—18). The *Tent* over the Dwelling, consisting of eleven curtains of cloth made of goats' hair, each 30 cubits long, and 4 cubits wide, fastened together so as to form a single large curtain, 30 cubits broad, and 44 cubits long. The Bedawin still make their tents of goats' hair in the same way: breadths of goats' hair cloth, it may be $\frac{3}{4}$ yd. broad, and as long as the breadth of the tent, are stitched together, and form a covering capable of keeping out the heaviest rain (Burckh. *Bedouins*, i. 37; cf. *DB.* iv. 717): comp. Cant. i. 5, where their dark colour is alluded to.

8. The dimensions of the 'curtains,' or, as we should here say, 'breadths.' On the *late* Heb. for 'eleven,' see *LOT.* 156 *n.*

9^a. The curtains, or 'breadths,' are to be coupled together, so as to form two sets, of five and six breadths respectively.

9^b. *double over*] i.e., as commonly understood, *lay double* on the top



Model of P's Tent of Meeting, as reconstructed by Prof. Kennedy.

The two outermost coverings (Ex. xxvi. 14) are removed, shewing the framework covered by the tapestry curtains *a a* with the figures of cherubim, the goats' hair curtains of the 'tent' (xxvi. 7) *b b*, one of the corner frames *c*, the bars *d d d*, the veil *e*, and the screen *f*.

From Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 661.

thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain *P*
that is outmost in the [1]coupling, and fifty loops upon the
edge of the curtain which is *outmost in* the second [2]coupling.
11 And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps
into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may
12 be one. And the overhanging part that remaineth of the
curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall
13 hang over the back of the tabernacle. And the cubit on

---

[1] Or, first *set*

[2] Or, *set*

of the Dwelling in front, so as to form a kind of portal *above* the entrance. But this is not the natural meaning of the Heb., which is that the curtain is to be doubled *in front of* the Dwelling, so as to hang down there for 2 cubits, forming a kind of valance over the top of the screen (*v.* 36), and securing that the Dwelling is in perfect darkness (so Kennedy, p. 662^a). Render then **double** (without 'over'); and see further on *v.* 12.

10, 11. How the two sets, of five and six breadths respectively, were to be held together, viz. by 50 loops, with clasps of copper, attached to the outer edge of one of the end breadths in each set.

10. *coupling*] better as marg.: cf. *vv.* 4, 5.

11. *brass*] **copper** or **bronze**. Gold (*v.* 6) was confined to the clasps for the *inner* curtains, forming the Dwelling proper.

12. *overhanging*] The Heb. means *loose* or *free*, not necessarily 'overhanging.'

the half curtain that remaineth] The breadth in front is laid double (*v.* 9): it is consequently halved in width; and the entire length of the curtain is thus 42 cubits. As the Dwelling is 30 cubits long and 10 cubits high, it follows that, according to the usual view of *v.* 9^b, 12 cubits will hang down behind, according to Kennedy's view, 10 cubits will hang down behind. The 'half-curtain' (= 2 cubits) overhanging at the back can thus, upon the usual view, be only the 2 cubits in excess of the 10 (so Di.), the whole 12, we may suppose, being stretched out, and pegged to the ground in the manner of a tent: it is not, however, very natural to speak of only the 2 cubits as hanging down loosely behind: we should rather expect the whole 12 to be so spoken of. The difficulty would be removed, if we might suppose the words, 'the half-curtain that remaineth,' in *v.* 12 to be a mistaken gloss, arising out of a hasty reading of *v.* 9^b: if these words are omitted, the length of the part hanging down behind is not specified, and it might, of course, be either the 12 cubits required by the ordinary view of *v.* 9^b, or the 10 cubits required by Kennedy's view. The latter view does better justice to *v.* 9^b, and also has the advantage of making the goats' hair curtain hang down symmetrically on the two sides and the back, viz. so as exactly to touch the ground in each case.

P the one side, and the cubit on the other side, of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to cover it. And thou shalt make a covering 14 for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [1]sealskins above.

And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle of 15 acacia wood, standing up. Ten cubits shall be the length 16 of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each

---

[1] Or, *porpoise-skins*

13. On the two sides of the Dwelling, the curtain of goats' hair being 30 cubits broad, while the inner tapestry curtain was 28 cubits broad, the former would of course reach a cubit lower than the latter, and touch the ground.

14 (cf. xxxvi. 19). Two outer coverings of stronger and stouter materials, to be laid over the Tent, for protection against rain. Kn. reminds us that on military expeditions the Romans used in winter to cover their tents with skins (*sub pellibus hiemare*).

rams' skins dyed red] i.e. leather, dyed, not with the costly Phoenician 'scarlet' (xxv. 4), but probably (Kennedy), as LXX. ἠρυθροδανωμένα suggests, with *madder* (ἐρυθρόδανον).

sealskins] **dugong** *skins* (xxv. 5). The Dwelling, with the coverings above it, was kept in its place by cords connecting it with pins driven into the ground, in the manner of a tent: see xxvii. 19, xxxv. 18, xxxviii. 20, 31.

15—30 (cf. xxxvi. 20—34). The 'boards,' or, perhaps, **frames**, for the Dwelling. There is great difficulty in some of the details: but the general sense is clear. The 'boards' were to be of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, each 10 cubits (15 ft.) long, and 1½ cubits (2 ft. 3 in.) broad: they were to be placed upright, so as to form the sides and back of the Dwelling, each resting in two sockets of silver: there were to be twenty forming each side, six to form the back, and two, of special construction, at the corners, where the back and sides met: five bars, attached to the boards by rings, were to run horizontally along the two sides and the back, respectively, to hold them firmly in their place.

15—17. The *wooden framework* of the Dwelling.

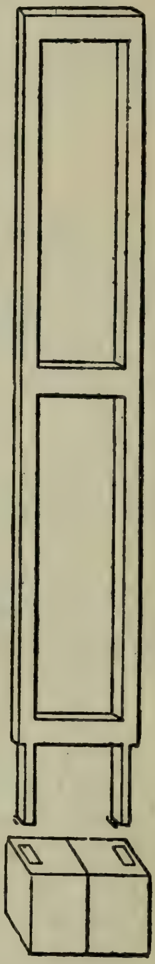
15. *boards*] either **beams** or **frames**: 'boards' suggests something much thinner than seems to be intended. The Heb. *ḳéresh*, except in the present connexion (50 times), occurs only Ez. xxvii. 6, of some part of a ship, described there as made up of ivory, inlaid in boxwood (RV. *benches*, RVm. *deck*); and its exact sense is uncertain. Here it has commonly been rendered *boards*: but to this rend. Kennedy (p. 659^b) makes the pertinent objections that, if these 'boards' are to support the curtains, the latter must hang down outside them: the boards, however,

17 board. Two tenons shall there be in each board, [1]joined P
one to another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards of

---

[1] Or, *morticed*

standing, as they are described, close to each other, would form, on the two sides and back of the Tabernacle, three solid wooden walls; if, then, the Dwelling on three of its sides was formed of these wooden walls, it is difficult to understand how it can be consistently spoken of as formed by the *curtains* (*v.* 1, &c.): and, moreover, if the sides of the Dwelling were thus solid, these richly worked curtains would be hidden from view, not only on the outside, as they would be in any case, by the curtain of goats' hair and the two skin coverings, but also on the inside (except on the roof). Hence Kennedy argues, with much force, that the *ḳĕrāshim* were pictured, not as solid boards, but as wooden *frames* (as shewn in the illustr.), which, while affording sufficient support for the curtains and skin coverings, would allow the richly coloured tapestry curtains with their cherubim figures to appear inside the sanctuary. Kennedy's view undoubtedly brings a very great improvement into the idea of the Tabernacle: but the sense attached to *ḳéresh* being hypothetical, it is difficult to accept it quite unreservedly.



A 'Frame,' with its bases.

Reduced from Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 660.

The *thickness* of the *ḳĕrāshim* is not specified. Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 6. 3) gives it as 4 finger-breadths (3 in.): Rashi (11 cent.), Ew. *al.* suppose it to have been a cubit (18 in.). *V.* 22 suggests that the writer pictured them as ½ a cubit (9 in.) thick: but even in this case, if they were solid, their dimensions being 15 ft. × 2 ft., 3 in. × 9 in., they would be so substantial as to be beams rather than 'boards.'

17. *tenons*] lit. *hands*, used fig. of *supports*: cf. 1 K. vii. 32, 33 (EVV. *axletrees*; rather, diagonal *stays* under the body of the laver, holding the axles in their places), 35 (*supports* of the basin at the top), 36 (corrupt dittography from *v.* 35: see Skinner's note in the *Century Bible*), x. 16 (of the 'arms' of a throne). These 'hands,' or tenons, as ordinarily understood, were pegs projecting underneath the bottom of the boards, to hold them firm in their sockets (*v.* 19).

joined] the word (only here and in the ||, xxxvi. 22) means *joined by*

P the tabernacle. And thou shalt make the boards for 18
the tabernacle, twenty boards for the south side southward.
And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty 19
boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons,
and two sockets under another board for its two tenons:

a cross-piece (cf. the cognate *shĕlabbim*, 1 K. vii. 28, 29†, 'cross-pieces,' or 'cross-rails' [see Skinner's note: in EVV. misrendered *ledges*], and the post-Bibl. *shĕlībāh*, the '*rung*' of a ladder), **clamped together.** The tenons of each board (or frame) were secured in their places by a clamp of metal underneath the bottom of the board.

Kennedy, however (p. 660^{a}), understands the 'hands' not of tenons, but of the *upright sides* of the 'frame' themselves, and would render *vv.* 15—17 thus: 'And thou shalt make the *frames* for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up,—10 cubits the length of a frame, and 1½ cubits the breadth of a frame,—namely, two *uprights* for [so rightly, for EVV. *in*] each frame, *joined* one to another *by cross-rails* [see the illustr.]: thus shalt thou make for all the frames of the Dwelling.' The translation is quite legitimate (for there is in the Heb. no 'shall be' in either *v.* 16 or *v.* 17), and the explanation clever: but it is difficult to feel certain that such 'uprights' would be called *hands* in Heb. The sense 'frames' for *ḳĕrāshim* is not dependent upon it; and it is perhaps safer to adhere to the usual rend. 'tenons.'

18—25. The number of frames for each side of the Dwelling, and the arrangements for holding them firmly in their place.

18. *for the south side southward*] lit., with not quite the same tautology as the English, **towards** (the) **Negeb,** *southward.* The 'Negeb' (properly, as Aram. shews, meaning *dry land*) is a geographical term denoting the arid district in the S. of Judah (Gen. xii. 9 RVm., Jos. xv. 21, and often); as this district was on the S. of Canaan, it became the most usual word in Heb. for 'south.' Its use in the Pent. is an indication that this was written after Israel had lived long enough in Canaan for 'négeb' to have acquired this sense. The same pleonasm recurs in xxvii. 9, and in the || ||, xxxviii. 9, xxxvi. 23, Ez. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28; and there are similar ones in xxvii. 13 (|| xxxviii. 13), Nu. xxxiv. 15.

19. *sockets*] **bases** (Ez. xli. 22 RVm.), or **pedestals** (cf. Job xxxviii. 6 'foundations'; Cant. v. 15 supporting pillars), i.e. solid blocks of silver—acc. to xxxviii. 27 weighing a talent (96 lbs.) each—resting on the ground, and, naturally, with 'sockets' in them to receive the 'tenons.' A talent of silver, of the sacred standard, weighed probably (*DB.* iii. 422^{b}, 419^{b}) about 96 lbs. av.: so that, as a cubit ft. of silver weighs 655 lbs., the talent would amount to about 250 cubic inches, i.e. it might form a block about 7 in. square and 5 in. deep: two such blocks were to stand under each of the frames. Kennedy, however, discarding xxxviii. 27 as part of a late addition to P (see on xxxviii. 24—31), pictures each base as a square plinth, ¾ cubit on the side and a

20 and for the second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, *P*
21 twenty boards: and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets
under one board, and two sockets under another board.
22 And for the hinder part of the tabernacle westward thou
23 shalt make six boards. And two boards shalt thou make
24 for the corners of the tabernacle in the hinder part. And
they shall be double beneath, and in like manner they shall
be entire unto the top thereof unto [1]one ring: thus shall it
25 be for them both; they shall be for the two corners. And
there shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver,
sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two

---

[1] Or, *the first*

cubit high, the whole forming thus a continuous wall under the frames; the weight of each base in this case would be about 1240 lbs.

22. *westward*] lit. **sea**-*ward*. *Sea* (i.e. the Medit. sea) is in Heb. the regular word for 'west'; and the usage, like that of *négeb* in *v.* 18 in the sense of 'south,' could only have arisen after Israel had been long settled in Canaan. So x. 19, 27, xxvii. 12, xxxvi. 27, 32, xxxviii. 12.

The twenty frames for the sides of the Dwelling made up its entire length of 30 cubits ($= 1\frac{1}{2} \times 20$). The six frames at the end would make 9 cubits: so that, as the entire width of the Dwelling was 10 cubits, if the frames at the sides were $\frac{1}{2}$ a cubit thick, the six at the end would just fill up the 9 cubits between them.

23, 24. The two corner frames.

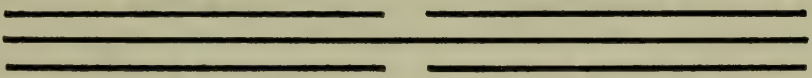
24. A most obscure verse, the *crux* of all interpreters. It must suffice here to state Kennedy's view (p. 661); for a discussion of others, the reader is referred to McNeile, p. lxxv f. (see also W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Phil.* xvi. 76). After *v.* 22 these two extra frames do not really appear to be required: apparently, however, they are intended to strengthen the two corners, at the back of the Dwelling, the idea being that the last frame at each end of the hinder wall is to be doubled, the second frame forming a buttress, sloping upwards from the outside and terminating just under the uppermost of the bars described in *v.* 26 f. The verse may be rendered, *And they shall be* **twinned** (so AVm.: i.e. twin-pieces to the two extreme frames of the end wall, and braced to them to give additional strength) **from** *beneath*, *and* **together** (i.e. **both alike**, as Dt. xii. 22) *they shall be* **twinned** (reading תאמים, as just before, for תמים) *unto the top thereof* (viz. of the Dwelling) *unto* **the first** *ring* (i.e. the topmost ring (see *v.* 29) at the back of the Dwelling): *thus shall it be*, &c. The sense, it must be admitted, is contortedly expressed: but no explanation is free from objection, and nothing more satisfactory has been proposed.

25. *eight*] i.e. the 6 + 2 of *vv.* 22, 23. **Bases** for *sockets*, as before.

P sockets under another board. And thou shalt make 26
bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of
the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the other 27
side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the
side of the tabernacle, for the hinder part westward. And 28
the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass through
from end to end. And thou shalt overlay the boards with 29
gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars:
and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. And thou 30
shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof
which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and 31
scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of
the cunning workman shall it be made: and thou shalt 32

26—29. The *bars.* Five gilt bars of acacia wood, attached to the frames by gold rings, are to run horizontally along the two sides and the back of the Dwelling, to keep the frames in their places. The middle bar in each case ran from end to end: the other bars, it may be inferred, were shorter, perhaps arranged as is here shewn:



It is not stated whether the bars were to be outside or inside the Dwelling: but the former seems the more natural, and is commonly assumed.

30. Cf. xxv. 9, 40; and see xl. 18.

fashion] more exactly, *prescribed norm*: cf. 1 K. vi. 38, Ez. xlii. 11; and see on this sense of *mishpāṭ* the writer's *Jeremiah*, p. 345.

31—35. The *veil*, to separate the Holy place from the Holy of holies, made of the same richly coloured tapestry, with figures of cherubim woven into it (the 'work of the designer'), as the curtain (*v.* 1), and suspended on four gilt pillars of acacia wood, *vv.* 31—33 (cf. xxxvi. 35—36). The position of the ark, the table of the Presence-bread, and the candlestick, *vv.* 34—5 (cf. xl. 20, 22, 24).

31. *a veil*] Heb. *pārōketh*, only in P, in the same connexion, and 2 Ch. iii. 14: the primary meaning was probably 'that which shuts off' (cf. Ass. *parâku*, to *bar* or *shut off*, *parakku*, *apartment*, esp. *shrine* in a Temple; Syr. *perakkā* (loan-word), a *shrine*). In Heb. vi. 19 f., ix. 7, 8, x. 19—22, the veil (with allusion to the fact that the high priest alone, and that only once in the year, entered into the Holy of holies) is regarded as forming an impediment to the approach to God, which was broken down by Christ, when He entered by His own blood into the 'holy place' in heaven (Heb. ix. 12, 24—26).

of the cunning workman] *of the* **designer** (*v.* 1).

hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold, their *P*
33 hooks *shall be* of gold, upon four sockets of silver. And
thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and shalt
bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony:
and the veil shall divide unto you between the holy place
34 and the most holy. And thou shalt put the mercy-seat
35 upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. And
thou shalt set the table without the veil, and the candlestick
over against the table on the side of the tabernacle toward
the south: and thou shalt put the table on the north
36 side. And thou shalt make a screen for the door
of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined
37 linen, the work of the embroiderer. And thou shalt make
for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with
gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt cast five
sockets of brass for them.

32. *four* **bases** *of silver*] such as the frames rested upon, *v.* 19 ff.

33. *under the clasps*] the clasps mentioned in *v.* 6, which must have been (*vv.* 2, 3) at a distance of 5 × 4 (= 20) cubits from the front of the Dwelling, and (as the Dwelling is 30 cubits long) 10 cubits from its back. The Holy place is thus 20 cubits long, and the Most Holy place 10 cubits; as the latter is also 10 cubits high and 10 cubits wide, it forms a cube. The length and breadth of the Dwelling are exactly half those of Solomon's Temple (60 × 20 cubits): the Holy of holies is also half the height of that in the Temple (20 × 20 × 20 cubits), but the Holy place is only a third as high as that in the Temple (40 × 20 × 30 cubits): see 1 K. vi. 2, 16, 17, 20 [for 'oracle,' read *hindmost part*, or *shrine*, and for 'temple,' Heb. *hêkāl*, read *hall*; see p. 259].

35. *over against*] **opposite to**, on the south side of the table.

36—7 (xxxvi. 37—8). The *screen*, to cover the entrance to the Dwelling. This was of the same materials as the veil (*v.* 31), but, as it was further from the shrine, of less elaborate workmanship, the 'work of the variegator,' or 'embroiderer' (not of the 'designer' or pattern-weaver: see on *v.* 1), and without cherubim.

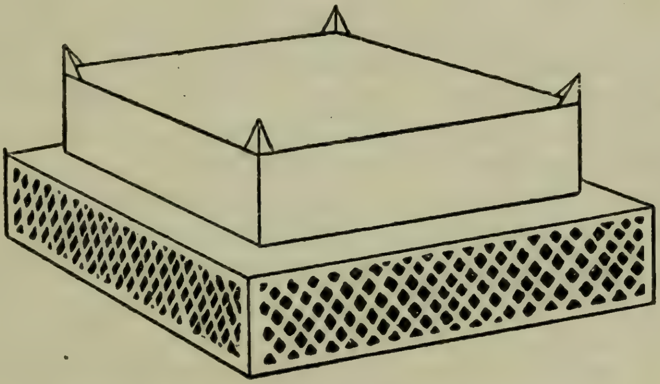
xxvii. 1—8 (cf. xxxviii. 1—7). The *altar of burnt-offering*. This was a hollow frame of acacia planks, overlaid with copper (or bronze), 5 cubits (= 7½ ft.) in length and breadth, and 3 cubits (= 1½ ft.) in height: at each corner, a 'horn,' of the same material, projected outwards. Round the altar, mid-way between top and bottom, ran a projecting ledge,—probably for the priests to stand upon when sacrificing,—supported at its outer edge by a vertical grating of bronze, that rested on the ground. At the corners of this grating, presumably where it met the ledge, there were rings to receive the poles for carrying the altar.

P And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits **27**
long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare:
and the height thereof shall be three cubits. And thou 2
shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof:
the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it: and thou

1. *the altar*] *the* altar κατ' ἐξοχήν, if not, in P's view (see on xxx. 1—10), the only altar. So xxx. 18, 20, xl. 7, 32, &c.

foursquare] 'An archaism dating from a time when "square" meant equal-sided, and it was necessary to express the number of sides' (McNeile). See Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, s.v.: 'In Wesley's Journal (28 July, 1738) a church in Dresden is described as "eight-square"'; and in 1 K. vi. 31 AVm. has 'five-square.'

2. *the horns of it*] these were an indispensable part of an altar (cf. xxx. 2, 3), and were regarded as its most sacred part: the blood of the sin-offering was applied to them (xxix. 12 [|| Lev. viii. 15]; Lev. iv. 25, 30, 34, ix. 9, xvi. 18; Ez. xliii. 20; and on the horns of the altar of incense, Ex. xxx. 10, Lev. iv. 7, 18); a criminal seeking asylum seized hold of them (1 K. i. 50, ii. 28); see also Am. iii. 14, Jer. xvii. 1, Ps. cxviii. 27. The length of the horns is not specified: in the great altar of Ezekiel's vision (xliii. 13—17), which however was 12 cubits (= 18 ft.) square, and, with its bases, rose to a height of 11 cubits (16½ ft.) from the ground, they were, according to *v.* 15 LXX., a cubit (1½ ft.) long: in the altar of burnt-offering they would, if of the same proportion, be about 7 in. long. Horns are occasionally found similarly on Greek altars: A. J. Evans, also, in *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult* (1901), pp. 37—40, mentions several bas-reliefs representing them found at Mycenae and in Crete; and there is a good Semitic example on the stelè from Teima, about 250 miles S.E. of Edom (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, &c. i. 304; and for the inscription Cooke,



The Altar of Burnt-offering.

From Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. 658.

3 shalt overlay it with brass. And thou shalt make its pots *P*
to take away its ashes, and its shovels, and its basons, and
its fleshhooks, and its firepans: all the vessels thereof thou
4 shalt make of brass. And thou shalt make for it a grating
of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make
5 four brasen rings in the four [1]corners thereof. And thou
shalt put it under the ledge round the altar beneath, that
6 the net may reach halfway up the altar. And thou shalt
make staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and over-
7 lay them with brass. And the staves thereof shall be put
into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two [2]sides
8 of the altar, in bearing it. Hollow with planks shalt thou

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[1] Heb. *ends*. [2] Heb. *ribs*.

N.-Sem. Inscriptions, p. 195 ff.). The origin of the symbolism is uncertain; and different theories have been propounded (see *DB.* i. 77^a, iv. 658^a; *EB.* i. 124; Benz.^{2} 321): perhaps the most probable is that of Evans (cf. *Rel. Sem.*^{2} 436; and Bä.), that they are conventionalized representatives of the horns of sacrificed oxen: 'the setting of the horns of slaughtered animals before the cult-image or upon the altar is a very familiar usage of primitive worship' (Evans, *op. cit.* p. 39).

brass] **copper** or **bronze**. So in the sequel.

3. The vessels of the altar, for use in connexion with the sacrifices.

its pots...and its shovels] cf., in the Temple, 1 K. vii. 45, 2 K. xxv. 14.

its ashes] lit. *its fat*, i.e. the fat, which, when a sacrifice was burnt, ran down and mixed with the ashes: cf. Nu. iv. 13, Lev. i. 16, iv. 12, vi. 10 f. Not used of ordinary ashes. The *shovels* would be for collecting and sweeping away (cf. the same root, Is. xxviii. 17) the ashes.

basons] lit. *tossing-vessels*,—large bowls, used for tossing the blood in a volume against the sides of the altar: see on xxiv. 6, and xxix. 16. Cf. Zech. ix. 15, xiv. 20 ('bowls').

fleshhooks] xxxviii. 3, Nu. iv. 14, 1 Ch. xxviii. 17, 2 Ch. iv. 16†.

firepans] 1 K. vii. 50. Cf. the note on 'snuffdishes,' xxv. 38.

4. *a grating*] xxxv. 16, xxxviii. 4, 5, 30, xxxix. 39†. This formed a vertical support for the 'ledge' (*v.* 5), resting on the ground, and supporting it at its outer edge.

5. *the ledge*] '*the* ledge' (xxxviii. 4†) which such an altar would naturally have for the priests to stand upon: cf. the frequent use of the phrases to *go up to* and to *come down from* an altar in connexion with sacrificing: xx. 26, Lev. ix. 22, 1 K. xii. 33, 2 K. xvi. 12, xxiii. 9; Ecclus. l. 11, 20.

6. *bronze*] contrast the gold of xxv. 13, 28.

7. For the marg., cf. xxv. 12.

8. *Hollow with planks*] it was a hollow framework or casing.

P make it: as it hath been shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make it.

9 And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for the south side southward there shall be hangings for the court of fine twined linen an hundred cubits long for one side:
10 and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their sockets

in the mount] see xxv. 9.

It is difficult to reconcile satisfactorily this plated 'altar' (*v.* 1) of acacia wood, borne upon the shoulders of Levites from one encampment to another (Nu. iv. 13, vii. 9), with the altar of earth or stone, reared where occasion might require, on which burnt- and peace-offerings were to be sacrificed (Ex. xx. 24 f.). As nothing is said about a top to the altar, on which the victims might be placed, it is commonly assumed that, when the Tabernacle became stationary, the hollow case of the altar was filled up with earth. But it is strange that, if intended, this is not expressed. On the other hand, if the fire was kindled on the ground, within the altar, it is obvious that the wooden sides would quickly be destroyed. The directions here given are in fact entirely unrelated to those of xx. 24 f. When the character of P's Tabernacle-legislation, as a whole, is considered, and account taken of the wide differences which separate it from the ceremonial legislation of JE, it can hardly be doubted that the true explanation of the present remarkable structure is that 'it originated in the desire to construct a portable altar on the lines of the massive bronze altar of Solomon, which was itself a departure from the true Heb. tradition (Ex. xx. 24—6)' (Kennedy, p. 658). The bronze altar in Solomon's temple was a gigantic structure, 20 cubits (30 ft.) long and broad, and 10 cubits (15 ft.) high (2 Ch. iv. 1),—no doubt the work of Phoenician artists (cf. 1 K. vii. 13—16, 40—46). Zerubbabel's altar, it may be added, was built of stone (1 Macc. iv. 46): the one erected by Judas in its place, in 165 B.C., was of unhewn stone, 'according to the law' of Ex. xx. 25 (*ib.* *v.* 47).

9—19 (cf. xxxviii. 9—20). The *court* of the tabernacle. This was a rectangular area, lying E. and W., 100 cubits (150 ft.) long, and 50 (75 ft.) broad, enclosed by hangings of white linen, 5 cubits (7½ ft.) high, suspended on pillars of wood,—20 for each of the larger sides, and 10 for each of the shorter sides. Each of the pillars was let into a socket of silver, and had a capital overlaid with silver (xxxviii. 17); and all were kept in position by cords, and tent-pins of bronze. In the centre of the E. front there was a space of 20 cubits (30 ft.), not provided with hangings, but left open as an entrance to the court, and covered by a screen of white linen, embroidered in colours.

9. *the south side southward*] see on xxvi. 18.

fine twined linen] see on xxv. 4.

10. *sockets*] properly **bases**: see on xxvi. 19.

twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *P*
11 *shall be* of silver. And likewise for the north side in length
there shall be hangings an hundred cubits long, and the
pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass;
12 the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. And
for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hang-
ings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets
13 ten. And the breadth of the court on the east side
14 eastward shall be fifty cubits. The hangings for the one
side *of the gate* shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and
15 their sockets three. And for the other side shall be hangings
of fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three.
16 And for the gate of the court shall be a screen of twenty
cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined
linen, the work of the embroiderer: their pillars four, and
17 their sockets four. All the pillars of the court round
about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks of silver, and
18 their sockets of brass. The length of the court shall be an
hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the

brass] **copper** or **bronze**, as always. See also on xxv. 3.

the hooks] for attaching the hangings to.

fillets] i.e. **bands**, or *binding-rings* (the root in Aram. signifies to *bind*), surrounding the pillars, probably at the base of the capitals (xxxviii. 17): so Di., Kenn. The Heb. word has also been understood to mean *connecting-rods*, joining the tops of the pillars, to which the hangings were attached: Ex. xxxviii. 19, however, seems to shew that the *ḥăshuḳim* were integral parts of the pillars, and the Heb. of xxvii. 17 (=xxxviii. 17) can hardly mean 'connected by silver rods.' 'Fillet' (lit. a *little thread*, from Lat. *filum*, Fr. *fil*, dimin. *filet*) is a word better known formerly than it is now (except in connexion with food), meaning a *headband*, esp. a ribbon, but also used for any narrow strip of binding material (*DB.* s.v.), or for strips of metal (Murray, *Eng. Dict.* s.v.).

13. *on the east side eastward*] Heb. *on the front* [i.e. *on the east*: see on Joel ii. 20] *towards the* (sun-)*rising*: cf. on xxvi. 18.

16. The *screen* for the gate of the court. This was of the same richly coloured materials, the 'work of the embroiderer,' as the screen at the entrance to the Dwelling (xxvi. 36).

17. *filleted*] i.e. *bound round*, as explained on *v.* 10.

18. *every where*] a *lapsus calami* in the Heb. for *cubits*, which is read by Sam. The text implies an otherwise unknown Heb. idiom, and the Eth. usage (Di. *Eth. Gr.* § 159^{g}) referred to by König (iii. § 316^{c}) is not the same.

P height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass. All the instruments of the tabernacle in all the 19
service thereof, and all the pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

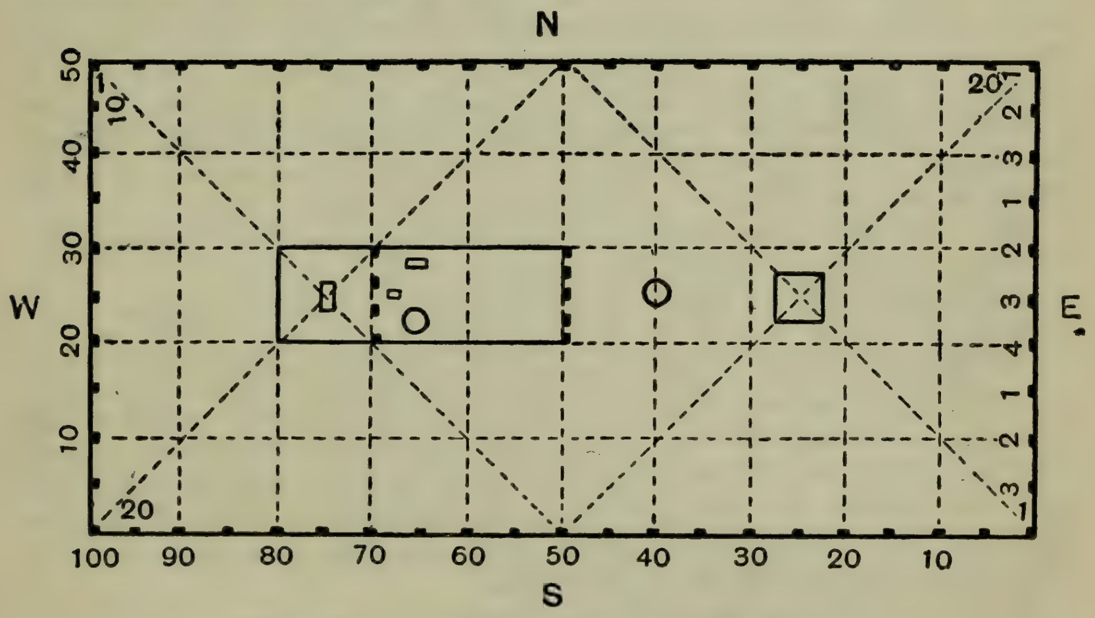
19. *All*] read with LXX. *And all* (וכל for לכל, removing at the same time a grammatical anomaly in the Heb.). The *instruments* seem here to be the tools used in setting up the Dwelling: possibly the tent-cords (xxxv. 18) are also included.

the service thereof] i.e. the work of putting it up: cf. xxxix. 40, Nu. iii. 26, 36.

pins (twice)] the regular Heb. word for *tent-pins*.

the pins of the court] xxxv. 18, xxxviii. 20, 31; and, with the cords as well, xxxix. 40, Nu. iii. 37, iv. 26, 32.

In the method of reckoning the pillars of the court there is an inexactness, due no doubt to the author's love of symmetry. The two longer sides are of 100 cubits, each with 20 pillars, the two shorter sides are of 50 cubits each, with 10 pillars; and there are 60 pillars in all. If now there are 10 pillars on the E. side, the distance between each will be $\frac{50}{9}$ cubits, and the two sides of the entrance, 15 cubits from each corner, will not coincide with two of the pillars: as, moreover, the four corner pillars must now be counted twice, there will in all be not 60, but only 56 pillars. The writer must thus, for the sake of symmetry, have reckoned the sides as having respectively 20 and 10 pillars each, when in reality they would have 21 and 11. 'The S. side, reckoning from E. to W., has pillars nos. 1—21, of which no. 21, however, is reckoned as



The Court of the Tent of Meeting.

From Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. 657.

20 And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they P_3
bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, [1]to cause
21 a lamp to burn continually. In the [2]tent of meeting, with-

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[1] Or, *to set up a lamp continually*

[2] See ch. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 36.

belonging to the W. side; the W. side has nos. 21—31 (i.e. 11), no. 31 being reckoned to the N. side; the N. side has nos. 31—51 (i.e. 21), no. 51 being reckoned to the E. side; the E. side has for the N. side of the entrance nos. 51—54, no. 54 being reckoned to the entrance: the entrance has nos. 54—58, no. 58 being reckoned to the S. side of the entrance; the S. side of the entrance has nos. 58—61, no. 61 being the same as no. 1 of the S. side' (Di.; similarly Kennedy).

20—21 (no parallel in xxxv.—xl.). A *light* to be kept burning in the sanctuary every night. Oil is to be provided at the cost of the people; and the priests are to arrange the lamps on the candlestick every evening. These regulations seem out of place here; and in the mention of Aaron and his sons anticipate chaps. xxviii.—xxix. They recur, with slight verbal differences, in Lev. xxiv. 2—3, where they are followed by directions respecting a kindred subject, viz. the Presence-bread (*vv.* 5—9). Probably (so Di.) they were introduced here by a later editor from Lev. xxiv. 1—4. Comp. Nu. viii. 1—2.

20. *And* **thou**, *thou shalt*, &c.] the emph. pron. marks the beginning of a new section (xxviii. 1, xxx. 23, xxxi. 13, Nu. i. 50).

pure] **clear**: LXX. ἄτρυγον ('without lees, clarified') καθαρόν.

beaten] xxix. 40, Lev. xxiv. 2, Nu. xxviii. 5 †. 'Beaten' oil was oil of the finest quality: it was obtained 'by gently pounding the olives in a mortar; the pulp was then poured into a wicker or rush basket, which, acting as a strainer, allowed the liquid to run into a vessel underneath. The oil which would presently float upon the top was skimmed off,' and this formed the oil in question. The commoner kinds of oil were obtained from the pulp remaining in the baskets (Kennedy, *EB.* iii. 3407, from descriptions in the Mishna).

to cause, &c.] *to* **fix on** *a lamp continually*: see on xxv. 37.

continually] i.e. not *continuously* (xxv. 30 Heb.), but *regularly*, as a standing practice, whether daily (as here, xxix. 38, 42, xxx. 8 *al.*), or whenever occasion required (xxviii. 29, 30).

21. *the tent of meeting*] Heb. *'ōhel mô'ēd*, i.e. *the tent of appointed meeting* (cf. Job xxx. 23 'the house of *appointed meeting* for all living,' of Sheol), the tent appointed by Jehovah as the place where He will 'meet' Moses (see in P xxv. 22, xxx. 6, 36) and Israel (xxix. 42, 43, Nu. xvii. 4), and communicate His will to them, or (*OTJC.*^{2} 246) the 'tent of tryst' (i.e. of appointment to meet). It is the oldest name of what we now commonly know as the 'Tabernacle' (see on xxv. 9), being first found in E (xxxiii. 7: see the note), where it denotes the tent which Moses used to pitch outside the camp, to which everyone resorted who sought Jehovah, and whither Moses also used to repair in order that Jehovah might speak with him. It is mentioned besides in JE in

P_3 out the veil which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a [1]statute for ever throughout their generations [2]on the behalf of the children of Israel.

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[1] Or, *due* [2] Or, *from*

Nu. xi. 16, xii. 4, Dt. xxxi. 14. The Tent of meeting, as described by P, is a much more elaborate structure than that can have been (see p. 257 f.). He mentions it some 130 times.

The rendering of AV. 'tabernacle (i.e. tent: see on xxv. 9) of *the congregation*' is based on a mistaken interpretation of *mô'ēd*, as though this word were a synonym of *'ēdāh*, 'congregation' (xii. 3 &c.). The LXX. render the expression by *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, 'the tent of *the testimony*' (whence Vulg. *tabernaculum testimonii*), treating *'ōhel mô'ēd* incorrectly as a synonym of *'ōhel hā'ēdûth* (Nu. ix. 15, xvii. 7, 8, 2 Ch. xxiv. 6†), which does mean 'the tent of the testimony' (see on xxv. 16): cf. Acts vii. 44, Rev. xv. 5.

outside *the veil*, &c.] cf. xxvi. 35; and on xxv. 21.

order] an archaism for *set in order*, **arrange**; so often in EVV., as Lev. xxiv. 4, Jud. vi. 26, 1 K. xx. 14, Jer. xlvi. 3: cf. in the Communion Service, 'when the priest hath so *ordered* the bread and wine,' &c.; and in PBV. of Ps. xxxvii. 23, xl. 2, 6 (cf. Job xiii. 18), l. 23. The meaning is, *arrange* the lamps on the stand.

from evening to morning] the lamps were to be removed every morning to be trimmed (xxx. 7), and to be lighted and replaced every evening to burn during the night (xxx. 8, 2 Ch. xiii. 11). (The later usage was, however, different; see *DB*. iv. 664^a, and Schürer, as cited.)

a **due** *for ever* **from**] *ḥuḳḳāh* may mean either a *prescribed rule* (i.e. a *statute*), or a *prescribed portion* (i.e. a *due*): so *ḥōḳ*, xxix. 28, Lev. vii. 34^b, 36, xxiv. 8 (AVm.); cf. Prov. xxx. 8, xxxi. 15 (RVm.).

Ch. xxviii. The *vestments* of the priests.

The directions for the sanctuary are complete; and provision has next to be made for the vestments and (ch. xxix.) consecration of the priests who are to serve it. The directions contained in these two chapters are founded upon the elaborately developed dress and ceremonial of the Zadokite priesthood of the writer's own day, the original institution of both being referred back to the appointment of Moses himself. Aaron represents the Zadokite high priest of later times; his 'sons' represent the ordinary priests. The gorgeous, golden robes of the high priest are described at length: the simpler vestments of the ordinary priests are dismissed in 4 verses (*vv.* 40—43). Limits of space forbid here more than the briefest notice of the history and functions of the Isr. priesthood (see more fully McNeile, p. lxiv ff.; Baudissin's article in *DB*. iv. 67 ff.; *EB*. iii. 3837 ff.). The present ch. reflects a late stage in the history of the priesthood. The main prerogatives of the older Isr. priest (JE, Jud., Sam.) were to give *tôrāh* (p. 161), to obtain Divine oracles by the Urim and Thummim (p. 313), and to pronounce decisions 'before God' at a sanctuary (Ex. xxii. 8, 9):

28 And bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, *P*

no doubt he also offered sacrifice (1 S. ii. 28), but the right of doing this was by no means at this time restricted to the priests (cf. on xx. 24). A member of the guild (cf. on iv. 14), or tribe, of Levi was preferred as a priest (Jud. xvii. 13). The priests mentioned in Sam.[1] belong all to the line of Eli, who is first connected with Aaron, through Aaron's younger son Ithamar, in 1 Ch. xxiv. 3 (*c.* 300 B.C.). Abiathar, the last of Eli's line, who had been David's principal priest, was deposed by Solomon; and Zadok was made principal priest in his stead (1 K. ii. 27, 35). Zadok's pedigree is not stated in 1 K.: in 1 Ch. vi. 8 &c., he is represented as descended from Aaron's elder son Eleazar. Zadok's descendants continued to hold the first place among the Jerusalem priests, with all the prestige and importance which their connexion with the Temple naturally gave them, throughout the period of the monarchy. Even in the 7th cent., however, Dt. (xviii. 6—8) insists upon the right of every 'Levite,' i.e. of every member of the tribe, to officiate as priest, and draw the emoluments of the priesthood, if he but goes to reside at the central sanctuary[2]: no doubt, however, the exclusiveness of the families established at Jerusalem placed difficulties in the way of this right being practically exercised: and in the end a sharp line of demarcation was drawn between those who were regarded as the full priestly members of the tribe, and those who did not succeed in securing this position: these latter are the 'Levites' in P's sense of the term (cf. on xxxii. 29), i.e. non-priestly members of the tribe. It is noticeable that, while Dt. represents the *whole* tribe as set apart by Jehovah for priestly functions (x. 8; cf. *ibid.*), in P Aaron and his sons are consecrated as priests solely in virtue of their own right: the 'Levites' (i.e. the other members of the tribe) are appointed to be their assistants for menial duties only afterwards, Nu. iii. 5—39, viii. 5—26. For two striking poetical descriptions of the high priest and his ministrations, see Ecclus. xlv. 9—22 (Aaron), l. 1—21 (Simon).

1—5. Sacred vestments to be made for the priests.

1. *And* **thou**, *bring thou near*, &c.] as xxvii. 20. *hikrib* ('bring near') has here the special, sacred sense of *present*, or, of a sacrifice, *offer*, as very often in P; cf. xxix. 3, 4, 8, 10; xl. 12, 14; and *DB.* iii. 587^b.

and his sons with him] the addition of 'with him,' as often in P: *v.* 41, xxix. 21 (twice), Gen. vi. 18, vii. 7, 13 &c. (see *LOT.* p. 132, No. 10). Aaron's 'sons,' as already explained, represent in this and the next ch., the ordinary priests.

minister...in the priest's office] in the Heb., one word, *be* (or *act as*) *priest*. The Heb. for 'priest' is *kōhen*, a word of which the etym.

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[1] Except Zadok (on 2 S. viii. 17, see *DB.* s.v.), David's sons (2 S. viii. 18), and Ira (2 S. xx. 26).

[2] Dr Orr (*Problem of the O. T.*, p. 191 f.) endeavours in vain, by misunderstanding the plainest Heb. expressions, to escape this conclusion.

P Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.
And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, 2
for glory and for beauty. And thou shalt speak unto all 3
that are wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of
wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments to sanctify him,
that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. And 4
these are the garments which they shall make; a breastplate,
and an ephod, and a robe, and a coat of chequer work,
a [1]mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments
for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister

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[1] Or, *turban*

sense is unknown: the supposition that it denotes 'one who *stands*' (to serve God) is most precarious: there is no Semitic root *kāhan*, or even *kûn*, meaning to 'stand': *kûn*, in Arab., Eth., and Phoen. is the common word for '*to be*'; in Ass. it means *to be firm*; derivatives in Heb. also mean *to be* or *to make firm*, but this is not the same thing as to 'stand.' In Arabic the corresponding word, *kāhin*, means a *seer*—an important man in a tribe, who was consulted before an undertaking, esp. a war, or to settle a dispute, or other difficulty, the organ of a deity, or, mostly, of a *jinn* (Wellh. *Arab. Heid.* 130—4, 167; ^{2}131—8, 143): the older Isr. *kōhēn* also habitually gave answers, by the Urim and Thummim, on questions submitted to him, and divine decisions upon legal cases (see on xviii. 15). The common name, and the kindred functions, justify the inference that the *kōhēn* and the *kāhin* were originally identical: both will have been originally guardians of an oracle at a sanctuary: but their functions diverged: the *kāhin* sank to be a mere diviner; the *kōhēn* acquired gradually more and more of the sacrificial functions which we commonly attach to the idea of a 'priest.'

Nadab and Abihu] see in J xxiv. 1, 9; in P vi. 23, Lev. x. 1, 2.

Eleazar and Ithamar] Eleazar is mentioned in Dt. x. 6 as Aaron's successor in the priesthood, and in Jos. xxiv. 33 (E) his death is recorded. See further on vi. 23.

2. *for glory and for beauty*] or, *and for* **decoration** (so *v.* 40),—for a distinctive decorated dress.

3. *And* **thou**] the pron. is emphatic.

wise...wisdom] of artistic cleverness or skill: cf. xxxi. 3, 6, xxxv. 10, 25, 26, 31, xxxvi. 1, 2, 4, 8; Jer. x. 9 ('cunning': Heb. *wise*). The heart is with the Hebrews the seat not of *feeling*, as with us, but of *understanding*: Jer. v. 21 RVm., Hos. iv. 11 RVm., Job xii. 24, &c.

the spirit of wisdom] i.e. an impulse and activity, instinct with wisdom (i.e., here, artistic skill): cf. Dt. xxxiv. 9 (P), Is. xi. 2, xxviii. 6; and (in a bad sense) Is. xix. 14, xxix. 10, Hos. iv. 12. Comp. on xxxi. 3.

to sanctify him] the investiture is a part of the consecration, xxix. 5 ff.

4. The vestments to be made: a **pouch** (*v.* 15 ff.), an ephod (*v.* 6 ff.), a robe (*v.* 31 ff.), a **tunic** (*v.* 39), a **turban**, and a **sash** (*ib.*).

5 unto me in the priest's office. And they shall take [1]the *P*
gold, and the blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the
fine linen.

6 And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and
purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the
7 cunning workman. It shall have two shoulderpieces joined
to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined together.
8 And the cunningly woven band, which is upon it, to gird it
on withal, shall be like the work thereof *and* of the same
piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine

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[1] See ch. xxv. 3.

5. *the gold*, &c.] mentioned above in xxv. 3, 4.

6—12 (cf. xxxix. 2—7). The *ephod.* The 'ephod' (which, to judge from Is. xxx. 22. Heb., will have signified a *closely-fitting* covering), according to the ordinary view (for another, see p. 312), was a kind of *waistcoat*, consisting of an oblong piece of richly variegated material, the 'work of the designer,' bound round the body under the arms, and reaching down as far, apparently, as the waist. It was supported by two 'shoulder-pieces' (Heb. *shoulders*), i.e. probably two broad flaps or straps passing, like braces, over the shoulders, and attached to the ephod in front and behind: on the top of each of these shoulder-straps was an onyx-stone, enclosed in a filigree setting of gold, and engraved with the names of six of the tribes of Israel. Round the body the ephod was further held in its place by a band woven in one piece with it, but perhaps of a different pattern, probably forming a border at its lower edge, and passing closely round the waist. The ephod was worn over a long blue 'robe,' described in *vv.* 31—5.

6. *gold*] i.e. gold thread (see xxxix. 3). The other materials for the ephod were the same as those for the curtains (xxvi. 1): but the ephod would be the handsomer on account of the gold thread interwoven with them.

the work of the **designer**] or *pattern-weaver*: see on xxvi. 1.

7. Read with Sam. LXX. and xxxix. 4: *It shall have two shoulder-***straps joined** (to it): **at its two** (top) **edges** *shall it be joined* (יחבר for וחבר). The ephod went closely round the body; and it was supported by two straps passing over the shoulders, and attached in front and behind to its *top* edges.

8. *And the* **artistically** *woven band* (or simply, *And the* **band**: see below) **of its attachment**, *which is upon it*, *shall be*, &c.] 'Artistically woven band' is in the Heb. one word, *ḥēsheb*, cognate apparently with *ḥōshēb*, 'designer,' *v.* 6. As however the entire ephod was to be of the same material, and the *ḥēsheb* was indeed to be of the same piece with it, it is not apparent why the term should be applied to this particular part of the entire fabric: hence many suppose *ḥēsheb* to be derived by

P twined linen. And thou shalt take two [1]onyx stones, 9
and grave on them the names of the children of Israel: six 10
of their names on the one stone, and the names of the six
that remain on the other stone, according to their birth.
With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings 11
of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones, according to
the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them
to be inclosed in ouches of gold. And thou shalt put the 12

[1] Or, *beryl*

metathesis from *ḥēbesh* (from *ḥābash*, to *bind on*), and to mean simply **band** (cf. *késheb*, and *kébesh*, both = 'lamb'). Whichever etymology be adopted, the general sense remains the same: the band, as the following words shew, was to be of the same work, and the same piece, as the ephod itself, though perhaps of a different pattern, so as to form a border along the bottom of the ephod. The word is used only of this band of the ephod: *vv.* 27, 28, xxix. 5 (‖ Lev. viii. 7), xxxix. 5, 20, 21†.

of its attachment] cognate with 'ephod'; the word which in Is. xxx. 22 is rendered 'plating' (viz. of gold round an idol), probably lit. *encasement*. The rend. 'to *gird*' is not sufficiently distinctive.

9—12. Two onyx stones, enclosed in filigree settings of gold, and each engraved with the names of six of the tribes of Israel, to be fixed on the top of the two shoulder-straps.

onyx] see on *v.* 20.

10. *according to their birth*] i.e. according to their ages; cf. vi. 16. Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7. 5) says that the names of Jacob's six elder sons were on the stone upon the right shoulder, and those of his six younger ones on the stone upon the left shoulder.

11. *the engravings of a signet*] Seal engraving of precious stones was an art practised from very remote times in both Babylonia and Egypt.

ouches] **filigree settings**, or, in one word, **rosettes**. (LXX. in *v.* 13 ἀσπιδίσκαι, 'little shields'). 'Ouch' ('an ouch' for 'a nouch,' by a mistaken division of words [cf. *an apron* for *a napron*, *an adder* for *a nadder*, *umpire* for *numpire*; and conversely *newt* for *ewt*, *notch* for *otch*], Fr. *nouche*, a *buckle* or *clasp*) is an old word for the *frame* in which precious stones were set, used also for the jewels themselves; cf. 2 *Henry IV.* ii. 4. 53 'Your brooches, pearls, and *ouches*' (Aldis Wright, *Bible Word-Book*, s.v.). The Heb. root means to *chequer* or *plait* (see on *v.* 39): hence what is probably meant is 'settings of **filigree** work': the gold was first beaten out into thin sheets, which were afterwards cut up into narrow strips (see xxxix. 3); these were then formed into filigree work by a delicate process of soldering, and used as a setting for jewels (Kennedy, *DB.* iii. 636). **Rosettes** would probably express the general meaning with sufficient accuracy.

two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be *P*
stones of memorial for the children of Israel: and Aaron
shall bear their names before the LORD upon his two
shoulders for a memorial.
13 14 And thou shalt make ouches of gold: and two chains of
pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, of wreathen
work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on the
15 ouches. And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work of the cunning workman; like the work of
the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and purple,
and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make it.
16 Foursquare it shall be *and* double; a span shall be the
17 length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. And thou

12. The two stones, thus engraved, are to remind Jehovah of His people: cf. on *v.* 29.

13—30 (with *vv.* 15—28, cf. xxxix. 8—21). The **pouch** *of judgement*, designed to contain the Urim and Thummim (*v.* 30). This was a pouch, or bag, ½ a cubit (9 in.) square, made of the same richly coloured texture as the ephod; and on its front were inserted, by means of gold settings, four rows of jewels, three in a row, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. It was worn in front of the ephod, its four corners having golden rings, by which it was fastened to the two shoulder-straps (which are conceived to extend along the sides of the ephod to its bottom).

13, 14. Two rosettes of gold to be made, with chains of gold attached to them. The object of these chains is explained in *vv.* 22—5: they are to attach the 'breastplate' to the shoulder-straps.

13. *ouches*] **filigree settings** or **rosettes** (*v.* 11).

14. *put*] i.e. *fasten.*

15, 16. The 'breastplate.' The Heb. *ḥōshen* (often in the sequel, but only in the present connexion) is of uncertain etym., but there is nothing in it to suggest the idea of a 'breastplate'; and as *v.* 30 shews, **pouch** would convey a much clearer idea of what is intended. It is called the 'pouch of judgement,' on account of the Urim and Thummim being kept in it, which were the means by which judgements, or decisions, were obtained by the high priest. It was to be of the same richly coloured texture as the ephod (*v.* 6).

16. *double*] More clearly, **doubled**, viz. so as to form a bag or pouch.

a span] ½ a cubit, or 9 inches. A piece of material, a cubit long and ½ a cubit broad, was to be doubled over, and sewn together, so as to form a pouch ½ a cubit square.

17—21. Twelve precious stones, each engraved with the name of one of the tribes of Israel, to be arranged in gold settings in four rows of three each, and fastened in front of the pouch. The identity of

P shalt set in it settings of stones, four rows of stones: a row of [1]sardius, topaz, and [2]carbuncle shall be the first row; and the second row an [3]emerald, a sapphire, and a 18

several of the stones mentioned is very uncertain; for philology throws little or no light upon the meanings of the names, and the ancient Versions in several cases give inconsistent renderings, or renderings which are themselves of uncertain interpretation. The oldest interpretations of the names are those given by the LXX.; and in identifying these, much help is afforded by Theophrastus, *On Stones* (*c.* 300 B.C.), and notices in Pliny, *H. N.* See more fully Petrie, *DB.* iv. 619 ff., and esp. J. L. Myres, *EB.* iv. 4799 ff. The list is repeated in xxxix. 10—13: comp. also the lists in Ez. xxviii. 13 (=the 1st, 2nd, and 4th rows here, the stones being however differently arranged) of stones in the 'covering,' or decorated garment, of the king of Tyre, and in Rev. xxi. 19 f. of the stones forming the foundations of the walls of the New Jerusalem (cf. Is. liv. 11 f.; Tob. xiii. 16 f.).

17. *a sardius.* Heb. *'ōdem*, 'redness,' LXX. *σάρδιον*, Vulg. *sardius*: Ez. xxviii. 13, Rev. xxi. 20. The sardius is described by the ancients as 'blood-red': it is either what we call the **cornelian** (Kn. Di., Myres *altern.*), or the opaque **red jasper** (Petrie, Myres *altern.*). The *ruby* (RVm.) is improbable, because (1) it is found only in countries as distant from the Hebrews as Ceylon and Burmah, and (2) because it is so hard that it was scarcely ever engraved in antiquity.

a topaz. Heb. *piṭdāh*, *τοπάζιον*, *topazius* (Ez. xxviii. 13, Rev. xxi. 20); spoken of in Job xxviii. 19 as coming from Ethiopia. The modern 'topaz' was hardly known before Greek times. 'The *τοπάζιον* of the Greeks was a translucent, golden-coloured (*διαφανὴς χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστίλβων φέγγος*, Strabo xvi. 770), or yellow-green (*e virenti genere*, Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 8) stone, probably the modern **chrysolite** (or *peridot*); and this was in common use for scarabs and cylinders of all dates' (Myres). The ancient topaz was obtained chiefly from an island (*τοπάζιος νῆσος*) in the Red Sea (Strabo, p. 770). The identification with the Ass. *ḥipindu* (*EB.* iv. 4803) depends upon an alteration in the Heb. text (*ibid.* 5140).

a carbuncle. Heb. *bārěḳeth*, *σμάραγδος*, *smaragdus*: Ez. xxviii. 13, Rev. iv. 3, xxi. 20. Probably, if these renderings are right, *a* **rock-crystal**, a *colourless* stone, used for engraving in Egypt at all periods: for (Petrie) only a colourless stone would shew a rainbow of prismatic colours (Rev. iv. 3), or could have been used by Nero for an eye-glass (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 64). So also Myres, who compares carefully the rival claims of **beryl**.

18. *an emerald*] Heb. *nōphek*, *ἄνθραξ*, *carbunculus* [a red stone, called *ἄνθραξ* and *carbunculus* because in the sun-light it flashes like a burning 'coal,' Theophr. *de Lap.* 18]: Ez. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 13. As is generally agreed, the **red garnet**, a species of carbuncle.

a sapphire] Heb. *sappir*, *σάπφειρος*, *sapphirus*: xxiv. 10, Ez. i. 26,

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[1] Or, *ruby* [2] Or, *emerald* [3] Or, *carbuncle*

19 [1]diamond; and the third row a [2]jacinth, an agate, and an P
20 amethyst; and the fourth row a [3]beryl, and an [4]onyx, and

[1] Or, *sardonyx* [2] Or, *amber*
[3] Or, *chalcedony* [4] Or, *beryl*

x. 1, xxviii. 13, Job xxviii. 6, 16, Cant. v. 14, Is. liv. 11, Lam. iv. 7, Rev. xxi. 19. Not, however, our 'sapphire,' which was 'almost unknown before Roman imperial times,' but the opaque blue **lapis lazuli** (so Rev. xxi. 19 RVm.), as is shewn by the description of the Greek and Roman 'sapphire' by Theophrastus and Pliny as sprinkled with gold dust (*ὥσπερ χρυσόπαστος*, 'inest ei et aureus pulvis'), with allusion to the particles of iron pyrites, easily mistaken by their colour and lustre for gold, frequently found in the lapis lazuli (cf. SAPPHIRE in *DB*. and *EB*.; and Job xxviii. 6 'And it hath *dust of gold*').

a diamond] Heb. *yahălōm*, *ἴασπις*, *jaspis*: Ez. xxviii. 13. *Ἴασπις*, *jaspis*, seem so naturally to correspond to Heb. *yāsh*^{e}*pheh* in *v.* 20, that many suppose an accidental transposition to have taken place in either the Heb. or the Greek text: if this be granted, *yahălōm* will be represented by *ὀνύχιον* here and Ez. xxviii. 13, and by *βηρύλλιον* in Ex. xxxix. 13. What the *yahălōm* was, is, however, uncertain. 'Diamond' has nothing to recommend it: there is no evidence that this stone was known to the ancients. RVm. **sardonyx** (cf. Rev. xxi. 20), a stratified stone, consisting of layers of red and white (hence the name, the 'sard' being red, and the 'onyx' whitish), and in ancient times often with a layer of dark brown as well; well adapted for engraving, on account of the variety produced by the different strata (*EB*. SARDONYX). For the symbolism attached to the three colours, see the quaint verses quoted in *DB*. s.v. ONYX.

19. *a jacinth*] Heb. *léshem*, *λιγύριον*, *ligurius*. Perhaps (Myres) the **cairngorm**, a clear yellow stone. On the *jacinth* (cf. Rev. xxi. 20), which was apparently first suggested by Braun, *de vestitu sacerdd.* (ed. 2, 1698), II. xiv, Mr Myres writes, 'there is no evidence that the jacinth was either found in Liguria, or was known at all till Roman times.' The *λιγύριον* (or *λυγκούριον*) is variously explained by Pliny as a fiery-coloured gem, like the carbuncle (*H. N.* viii. 38, xxxvii. 13), and (xxxvii. 11) as *amber* (hence RVm.).

an agate] Heb. *sh*^{e}*bhō*, *ἀχάτης*, *achates*. The correctness of this rendering is not doubted. A red, opaque stone.

an amethyst] Heb. *'aḥlāmāh*, *ἀμέθυστος*, *amethystus*. This rend. is also unquestioned. A purple, clear stone.

20. *a beryl*] Heb. *tarshish*, *χρυσόλιθος* (Rev. xxi. 10), *chrysolithus*: Ez. i. 16, x. 9, xxviii. 13, Cant. v. 14, Dan. x. 6. The name *tarshish* apparently points to its being obtained from Tarshish (Tartessus) in Spain. The chrysolite ('gold-stone') of the later Greeks (which was also obtained from Spain, Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 127) is probably our topaz[1], but as this was unknown in earlier times, some other gold-

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[1] By a curious interchange of terms, it seems that 'the ancient chrysolite is the modern topaz, and the ancient topaz the modern chrysolite' (Smith, *DB*. s.v. BERYL).

P a jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their settings.
And the stones shall be according to the names of the 21
children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like
the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name,
they shall be for the twelve tribes. And thou shalt 22
make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen
work of pure gold. And thou shalt make upon the breast- 23
plate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on
the two ends of the breastplate. And thou shalt put the 24
two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the
ends of the breastplate. And the *other* two ends of the 25
two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches,

coloured stone must be intended,—perhaps (Petrie) the **yellow jasper**. It is not however stated whether this stone is (or was) found in Spain. The rend. *beryl* is as old as Abarbanel (1437—1508): the *chalcedony* (RVm.; Rev. xxi. 19) of the ancients,—so called from its being found at Chalcedon (opposite to Byzantium),—was the green transparent carbonate of copper, our copper emerald (Smith, *DB*. s.v.).

an onyx] Heb. *shōham*, βηρύλλιον (so LXX. here, but not consistently), *onychinus*: *v.* 9, xxv. 7, Gen. ii. 12, Ez. xxviii. 13, Job xxviii. 16, 1 Ch. xxix. 2. This is usually supposed to be either the *onyx* (LXX. in Job; Vulg. mostly) or the *beryl* (LXX. here; Pesh. Targ. always): the onyx being a stratified stone, consisting of layers of white (resembling in colour the *nail*, whence the name), grey, and other colours (see *DB*. s.v.), and the beryl a clear blue, green, or pale yellow stone (see *EB*. s.v.). Myres, however (*EB*. iv. 4808), argues in favour of *malachite* (green carbonate of copper), 'common in Egypt in all periods, obtained from the Sinaitic mine district,' and also other sources of copper, as Cyprus, and known likewise in Babylonia and Assyria.

a jasper] Heb. *yāsh^{e}pheh*, ὀνύχιον, *beryllus* (but see on 'diamond' in *v.* 18): Ez. xxviii. 13, Rev. xxi. 19. In all probability the **green jasper** is intended.

22—28. How the pouch is to be kept in position on the front of the ephod.

22—25. Two golden chains of wreathen work to be made, and attached at one end, by rings of gold, to the two upper corners of the pouch, and at the other, to the two rosettes (*v.* 13 f.), in the two shoulder-straps, so that the pouch might hang down from them.

22. The 'chains like cords' are those mentioned in *v.* 14, so that the verse is really superfluous.

23. *put*] i.e. fasten, as *v.* 14: so *vv.* 24, 25, 26, 27.

the two ends] i.e. the two upper corners.

25. *the two* **rosettes**] Those mentioned in *vv.* 13, 14.

and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the *P*
26 forepart thereof. And thou shalt make two rings of gold,
and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breast-
plate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward the side of
27 the ephod inward. And thou shalt make two rings of gold,
and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod
underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling
thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod.
28 And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof
unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may
be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that
29 the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod. And
Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the
breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in
unto the holy place, for a memorial before the LORD

26—28. Two rings of gold to be attached to the inner *lower* corners of the pouch, and tied by pieces of blue lace to two other rings of gold on the lower part of the shoulder-straps, to hold the pouch close to the ephod.

26. *upon the two ends*, &c.] i.e. at the two *lower* corners of the pouch, on the *inner* side, towards the ephod, so that the rings were hidden from view.

27. *underneath*, &c.] **low down, in front of it.**

close to its juncture (with the shoulder-straps), **above the band** *of the ephod*] The directions are not very clear: but the shoulder-straps seem to be continued down the front of the ephod, on its right and left sides, as far as the band (*v.* 8): the lower edge of the pouch was just above this band, and it was tied by the two pieces of blue lace to the rings in the shoulder-straps close to where these were sewn to the ephod.

28. *the rings of the ephod*] Properly, the rings of the shoulder-straps of the ephod (*v.* 27).

a lace of blue] i.e. of the blue (violet) dyed material mentioned in xxv. 4 (see the note).

29. Aaron (i.e. the high priest), bearing the names of the tribes of Israel both (*v.* 12) on his shoulders (which support the weight and symbol of office, Is. ix. 6, xxii. 22), and on his heart (implying that they have a constant place in his thoughts, Dt. vi. 6), will thus enter the Holy place as Israel's official representative, ever mindful of the nation's interests, and ever bringing the remembrance of it before God.

the **pouch** *of judgement*] see on *v.* 15. So *v.* 30.

for a memorial] to call them to remembrance before God: so *v.* 12; cf. xxx. 16, Nu. x. 10; xxxi. 54.

P continually. And thou shalt put in the breastplate of 30
judgement [1]the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall
be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord:
and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of
Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually.
And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. 31
And [2]it shall have a hole for the head in the midst thereof: 32
it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole
of it, as it were the hole of a coat of mail, that it be not rent.

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[1] That is, *the Lights and the Perfections.*

[2] Or, *there shall be a hole in the top of it*

30. The Urim and Thummim. These are to be put **into** *the* **pouch** *of judgement*: they are consequently something quite distinct from the jewels in front of it (*v.* 17), with which they have often been identified; and from the manner in which they are mentioned elsewhere (esp. 1 S. xiv. 41) there can be little doubt that they were two *sacred lots*, used for the purpose of ascertaining the Divine will on questions of national importance. We do not know their size or the material of which they were made: they are not described, but introduced as something well known. See further p. 313 f.

the judgement of &c.] The Urim and Thummim are so called as the means by which a Divine judgement, or decision, might be obtained on matters of national importance. Cf. Nu. xxvii. 21 (P).

31—35 (cf. xxxix. 22—26). The *robe of the ephod.* This was a long violet robe woven in one piece, put on by being drawn over the head, with arm-holes (but without sleeves), and with pomegranates worked in colours, and small golden bells, arranged alternately as a border, round the bottom of the skirt.

31. *robe*] Heb. *m*^{e}*ʿīl*, a long garment, worn over the tunic, and usually, it seems, open down the front, and with sleeves (see ill. in *DB.* i. 625^{a}; and Benz. *Arch.*^{2} 76 f.), made of better material than the more ordinary *simlāh* (see on xii. 34), and often worn in place of that by men of position (1 S. xviii. 4, xxiv. 4, 11; by Samuel xv. 27, xxviii. 14, cf. ii. 19; Ezr. ix. 3, 5).

blue] or *violet* (see on xxv. 4). The robe was to be entirely woven of this material, and without figures: hence it is called simply the 'work of the weaver' (xxxix. 22: see on xxvi. 1).

32. *a hole for the head*, &c.] It was not open behind or in front: it had simply a hole at the top, and was thrown over the head in the manner of a jersey.

woven work] **the work of the weaver** (xxxvi. 1). In ch. xxxix. these words are attached not to the 'binding' (*v.* 23), but to the robe itself (*v.* 22); and that is probably their original place here (after 'of the ephod' in *v.* 31). The binding was to keep the edge of the hole from fraying.

33 And upon the skirts of it thou shalt make pomegranates of *P*
blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the skirts
thereof; and bells of gold between them round about:
34 a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a
pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about.
35 And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and the sound
thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place
before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not.
36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave
upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO THE LORD.

a coat of mail] Heb. *taḥărāh*, only here and in the ||, xxxix. 23: Onk. שריון a *coat of mail.* No doubt, a **linen corselet**, the λινοθώρηξ of the Greeks (*Il.* ii. 529), is what is meant; Herodotus (ii. 182, iii. 47) mentions two made in Egypt for Amāsis.

33, 34. The skirt was to be adorned with a border of pomegranates (i.e. balls shaped like pomegranates), made of the richly coloured materials mentioned in xxv. 4; and a small golden bell was to be attached to the hem between each two of the pomegranates. The pomegranate tree was common in Palestine (cf. Nu. xiii. 23, Dt. viii. 8, *al.*); its fruit, when ripe, is of a bright red colour, about the size of an orange. In *v.* 33 Sam. LXX. add, *and fine twined linen*: cf. xxxviii. 24.

35. *to minister*] i.e. *in order that he may* minister.

that he die not] for not putting it on, and so infringing one of the laws of the sanctuary: cf. *v.* 43, xxx. 21, Lev. viii. 35, x. 7.

Originally, it has been conjectured, the object of the bells was to protect the officiating priest from the spirits which were supposed to haunt the thresholds of sanctuaries. But here their object is that they might be heard when the high-priest entered, and left, the sanctuary,—in order (Di.) that the worshippers outside might know how long to follow him with their devotions (cf. Luke i. 10, 21), or (Riehm, *HWB.* 878,^{2} 646) to remind God (cf. Ecclus. xlv. 9; 'memorial,' as above, *vv.* 12, 29) that he appeared before Him as the official representative of the people.

36—38 (cf. xxxix. 30—31). The *gold plate* on the front of the high priest's turban. The high priest's turban was of fine white linen (*v.* 39); and there was to be a blue band tied round it, with a plate of gold attached to it in front, bearing the inscription, Holy to Yahweh.

36. *a plate*] Heb. *ẓiẓ*,—properly, it seems, a *shining thing* (usu. a *flower*, Is. xl. 7 *al.*), i.e., here, a *burnished plate* (in this sense only xxxix. 30, Lev. viii. 9 besides); LXX. πέταλον, a *leaf*, fig. a *thin plate of metal.* Cf. Polycrates *ap.* Eus. v. 24 (a πέταλον worn by St John, as priest). According to tradition, the 'plate' was 2 fingers broad.

HOLY TO YAHWEH] The high priest, in virtue of his office, was brought specially near to Jehovah, and was thus specially 'holy' to Him. Cf., in other connexions, xxx. 37, xxxi. 15, Lev. xxvii. 23, 30,

P And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it shall be upon 37
the [1]mitre; upon the forefront of the [1]mitre it shall be.
And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and Aaron shall 38
bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of
Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be
always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted
before the LORD. And thou shalt weave the coat in 39

[1] Or, *turban*

Zech. xiv. 10. Jos. (*BJ.* v. 5, 7), and Pseudo-Aristeas (*ap.* Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 536), say that the inscription was written in 'sacred,' or 'holy,' characters, by which they mean doubtless the older Hebrew characters, such as are found on old Heb. seals, as also on the Moabite stone, and in Phoen. inscriptions, before they had changed into the later 'square' characters.

37. *a lace of blue*] a lace, or band, of the violet material mentioned in xxv. 4. This was apparently tied round the turban, somewhat 'above' its lower edge (cf. xxxix. 31), in the manner of a 'diadem' (xxix. 6 *n.*),—in the proper sense of the word, something *bound round*[1],—so that the plate attached to it might appear conspicuously in front.

the mitre] *the* **turban** (RVm.): see on *v.* 39.

38. *bear the iniquity*, &c.] i.e. take upon himself the guilt of any ritual error or mistake made accidentally in offering the holy things; cf. Lev. xxii. 16. Elsewhere the expression becomes equivalent to *be responsible for* (Nu. xviii. 1, 23). Cf. *LOT.* p. 50, No. 20^c.

that they may be accepted] more lit. *for their acceptance*: so Lev. xxii. 20; and similarly (in the Heb.) Lev. i. 3, xix. 5, xxii. 19, 21, 29, xxiii. 11. The gold plate, with its inscription, on the high priest's forehead, marks him out as the people's specially holy representative before God: and enables him, as such, to secure His acceptance of their offerings, in spite of any venial oversight or omission made in offering them.

39. The high priest's **tunic, turban,** and **sash.** With *vv.* 39—42 compare (condensed) xxxix. 27—9.

the coat] *the* **tunic.** This was made of fine linen, the 'work of the weaver' (xxxix. 27), woven in one piece. Josephus says (*Ant.* iii. 7. 2) that it reached down to the feet, fitted close to the body, and had tight sleeves: it had a narrow aperture about the neck, and was girt about the breast by a sash (see below). It would thus resemble a cassock or dressing-gown (see ill. of an ordinary tunic in *DB.* i. 624^b). Linen, as a clean and cool material, was much prized in antiquity (cf. on xxv. 4); and was worn in particular by priests both in Egypt (Hdt. ii. 37; Wilk.-B. ii. 159), and also often elsewhere (see Di.).

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[1] The 'diadem' was properly a blue silk band, spotted with white, 2 in. wide, tied round the lower part of the tall stiff cap worn by the Persian kings, and fastened in a knot behind, with the ends hanging down (see ill. in Rawl. *Anc. Mon.* iii. 204, *n.* 17; and cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3, 13).

chequer work of [1] fine linen, and thou shalt make a [2] mitre of *P*
[1] fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of the
40 embroiderer. And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats,
and thou shalt make for them girdles, and headtires shalt

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[1] Or, *silk* [2] Or, *turban*

chequer work] what exactly is denoted by *shibbēẓ* is uncertain; but not improbably something of the nature of a 'check,' obtained by the weaver alternating threads of different colours in warp and woof; or, if the threads were all of the same colour, *quilted* or *honey-combed work* (cf. Ges. *Thes.* 1356; Kennedy, *EB.* iv. 5288). The tunic was only the 'work of the (ordinary) weaver' (xxxix. 27), which was not as elaborate as the two other kinds described on xxvi. 1; but it was something more than perfectly plain weaving. Work of the same kind is mentioned also in *v.* 4, Ps. xlv. 13 ('chequer-work of gold(-thread),' but the text is doubtful); and, of plaited settings of gems ('rosettes'), *vv.* 11, 13, 14, 20, xxxix. 6, 13, 16, 18†.

a **turban**] Heb. *miẓnépheth*, something *wound round* (the cogn. verb occurs in Is. xxii. 5; see RVm.), i.e. what we call not a 'mitre,' but a **turban.** It was of fine white linen (*v.* 39); and probably was folded many times round the head: the Talm. says that it contained 16 cubits (=24 ft.) length of material. Except in Ez. xxi. 26 [Heb. 31], where it denotes the royal turban of the Jewish king (Zedekiah), the word occurs only here and elsewhere in P of the high priest's turban. See further (esp. with reference to Jos.'s statements) the very full art. MITRE in *EB.* RVm. *silk* for *shēsh*, as in AV. of Prov. xxxi. 22. The rend. is not probable: though 'white silk' was used for *shēsh* by Luther.

a girdle] *a* **sash**; Heb. *'abnēṭ*, only of the sash worn by the priests, and (Is. xxii. 21) by a high officer of state. It was made (see the next note) of richly coloured material: Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7. 2) adds that it was four fingers broad, wound twice round the body, beginning at the breast, and tied in front in a bow: the ends reached the ankles, but while the priest was officiating, they were thrown over the left shoulder so as not to be in his way (*EB.* ii. 1735; see ill. in Braun, *de vest. sacerdd.* opp. to p. 404). According to the Talmud, it was 32 cubits (48 ft.) long. It is thus very inadequately described as a 'girdle.'

the work of the embroiderer] or *variegator* (see on xxvi. 1): the ||, xxxix. 29, prefixes 'fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet.' The materials and work were thus the same as those of the screens at the entrances to the Tent and the court (xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16).

40. The **tunics**, **sashes**, and **caps**, for Aaron's 'sons' (i.e. for the ordinary priests). Whether the tunics and sashes differed in any way from those of the high priest, is not stated.

headtires] of fine linen (xxxix. 28),—doubtless a band of fine linen bound round the head (Lev. viii. 13); and, to judge from the etym. of *migbā'ōth* (from *gāba'*, prob. *to be convex*, cf. *gib'āh*, 'hill,' *gābīa'*, 'goblet'), in shape like a brimless convex **cap** (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. 3

P thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. And thou 41
shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and upon his sons
with him; and shalt anoint them, and [1]consecrate them,
and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the
priest's office. And thou shalt make them linen 42
breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the
loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: and they shall 43
be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto

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[1] Heb. *fill their hand.*

πῖλος, a *felt cap*, in shape resembling a half-egg; see *Dict. of Class. Antiq.* s.v. PILLEUS). The word occurs only of the caps of the ordinary priests (xxix. 9, xxxix. 28, Lev. *l.c.*†). Cf. *EB.* MITRE.

At the great sanctuary of the Phrygian Leto at Hierapolis in Phrygia (cf. *Rel. Sem.* Index, s.v. Hierapolis; Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 89 ff.) the priests were dressed wholly in white, and wore a πῖλος on their head, the chief priest alone wearing a purple vestment (cf. above, *v.* 31, and on xxvi. 1), and having a golden 'tiara' bound round his head (Luc. *de dea Syr.* § 42).

41. An anticipation of xxix. 1ª, 5—9, not very exactly expressed; for the garments for Aaron and his 'sons' were not in all cases the same (*v.* 40). The words, *and shalt anoint them*, are probably a later addition; for xxix. 7, like Lev. viii. 12, speaks only of Aaron himself, and not his 'sons' also, as being anointed: see on xxx. 30.

consecrate them] **install** *them* would be a more distinctive rendering. The Heb. is lit. *fill their hand*, a technical term for *install* or *institute* to a priestly office—originally, perhaps, meaning to fill the priest's hand with the first sacrifices (cf. xxix. 24; and see Moore, *Judges*, p. 380)—occurring also Jud. xvii. 5, 12, Ex. xxxii. 29 (fig.), Ez. xliii. 26 (fig. of *altar*); Ex. xxix. 9, 29, 33, 35, Lev. viii. 33, xvi. 32, xxi. 10, Nu. iii. 3 (all P); 2 Ch. xiii. 9; also (fig.) 1 Ch. xxix. 5, 2 Ch. xxix. 31. Cf. also Ex. xxix. 22 'the ram of *installation*' (lit. *of filling*).

42, 43. The *linen drawers*, to be worn by the priests during their ministrations in the Tent of meeting or at the altar. A dictate of reverence and modesty. The layman was forbidden to go up by steps to the altar, lest he should expose his person upon it (xx. 26): for the priests, who did go up upon the altar (see on xxvii. 5), and were otherwise frequently engaged in or near the Tent of meeting, special garments were provided, in order to prevent the same unseemliness. Among the Romans the Flamen Dialis similarly (Gell. x. 15), 'tunicam intimam nisi in locis tectis non exuit, ne sub caelo tanquam sub oculis Jovis nudus sit' (cited by Kn.).

breeches] Only in this connexion (xxxix. 28, Lev. vi. 10, xvi. 4; and in Ezek.'s regulations for the priesthood, xliv. 18†): from the description, evidently what we should call either **loincloths** or **drawers**. LXX. περισκελῆ; Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7. 1) διάζωμα περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα.

the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar *P* to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be a statute for ever unto him and unto his seed after him.

43. *the altar*] i.e. the altar of burnt-offering: cf. on xxvii. 1.

the holy place] i.e. *the* **sanctuary** in general (including the court), as xxxvi. 1, 3, 4, 6; not in the special sense of xxvi. 33; for the altar of burnt-offering did not stand in the Dwelling, but in the court (xl. 6). With *to minister*, as xxix. 30, xxxv. 19 *al.* (P); Ez. xliv. 27.

bear iniquity and die, cf. Lev. xxii. 16 (H); and on *v.* 35 above.

a statute for ever] as xxx. 21, Lev. vi. 18, 22, vii. 34, x. 15, xxiv. 9, Nu. xviii. 8, 11, 19 (all P): cf. on xii. 14 (where the Heb. is *ḥuḳḳāh*, the fem. of *ḥōḳ*, the word used here).

and...his seed after him] one of P's standing expressions: Gen. ix. 9, xvii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, xxxv. 12, xlviii. 4, Nu. xxv. 13.

On the Ephod.

The high priest's Ephod, it is clear, was a decorated garment: but the *position* in which it was worn is not clearly stated; and though it has commonly been regarded as worn *above* the waist (like a waistcoat), Moore (*EB.* ii. 1308), Holz., and esp. E. Sellin in a paper on the ephod in *Orient. Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (1906), ii. 701 f. (cf. Rashi on Ex. xxviii. 4, 6), argue that it was worn *below* the waist, and was in fact a kind of *apron* (Moore), or short tightly-fitting *skirt*: the 'band' of the ephod, upon this view, was not at the bottom of the ephod, but at its *top*, the ephod being suspended from it; and the pouch (which was upon Aaron's 'heart') was not *upon* the ephod, but likewise *above* it ('*al* in *v.* 28 being rendered not 'upon,' but 'above'). Sellin urges the terms of *v.* 27 f.; and it is certainly more natural to suppose that the straps ended at the top of the ephod, and that this was the place of the 'juncture' spoken of in *v.* 27, than that they were continued on the front, down each side, as the usual explanation requires. Still, neither this nor the other arguments adduced seem to be conclusive. It is true, the priests in Egypt wore round their loins short plain skirts (Erman, p. 296: for illustrations of such skirts, see pp. 59 (=209), 62, 204, 205, 207, Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phoen.* ii. 11, 28, 31, 125, 129; cf. Maspero, i. 405, 468 f.): but this does not prove much; for we do not know that the idea of the high priest's ephod was derived from Egypt. (In Perrot and Chipiez's *Egyptian Art*, i. 247, 302, there are two figures wearing vest-like garments, reaching from the breasts nearly to the knees, with both a band round the waist, and shoulder-straps.)

As regards the notices of the 'ephod,' the earlier historical books mention (*a*) a *linen ephod*, with which Samuel and David are 'girt,' when performing sacred, if not priestly, offices—either a *plain* linen 'waistcoat' (cf. p. 300), or a short *skirt* girt about the waist (cf. the illustrations cited above); (*b*) an ephod 'borne' (not 'worn') by priests, valued by them as a distinctive possession (1 S. ii. 28), and used in some way when Jehovah was consulted by means of the Urim and Thummim (1 S. xiv. 3, 18 LXX. (see RVm.), xxi. 9, xxii. 18 [omit *linen* with LXX.: the ephod is here 'borne'; see Kennedy's note], xxiii. 6, 9, xxx. 7); (*c*) the 'ephod' made by Gideon, Jud. viii. 27; and (*d*) in conjunction with the oracular (Ez. xxi. 21) 'teraphim,' Jud. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20, Hos. iii. 4. In 1 S. xxi. 9, (*c*) and (*d*) 'ephod' has often been taken to be a *plated image* (cf. the cognate *'ăphuddāh*, which clearly means the gold *casing* of an image in Is. xxx. 22): in 1 S. xiv. 3, &c. (*b*) it is clearly used in some way in obtaining an oracle, and the same is doubtless the case with (*d*), if not with (*c*). But though we thus learn the use to which the ephod is put, we do not learn *what* the ephod was. On the whole, however, it seems probable that at least in (*b*) and (*d*) the ephod was a more decorated garment than the 'linen ephod' (*a*), worn at this time by the priest in his ordinary ministrations, and was one specially put on by him, as a mark of respect, when consulting the oracle (Sellin, pp. 712, 716; cf. Livy, xxiii. 11). As years went on, the dress of the priests, and especially of the high priest, became more elaborate and ornate; and the high-priestly ephod, as described by P, will be the form which this vestment ultimately assumed. The sacred lots were kept in a pouch attached to the high priest's ephod; it seems probable that this was already the case with the ephod mentioned in (*b*) and (*d*). This may explain why in (*b*) the ephod is spoken of, not as worn, but as 'borne': it was not regularly 'worn' by the priest; it was carried about by the priest from place to place, especially on a campaign, and only 'brought near,' and put on, when occasion required: it was not only a garment, but had also attached to it a receptacle for the sacred lots: it thus provided the means of consulting them; and to 'bear,' or carry, it was a highly prized prerogative of the priests (1 S. ii. 28, xxii. 18). See further *DB.* and *EB.* s.v., *DB.* iv. 840^a, v. 641 f.; Kennedy, *Sam.* p. 49; Holz., with ill., pp. 135—9; Benzinger, *Arch.*^{2} 347 f., 359 (a *skirt*); and esp. Sellin, as cited).

On the Urim and Thummim.

In addition to Ex. xxviii. 30, the Urim and Thummim are mentioned in the ||, Lev. viii. 8, and (the Urim alone) in Nu. xxvii. 21 (both P: here Eleazar is to determine for Joshua by their help when Israel is to 'go out' and 'come in'); in the Blessing attributed to Moses, Dt. xxxiii. 8 (as a privileged possession of the priestly tribe), in 1 S. xxviii. 6 (the *Urim* alone,—Jehovah answered Saul 'neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets'), in Ezr. ii. 63 = Neh. vii. 65 ('till a priest should rise up with Urim and Thummim,' implying they were lost in the post-exilic age); and esp. in the original Heb. text of 1 S. xiv. 41, presupposed by the LXX. which throws the greatest light upon the manner in which they were used, 'And Saul said, O Jehovah, the God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, *give Urim*; and if it be in thy people Israel, *give Thummim.* And Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot, but the people escaped.' (The Heb. words rendered in RVm.=A.V. 'Give a perfect (lot)' are a mutilated fragment of the longer text preserved in LXX., *thāmim*, 'perfect,' differing from 'Thummim' only in vocalization.) The priest who cast the lots on this occasion was evidently Ahijah, who just before (*vv.* 3, 18 RVm.) is mentioned as 'bearing' (above, p. 313) an ephod; and a comparison of the other passages in 1 Sam. in which the priest asks for a Divine decision with the help of the ephod, makes it probable that on these occasions also the Urim and Thummim, though not actually mentioned, were in fact employed: see 1 S. xiv. 18 (read as RVm.), 19, 37, xxiii. 10—12 (see *v.* 6), xxx. 7, 8. After David's time the Urim and Thummim are not mentioned in the history; and though we are naturally not in a position to say that they were never resorted to, yet the increasing importance of the prophets as announcers of the Divine will, and the more spiritual conceptions of God which their teaching brought with it, make it probable that their use fell more and more into abeyance. But the possession of the sacred lots was an ancient and prized prerogative of the priestly caste (Dt. xxxiii. 8); the right of using them was doubtless jealously maintained by the chief priest till—through whatever cause—they were lost (Ezr. ii. 63); and so they naturally found a place in P's description of the high priest's official dress, and their original institution was referred back to Moses.

The etymological meaning of 'Urim and Thummim' is uncertain. Regarded as two Heb. words, they would naturally signify *Lights and Perfections*; but as giving the original sense of the expression, this explanation is anything but satisfactory. It is possible that the words are the Hebraized forms of two originally Babylonian technical terms. The LXX. usually express *Urim* by either δῆλοι (sc. λίθοι), i.e. 'visible, manifest (stones),'—and so in the Greek text of Ecclus. xxxiii. 3 (codd. אA and RV.), xlv. 10,—or δήλωσις, 'manifestation, declaration'; and *Thummim* by ἀλήθεια, 'truth' (cf. Ecclus. xlv. 10): the former rend. is a paraphrase of 'Lights': the latter—as the translators lived in Egypt—may have been suggested to them by the fact that in Egypt the judge presiding at a trial wore, suspended from his neck, an image of Tme, the Egyptian goddess of truth (Wilk.-B. i. 296, iii. 183 f.; Diod. i. 48, 75). For further particulars on the whole subject, see Kennedy in *DB.*, and Moore in *EB.*, s.v.

xxix. **1—37** (cf. Lev. viii.). The ritual for the consecration of the priests. *Vv.* 1—3 (preparation of materials for the sacrifices) are preliminary: the ritual itself consists of the following parts: (1) washing the body, *v.* 4; (2) investiture and anointing of the high priest, *vv.* 5—7, and the investiture of the ordinary priests, *vv.* 8—9; (3) a triple sacrifice, viz. (*a*) a *sin*-offering on behalf of the priests who are to be installed, *vv.* 10—14, (*b*) a *burnt*-offering, such as would naturally form part of a solemn ceremony, *vv.* 15—18; (*c*) the *installation*-offering itself (essentially a peace-offering), with the accompanying ceremonies, *vv.* 19—26, 31—34: the entire ceremonial is to be repeated every day,

P And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to 29
hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: take
one young bullock and two rams without blemish, and 2
unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened mingled with oil,
and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: of fine wheaten
flour shalt thou make them. And thou shalt put them into 3
one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the bullock
and the two rams. And Aaron and his sons thou 4
shalt bring unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt
wash them with water. And thou shalt take the 5
garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of
the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird
him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod: and 6

for seven days, *v.* 35. *Vv.* 27—30 are parenthetical; and *vv.* 36—37 give directions for the purification of the *altar.* The execution of the instructions here given is narrated in Lev. viii. The entire section, though it stands here, must have been *written* after the regulations of Lev. i.—vii. had been long in force; for in the directions for the cakes, &c., for the burnt-, the sin-, and (largely) for the installation-offering, it *presupposes* both the phraseology of Lev. i.—vii. and also the sacrificial usages there codified. For the same reason the fuller explanation of the technical terms employed belongs rather to a Commentary on Leviticus than to one on Exodus; to which accordingly the reader is referred for further information on such points.

1—3. Preparation of the offerings (cf. Lev. viii. 2).

2. Three kinds of biscuit, for the *minḥāh*, or meal-offering (see on Lev. ii.), accompanying the installation-offering: viz. (1) **bread of** *unleavened* **cakes**, see on xii. 15; (2) **perforated cakes** (*EB.* i. 460) *unleavened, mingled with oil,* see on Lev. ii. 4; and (3) *wafers* (large, circular, very thin cakes: see *EB.* i. 605; *L. and B.* iii. 219 f.), *unleavened, anointed with oil,* see also on Lev. ii. 4.

4. Washing of Aaron and his 'sons' (i.e. the common priests, as distinguished from the high priest); cf. Lev. viii. 6. This washing extended to the entire person; and was different from the subsequent ordinary washings of the hands and feet before the daily ministrations (xxx. 19 f.).

5—7. The investiture and anointing of the high priest. The high priest is to be arrayed in the garments described in ch. xxviii., and then to have his head anointed. Cf. Lev. viii. 7—9, 10^{a}, 12 (*vv.* 10^{b}—11, relating to the anointing of the *Dwelling*, altar, &c., have no parallel in Ex. xxix., and seem out of place).

5. *the coat*] *the* **tunic** (xxviii. 39). After the tunic, the **sash** seems to have been accidentally omitted: see Lev. viii. 7 (EVV. 'girdle').

the breastplate] **the pouch**: xxviii. 15 ff.

and **fasten** (it) **to** *him with the* **band** *of the ephod*] see on xxviii. 8.

thou shalt set the [1]mitre upon his head, and put the holy *P*
7 crown upon the [1]mitre. Then shalt thou take the anointing
8 oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. And
thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.
9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, | Aaron and his *Gl*
sons, | and bind headtires on them: and they shall have the *P*
priesthood by a perpetual statute: and thou shalt consecrate
10 Aaron and his sons. And thou shalt bring the bullock
before the tent of meeting: and Aaron and his sons shall
11 lay their hands upon the head of the bullock. And thou
shalt kill the bullock before the LORD, at the door of the
12 tent of meeting. And thou shalt take of the blood of the

[1] Or, *turban*

The verb rendered 'fasten' is formed from 'ephod,' and means only *to fit* or *fasten as an ephod*. In Lev. viii. 7 rendered *bound*, which, however, connects it incorrectly with the preceding 'band.'

6. *the mitre*] *the* **turban**: xxviii. 37.

the holy crown] so xxxix. 30, Lev. viii. 9. Better, *the holy* **diadem.** The term does not occur in ch. xxviii.; but it doubtless denotes the blue lace, with the gold plate in front, which was tied, in the manner of a 'diadem,' round the white turban of the high priest (see on xxviii. 37). The word is also used of a royal diadem (2 S. i. 10 *al.*); and perhaps means properly *a* (mark of) *separation* (to Jehovah).

7. *the anointing oil*] see, for its ingredients and use, xxx. 22—33. Here only the high priest is anointed, in accordance with the expression 'anointed priest,' by which he is distinguished from the ordinary priests (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, vi. 22). On some other passages in P in which the ordinary priests are represented as anointed, see on xxx. 30.

8—9. The investiture of the *ordinary priests* (Lev. viii. 13). These are to be dressed in their **tunics, sashes,** and **caps** (xxviii. 40). The words *Aaron and his sons* (which are inexact, for 'Aaron' had no 'cap,' xxviii. 40) are not in LXX., or in the corresponding passage, Lev. viii. 13; they are doubtless a gloss, due to the fact that the 'girdle' (**sash**) for Aaron was not mentioned in *v.* 5 (so Di.). The linen drawers (xxviii. 42 f.) are not noticed either here or in Lev. viii. 7, 13.

9. *consecrate*] **install** (lit. *fill the hands of*): see on xxviii. 41.

10—14. The *sin*-offering (see on Lev. iv.) for Aaron and his sons (Lev. viii. 14—17).

10. *lay their hands upon*] to mark it formally as *their* sacrifice: see on Lev. i. 4; and cf. (in the ritual of the sin-offering) Lev. iv. 4.

11. Cf. Lev. iv. 4.

12. The Hebrew regarded the blood as the seat of the 'soul,' or principle of life; and it was in virtue of the 'soul' that was in it, that it made atonement (see Lev. xvii. 11). By its application to the horns

P bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger; and thou shalt pour out all the blood at the base of the altar. And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the 13 inwards, and the caul upon the liver, and the two kidneys,

of the altar (cf. Lev. iv. 25, 30, 34),—as in other cases to those of the altar of incense, or to the mercy-seat (Lev. iv. 7, 18, xvi. 14, 15),—it was brought near to Jehovah.

upon the horns (xxvii. 2) *of the altar*] i.e. of the altar of burnt-offering (xxvii. 1 ff.), exactly as in the cases of the sin-offering for laymen specified in Lev. iv. 25, 30, 34 (contrast *vv.* 6 f., 17 f.): the priests, before their consecration is completed, are treated as laity.

at the base of the altar] as in the ordinary sin-offering, Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34; cf. v. 9, viii. 15 (the parallel to the present passage), ix. 9. The 'base' (lit. *foundation*) of the altar is mentioned only in these passages. On the additions in Lev. viii. 15, respecting the atonement made for the *altar*, see below, on *v.* 36.

13. The parts of the sin-offering which were regularly consumed upon the altar: see Lev. iv. 8 f. On the parts in question, see more fully on Lev. iii. 4.

the fat that covereth the **entrails**] i.e., probably, what is called technically the 'great omentum,' a highly fatty membrane, which in ruminants covers the whole of the paunch, and extends partially over the intestines. See *Leviticus* in *SBOT.*, Plate opp. to p. 4, and p. 65; *EB.* iv. 4206.

the caul (i.e. *net*) *upon the liver*] *the* **appendix** (Heb. *the redundance*) *upon the liver*, i.e., as Moore in the *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet* (1906), ii. 761 ff., has convincingly shewn, what is called technically the *lobus caudatus*, or tail-shaped lobe, a small finger-shaped appendix—in the Mishna, *Tamid* iv. 3, it is actually called 'the *finger* of the liver'—projecting from the liver close to the right kidney (cf. Lev. iii. 4, to be rendered as RVm.). This, as Moore shews, is how the term was understood by the oldest interpreters, LXX., Onk., Pesh., and in the Mishna: LXX. ὁ λοβὸς does not mean, as Bochart and many others supposed, 'the *greater* lobe' of the liver itself, but '*the* lobe' κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν, i.e. this appendix, which was specially important in ancient divination (cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 495; Eurip. *Electra*, 828: see also Jastrow in *O.T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, 1908, ii. 289, 294, 326, in a paper on Bab. liver-divination)[1]. It was no doubt this ancient significance of the *lobus caudatus* which led to its being specially selected for consumption upon the altar. The rend. *caul* (i.e. *net*, the 'lesser omentum') is first found in Jerome (*reticulum*).

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[1] Both Etruscan and Babylonian models of the liver, as mapped out for diviners, shew the *lobus caudatus* very distinctly (Moore, 768): see an ill. of a Bab. model in Jeremias, *ATLAO.* 358 (^{2}590)=Gressmann, *Altor. Texte u. Bilder zum AT.* (1909), ii. 51.

and the fat that is upon them, and burn them upon the *P*
14 altar. But the flesh of the bullock, and its skin, and its
dung, shalt thou burn with fire without the camp: it is a
15 [1]sin offering. Thou shalt also take the one ram; and
Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of
16 the ram. And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take
17 its blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar. And

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[1] Heb. *sin.*

burn them] **consume** *them* **in sweet smoke**: Heb. *hiḳṭir*, lit. *make odorous* (the cogn. Arab. means to *exhale odour* in roasting), or *turn into sweet smoke* (cf. the Greek *κνίσῃ*, of the steam of a burning sacrifice, as *Il.* i. 317). The word is always used of burning either a sacrificial offering or incense; and must be distinguished from *sāraph*, the ordinary Heb. word for *burn* (i.e. to destroy by fire) *vv.* 14, 32, &c. In Ex. *hiḳṭir* recurs *vv.* 18, 25, xxx. 7, 8, 20, xl. 27: it is frequent in Lev. (i. 9, 13, &c.), and also occurs elsewhere (as 2 K. xvi. 15).

14. When a sin-offering was offered for *priests*, or for the whole community, including the priests, its flesh was burnt (cf. Lev. iv. 11 f., 21, ix. 11); when it was offered for *laymen*, the flesh was eaten by the priests (Lev. v. 13, vi. 26). Though the priests are here treated as laity (see on *v.* 12), the flesh is to be burnt, because no proper priest is present to eat it (Di.).

dung] better, for distinction, **offal**,—viz. that removed from the animals offered in sacrifice: Lev. iv. 11, viii. 17, xvi. 27, Nu. xix. 5, Mal. ii. 3†.

a sin offering] see on Lev. iv.

15—18. The *burnt*-offering (Lev. viii. 18—21),—such as would naturally form part of a solemn ceremony. On the ritual, see more fully Lev. i.

16. *sprinkle*] **toss**: viz. in a volume, out of a *tossing-vessel* or *basin* (see on xxvii. 3). 'Sprinkle' not only conveys an incorrect idea of the action meant, but also confuses it with an entirely different action, correctly represented by 'sprinkle' (Lev. iv. 6, 17, v. 9 &c.): it is to be regretted that the distinction, obliterated in AV., but correctly pointed out in the *Speaker's Commentary* (I. ii. 499^{b}) in 1871, should not have been preserved in RV. The reader who desires to understand correctly the sacrificial ritual of the Hebrew should correct on the margin of his copy of the RV. **toss** or **throw** for 'sprinkle' (with **against** for 'upon,' where *altar* follows: see the next note) here, *v.* 20, Ex. xxiv. 6, Lev. i. 5, 11, iii. 2, 8, 13, vii. 2, 14, viii. 19, 24, ix. 12, 18, xvii. 6, Nu. xviii. 17, xix. 13, 20 (but *vv.* 4, 18, 19, 21 'sprinkle' is correct), 2 K. xvi. 13, 15, Ez. xliii. 18, 2 Ch. xxix. 22, xxx. 16, xxxv. 11; also Ez. xxxvi. 25 and Ex. ix. 8, 10.

upon] **against.** As the Jews expressly state, the blood was thrown not *upon* the altar, but *against the sides* of it, and in such a manner that

P thou shalt cut the ram into its pieces, and wash its inwards,
and its legs, and put them [1]with its pieces, and [1]with its
head. And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar: 18
it is a burnt offering unto the LORD: it is a sweet savour,
an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And thou 19
shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall lay
their hands upon the head of the ram. Then shalt thou 20

[1] Or, *upon*

with two movements of the 'tossing-vessel' the blood was thrown against its four sides (*Zebāḥim* v. 4 ff.; Rashi on Lev. i. 5). So Lev. i. 5, 11, &c.

17. *cut...into its pieces*] i.e. divide it by its joints. So Lev. i. 6 *al.*

and wash, &c.] Lev. i. 9, 13.

and put them, &c.] viz. on the altar: cf. *v.* 18, and Lev. i. 8 f., 12 f.

18. *a burnt offering*] see Lev. i.

a sweet savour] *a* **soothing odour** (McNeile), lit. *an odour of rest-giving*, i.e. one composing and acceptable to the Deity. It is a technical expression for the fragrant odour emitted by a burning sacrifice, and is doubtless a survival from the time when the deity was supposed to be actually placated by the smell of the sacrificial smoke (see on *v.* 13). It is used, repeatedly by P (Lev. i. 9, 13 &c.), and once by J (Gen. viii. 21). Comp. the *erêshê tâbu*, or 'goodly odour,' offered to the Bab. gods (*EB.* iv. 4119; cf. Del. *HWB.* 121, 140^{a}). 'Sweet savour' is a paraphrase based upon the rend. of LXX. ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας 'an odour of a sweet smell' (Phil. iv. 18). Note that 'savour' in Old English meant not only *taste* (Mt. v. 13), but *smell*, as Joel ii. 20, and 2 Cor. ii. 14, 16 for ὀσμή: see *DB.*, s.v.

an offering made by fire] in the Heb. one word,—as we might say, *a firing*. Another expression of the priestly terminology, used often by P (Lev. i. 9, 13, 17, &c.), and occurring also twice besides (Dt. xviii. 1, 1 S. ii. 28).

19—26. The *installation-offering* (cf. Lev. viii. 22—29). This was essentially a *peace*-offering,—the special characteristic of which was that the flesh of the sacrifice was partaken of by the offerer and his friends (cf. on xx. 24; and see here *vv.* 32—34),—with modifications due to the particular occasion (such as the application of the blood to the priests and their garments, *vv.* 20, 21, the solemn 'waving' of the offerings in the priests' hands, *vv.* 22—25, the special term 'ram of *installation*,' &c.). On the peace-offering in general, see Lev. iii.

19—20. The second of the two rams (*v.* 1) to be killed, and its blood applied to the persons of Aaron and his sons (cf. Lev. viii. 22—4).

20. The organs of hearing, handling, and walking are touched by the blood, implying that the priest is to have hallowed ears to listen to God's commands, hallowed hands to perform his sacred offices, and

kill the ram, and take of its blood, and put it upon the tip P
of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear
of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and
upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood
21 upon the altar round about. And thou shalt take of the
blood that is upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and
sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon
his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and
he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and
22 his sons' garments with him. Also thou shalt take of the
ram the fat, and the fat tail, and the fat that covereth the
inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and
the fat that is upon them, and the right [1]thigh; for it is a
23 ram of consecration: and one loaf of bread, and one cake

[1] Or, *shoulder*

hallowed feet to tread rightly the sacred places, as also to walk generally in holy ways (Kn. Di. Bä). Cf. Lev. viii. 23, 24.

and sprinkle] *and* **toss**: see on *v.* 16.

21 (cf. Lev. viii. 30). A mixture of the sacrificial blood, and of the anointing oil (*v.* 7), to be sprinkled upon Aaron and his sons, and also upon their garments.

sprinkle] here this rend. is correct (Heb. *hizzāh* from *nāzāh*).

22—25. Symbolical investiture of the priests with authority to offer sacrifice. Select portions of the offerings to be placed on their open hands, waved, as they lie there, forwards and backwards before the altar, and finally burnt upon it (Lev. viii. 25—28).

22. *the fat, and*] read with Sam. '*the fat,* (even)': the fat tail, as Lev. iii. 9, vii. 3 shew, was *part* of the fat of the animal. So Di. (on Lev. viii. 25), Bä. &c.

the fat tail] Lev. iii. 9, vii. 3, viii. 25, ix. 19†; and probably to be restored in 1 S. ix. 24 (for the ungrammatical 'that which was upon it'). What is meant is the large tail of certain species of sheep, still bred in Palestine, and elsewhere, which was esteemed a delicacy. The tail is often so heavy as to need the support of a little cart (Hdt. iii. 113; *EB.* iv. 4441: see ill. in *Jewish Encycl.* xi. 50).

the caul] *the* **appendix**, as *v.* 13.

the right thigh] so rightly; not *shoulder* (RVm. = AV.). In the ordinary peace-offering this was the perquisite of the officiating priest (Lev. vii. 32 f.); here it is burnt ultimately (*v.* 25) upon the altar. The other parts mentioned were burnt regularly on the altar (Lev. iii. 9—11).

a ram of **installation**] lit. 'of *filling*' (*sc.* of hands): cf. the cognate verb in *v.* 9. 'Consecration' is not sufficiently distinctive. So *vv.* 26, 27, 31, 34; in the ||, Lev. viii. 22, 28, 29, 31, 33; and Lev. vii. 37†.

23. **a** *loaf*] *a* **round** (*kikkār*)—corresponding to the 'bread of

P of oiled bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread that is before the LORD: and thou shalt put 24
the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of
his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before
the LORD. And thou shalt take them from their hands, 25
and burn them on the altar upon the burnt offering, for
a sweet savour before the LORD: it is an offering made by
fire unto the LORD. And thou shalt take the breast of 26
Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave offering
before the LORD: and it shall be thy portion. And 27

unleavened *cakes*' of *v.* 2. A circular flat 'cake' is meant, not what we should call a 'loaf.' For *cake* read **perforated cake**, as *v.* 2.

the basket (*v.* 3) *of unleavened* **cakes** *that is before* **Jehovah**] i.e. at the entrance of the Tent of meeting (*v.* 32; cf. Lev. viii. 3).

24. *hands*] lit. *palms*; hence 'upon,' i.e. upon the open palms.

wave them] Moses is to 'wave' the offerings enumerated in *vv.* 22, 23, as they lie upon the priests' hands, before Jehovah—i.e. to wave them not from right to left, but towards the altar and back. The ceremony of 'waving'—first in H, Lev. xxiii. 11, 20—is prescribed mostly for offerings which become ultimately the perquisite of the priests: and it seems to be intended as a symbolical expression of the fact that such offerings are first given to God, and then given back by Him to the priest for his own use (Di. on Lev. vii. 30, Now. ii. 239, Bä.): cf. Nu. v. 25; and see further on Lev. vii. 30. Here, as the offerings were afterwards, not given to the priests, but burned upon the altar (*v.* 25), the symbolism of the ceremony must be different; perhaps it is meant as a symbolical induction of the priests by Moses into their office of presenting sacrifices upon the altar (Bä.).

25. Finally, Moses is himself—the priests being not as yet fully installed, and authorized to do so themselves—to take the offerings from their hands and burn them upon the altar. In Lev. viii. 28 the parts thus burnt are expressly called the *installation*(-offering).

burn them] **consume** *them* **in sweet smoke**, as *v.* 18.

upon the burnt offering] mentioned in *v.* 18.

for a **soothing odour** *before* **Jehovah**] See on *v.* 18.

26. The breast of the ram to be 'waved' before Jehovah, and then given to Moses (cf. Lev. viii. 29). The breast of the ordinary peace-offering, after being 'waved' before Jehovah, was the perquisite of the priests (Lev. vii. 30 f.); here it is given analogously to Moses (who throughout the present ceremony acts the part of priest).

wave] used here in the strict sense explained on *v.* 24.

27—30. Two parenthetical regulations: neither in Lev. viii.

27—28. Both the breast and the thigh of the ram of installation to be in perpetuity the perquisite of Aaron and his sons. The verses (which do not agree with *vv.* 22, 24; for the thigh which was there

thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, and the *P*
[1]thigh of the heave offering, which is waved, and which is
heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even of that which
28 is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons: and it shall
be for Aaron and his sons as a due for ever from the
children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall
be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the
sacrifices of their peace offerings, even their heave offering
29 unto the LORD. And the holy garments of Aaron shall be
for his sons after him, to be anointed in them, and to be

[1] Or, *shoulder*

burnt on the altar is here to be the perquisite of the priests) are probably a later insertion, correcting *v.* 26, and harmonizing (though imperfectly) *vv.* 22, 25 with the practice that was usual in the case of a peace-offering, viz. for the priests to receive *both* the breast *and* the right thigh (Lev. vii. 32—34).

27. *the breast of the wave offering*] or, *the wave breast*, as this part of the peace-offering was technically called (Lev. vii. 34, x. 14 *al.*).

the thigh of the heave offering] elsewhere (Lev. vii. 34 *al.*) *the heave thigh*: better (see on xxv. 2), *the thigh of the* **contribution**, i.e. the thigh which was contributed by the worshipper to the priest. As was explained on xxv. 2, no rite of elevation is implied in the expression.

heaved up] **contributed**; lit. *lifted up*, or separated, from a larger mass for a sacred purpose. Cf. xxxv. 24; and see *DB.* iii. 588^a (**5** *a*).

from *the ram of* **installation**, (even) **from** *that which is for Aaron, and* **from** *that which*, &c.] 'that which' (twice) is in apposition with 'the ram of installation.'

28. *for Aaron and his sons*] in Lev. vii. 33 it is laid down that the 'heave thigh' is to be in particular the perquisite of the *officiating* priest.

a due (*ḥōḳ*; lit. *statute*) *for ever*] See on xxvii. 21.

an heave offering (twice)] *a* **contribution** (*v.* 27); something 'lifted off' and separated from the rest of the sacrifice as a priestly due: cf. Nu. xviii. 8, 11, 19.

of the sacrifices] **out of** would be clearer, as in the || Lev. vii. 34.

peace offerings] See more fully on Lev. iii., and vii. 28—34.

unto **Jehovah**] who, however, gives them back to the priests (Nu. xviii. 8).

29—30. The costly and decorated vestments of the high priest to be passed on to his successors in the office. Another parenthetic regulation, if not a later insertion: the continuation of *v.* 26 is clearly *v.* 31.

29. *his sons*] as *v.* 30 shews, the series of *eldest* sons, in the line of direct descent, are meant.

to be anointed in them] *v.* 7.

P consecrated in them. Seven days shall the son that is 30
priest in his stead put them on, when he cometh into the
tent of meeting to minister in the holy place. And 31
thou shalt take the ram of consecration, and seethe its flesh
in a holy place. And Aaron and his sons shall eat the 32
flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, at the
door of the tent of meeting. And they shall eat those 33
things wherewith atonement was made, to consecrate *and*
to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat thereof,
because they are holy. And if aught of the flesh of the 34

consecrated] **installed,** as *v.* 9.

30. *Seven days*] to be explained from *v.* 35.

when he cometh] i.e. *first* cometh. More clearly, *who is to come.*

31—34. Continuation of *v.* 26 (cf. Lev. viii. 31—2). The sacrificial meal accompanying the peace-offering; the flesh of the ram of **installation** to be eaten by Aaron and his sons in the court of the Tent of Meeting. For the general principle, see Lev. vii. 15—21; and cf. on Ex. xviii. 12.

31. *seethe*] i.e. **boil,** as the word is actually rendered (in both AV. and RV.) in the parallel place, Lev. viii. 31.

its flesh] apart from the right thigh (*v.* 22), and, if *v.* 27 form an original part of the regulation, the breast.

in a holy place, i.e. in the court: see on Lev. vi. 16. In the ||, Lev. viii. 31, 'at the **entrance** of the Tent of Meeting,' where also (as directed here in *v.* 32) it is to be eaten.

32. *that is in*, &c.] that remains in it after the things mentioned in *v.* 23 have been taken from it.

33. *those things*] the flesh and the bread of *v.* 32.

atonement] i.e. *at-one-ment*, *setting at one*, *reconciliation*, as in Shakespeare (e.g. *Rich. III.* i. 3. 36). This is always the meaning of 'atonement' in the Bible (as in Old English generally): the idea of *amends* or *reparation* for a fault, which the word now mostly suggests, is not implied in either its Hebrew or its Greek equivalent. See further *DB.* iv. 128; and on xxx. 10. The burnt-, the guilt-, and the sin-offering are in P often said to 'make atonement' (see the references in *DB.* iv. 130^{a}), but this is the only passage of P in which that is predicated of a *peace*-offering.

to consecrate] *to* **install.**

a stranger] Heb. *zār*; i.e., here, one not a priest (see esp. Nu. xvi. 40), a frequent use of the word in P (xxx. 33, Nu. iii. 10, 38, xviii. 7 *al.*; see further *DB.* iv. 622^{a}, near the bottom). Quite a different word from the ones rendered *stranger* in xii. 48 (*gêr*), and *strange* in ii. 22 (*nokri*): see the notes on these passages, and STRANGE, STRANGER, in *DB.*

consecration, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, *P*
then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not
35 be eaten, because it is holy. And thus shalt thou do
unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all that I have
commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate
36 them. And every day shalt thou offer the bullock
of sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt [1]cleanse
the altar, when thou makest atonement for it; and thou

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[1] Or, *purge the altar*, by *thy making atonement*

34. Cf. Lev. vii. 15 (P), xxii. 30 (H), both of a peace-offering; also above, xii. 10.

consecration] **installation**(-sacrifice). See *v.* 31.

35. To make it the more solemn and efficacious, the entire installation-ceremony is to be repeated every day for seven days (cf. Lev. viii. 33—35). In Lev. it is added that the priests are to remain during the whole of the seven days at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting.

consecrate] **install.**

36, 37. The *altar* to be fitted for sacred uses by atonement being made for it: the ceremony to be repeated, like the installation-ceremony, every day for seven days. The altar, as the work of human hands, was regarded as infected by a natural uncleanness, which had to be ceremonially removed before it could be used for sacred purposes. Cf. the atoning rites, to continue for seven days, prescribed by Ezek. for the installation of the altar of the restored Temple, Ez. xliii. 18—27.

36. *offer*] Heb. *do*: see on x. 25.

the bullock] a *bullock* (so the Heb.): upon independent grounds, also, the bullock of *vv.* 1, 10—14 can hardly be meant; for *vv.* 1, 10 speak only of atonement for the *priests*; and the ceremonies enjoined in *v.* 12 are in particular those prescribed in Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34 for *persons*. It is true, two clauses referring to the altar ('and un-sinned the altar,' 'and sanctified it by making atonement for it') are found in Lev. viii. 15 (the ‖ to *v.* 12 here); but the absence of any corresponding instructions in Ex. xxix. 12 raises the suspicion that they are later additions to the text, based upon *vv.* 36 f. here.

cleanse the altar] **free** *the altar* **from sin**, or, if it is permissible to coin a word, corresponding approximately to the single word *ḥiṭṭē'* (see G.-K. § 52^{h}) of the Heb., **un-sin** *the altar*. Either *cleanse* or *purge* (RVm.) leaves out a distinctive part of the Heb. idea: the Hebrews understood 'sin' in a wider sense than we do, and regarded it as capable of infecting even a material object. The word occurs in the same sense Lev. viii. 15 (of the altar, as here), xiv. 49 (of a leprous house), 52; Nu. xix. 19 (RV. *purify*); Ez. xliii. 20, 22 (twice), 23 (all of the altar), xlv. 18 (of the sanctuary); Ps. li. 7 (*purge*)†; and in the reflexive conj., Nu. viii. 21, xix. 12 (twice), 13, 20, xxxi. 19, 20, 23†.

by thy making (marg.) *atonement for it*] on account of its being

P shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. Seven days thou shalt make 37
atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and the altar shall be most holy; [1] whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.

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[1] Or, *whosoever*

regarded as infected with sin. For other cases of 'atonement' being made for a material object—regarded either as affected by the natural impurity of human workmanship, or as tainted by contact with a sinful people—see (of the altar of burnt-offering) Lev. viii. 15 (the execution of the present injunction), Ez. xliii. 20, 26, Lev. xvi. 18, 20, 33; (of the altar of incense) ch. xxx. 10^b; (of the sanctuary) Ez. xlv. 20, Lev. xvi. 16, 20, 33; (of a leprous house) Lev. xiv. 53 (*DB.* iv. 131^b).

thou shalt anoint it] Cf. Lev. viii. 11 (in the insertion referred to on *v.* 7 above, between the words corresponding to *v.* 7^a and *v.* 7^b here). See on xxx. 26—28 and 29 (at the end).

37. *most holy*] a technical term of the priestly phraseology, applied to many different things brought specially near to God, e.g. to the altar of burnt-offering, here and xl. 10; to the altar of incense, xxx. 10; to the Tent of Meeting and vessels belonging to it, xxx. 26—29; to the meal-offering, Lev. ii. 3, &c. (see a complete list in *Daniel* in the *Camb. Bible*, p. 137; also in Di.'s note on Lev. xxi. 22, where its distinction from *holy* is explained).

shall **become** *holy*] i.e. become sacred to Jehovah, implying that, if it be a thing ('whatsoever'), it will be forfeited to the sanctuary (cf. Nu. xvi. 37, 38, where the censers which had rashly been made 'holy,' are retained in the service of the sanctuary, and made into beaten plates for the altar; Dt. xxii. 9, Lev. xxvii. 10, Jos. vi. 19^a, compared with 19^b), and, if it be a person ('**whosoever**,' the more prob. rendering), not already properly consecrated, and so able to touch sacred things with impunity, that he is given over to the Deity to be dealt with by Him as He pleases. So xxx. 29, Lev. vi. 18^b, 27; cf. Ez. xlvi. 20^b, where 'sanctify' is to be similarly explained. We have here, as in the passages quoted, a survival of primitive ideas of 'holiness.' Holiness, i.e. consecration to a deity, is a contagious quality: thus the altar or the incense is holy, and whatever touches it becomes holy. What is holy must further be kept from profane use, and not touched, without due precaution, or by unfit persons; a person touching it in heedlessness or curiosity becomes thereby 'holy' himself, and may be dealt with by the Deity as He pleases, even to the extent of having to pay for his imprudence with his life: cf. 2 S. vi. 6 f.; Nu. iv. 15, 20, xvi. 37 *end*, 38^a [read as RVm.]. See Dr Gray's luminous note, *Numbers*, pp. 209—211, with the passages cited by him from Frazer's *Golden Bough*, e.g. i. 321 (ed. 2), 'In New Zealand the dread of the sanctity of chiefs was at least as great as in Tonga. Their ghostly power, derived from an ancestral spirit or *atua*, diffused itself by contagion over everything they touched, and could strike dead all who rashly or unwittingly

38 Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; *P*
39 two lambs of the first year day by day continually. The
one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other
40 lamb thou shalt offer [1]at even: and with the one lamb a
tenth part *of an ephah* of fine flour mingled with the fourth

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[1] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

meddled with it'; *Rel. Sem.* pp. 142 f., 427 ff. (ed. 2, pp. 152 f., 446 ff.); *DB.* iv. 826 f.

38—42. The *burnt-offering*, to be offered daily, morning and evening, on behalf of the community. A law in great measure verbally identical, but somewhat fuller, recurs in Nu. xxviii. 3—8, in a table, Nu. xxviii.—xxix., of public sacrifices prescribed for different days in the year. Here it interrupts the connexion between *vv.* 37 and 43; so it is probable (Di. *al.*) that it has been introduced here from Nu. xxviii. with some abridgements, and adjustments in *vv.* 38^a, 42^b, fitting it to its new place, by a later hand, just as xxvii. 20 f. seems to have been similarly introduced from Lev. xxiv. 2 f. Its position (after *v.* 36 f.) is suitable: for the daily burnt-offering was a central and fundamental element in the worship (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* p. 80)—notice the terms in which its suspension by Antiochus Epiphanes is alluded to in Dan. viii. 12 f., xi. 31, xii. 11—and its proper maintenance was one of the chief duties to be performed on the altar of *v.* 36 f.

The law, like Nu. xxviii. 3—8 (cf. also Lev. vi. 9), regulates the post-exilic usage. Before the exile, as 2 K. xvi. 15 shews, it was the custom to offer a burnt-offering in the morning, but only a *minḥāh*, i.e. a cereal, or 'meal,' offering in the evening; Ezek. also (xlviii. 13—15) prescribes for the restored temple only a morning burnt-offering (with accompanying meal-offering: he prescribes no evening offering at all). Before the exile the *minḥāh* thus held an independent position, as the evening offering: the present law duplicates the burnt-offering, and at the same time subordinates the evening *minḥāh* to the evening burnt-offering (cf. on *v.* 40).

38. *the altar*] the altar of burnt-offering, just referred to (*v.* 36 f.).

offer (twice)] lit. *do*, as *v.* 36 (see on x. 25). So *v.* 41.

of the first year] see on xii. 5.

continually] i.e. regularly: see on xxvii. 20, and cf. *v.* 42.

39. between the two evenings] see on xii. 6.

40. The *minḥāh*, or 'meal-offering' (see Lev. ii.), as it is expressly termed in the ‖ Nu. xxviii. 5, which in P is the regular concomitant of a burnt-offering (see Nu. xv. 1—12; and cf. Nu. xxviii. 9, 12, 13, &c.).

a tenth part (of an ephah)] Heb. *'issārōn*, only in P (28 times). The ephah was probably about 8 gallons, so the *'issārōn* would be about 6½ pints (see further Kennedy, in *DB.* iv. 912^b, near the bottom).

fine flour] Gen. xviii. 6 and often: as the material of a meal-offering Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 7, and elsewhere.

mingled with...oil] as *v.* 2, Lev. ii. 4, 5 *al.* A 'hin' (Jos. *Ant.* iii.

P part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering. And the other lamb thou 41 shalt offer [1]at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meal offering of the morning, and according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. It shall be a continual burnt offering 42 throughout your generations at the door of the tent of meeting before the LORD: where I will meet with you, to speak there unto thee.

And there I will meet with the children of Israel; and 43 *the Tent* shall be sanctified by my glory. And I will sanctify 44 the tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons

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[1] Heb. *between the two evenings*.

8. 3) was ⅙ of the 'bath' (the equivalent for liquid measure of the ephah for dry measure, Ez. xlv. 11) = about 1⅓ gallon; ¼ of a hin would thus be about 2⅔ pints. For the oil of superior quality called *beaten oil*, see on xxvii. 20: this is the only *minḥāh* for which it is prescribed.

a drink offering] or *libation*; also a frequent concomitant of the burnt-offering (Nu. xv. 5, 7, 10; cf. Nu. xxviii. 9, 14, xxix. 18, 21, &c.). According to Ecclus. l. 15 it was poured out at the base of the altar. The amount, ¼ hin for a lamb, is the same as in Nu. xv. 5, xxviii. 14; for larger animals the amount was greater.

41. *do thereto*, &c.] i.e. offer a similar meal- and drink-offering.

for a **soothing odour**, &c.] see on *v.* 18.

42. *a continual burnt offering*] i.e. a burnt-offering recurring regularly: so Nu. xxviii. 3, 6, 10, 15 *al.*, Ez. xlvi. 15. The same word *continual* (or *continually*) is also used often besides, esp. in P, of standing institutions of the theocracy, as Ex. xxv. 30 Heb., xxvii. 20 (see the note), xxviii. 29, 30, 38, xxx. 8 *al.*

throughout your generations] see on xii. 14.

door] **entrance.**

where] i.e. in the Tent of Meeting; cf. xxv. 22, xxx. 36. For *you*, Sam. LXX. have *thee*, as in these passages. The clause beginning here leads on to *vv.* 43—46.

43—46. Conclusion to the whole body of directions (chs. xxv.—xxix.). In the sanctuary thus erected, Jehovah will appear in His glory; and dwell permanently in the midst of His people. The purpose of its construction, as laid down in xxv. 8, is thus accomplished.

43. *And I* **will meet there**] There is no emph. on 'there' in the Heb. In its probable original context (see on *vv.* 38—42), at the *altar*.

the Tent] Heb. *it*, i.e., in its probable original context, the altar.

by my glory] When He enters it in His glory: see xl. 34 f.; and cf. on xvi. 10. Tent, altar, and priests (*v.* 44) will alike be hallowed by the power of Jehovah's sanctifying presence.

45 will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office. And *P*
I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their
46 God. And they shall know that I am the LORD their God,
that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that
I may dwell among them: I am the LORD their God.

45. *dwell among*] cf. on xxv. 8.

will be **to them a** *God*] see on vi. 7.

46. *And they shall know*] viz. by the evidences of His presence in their midst (cf. xvi. 6, 12). For other instances of the expression, see on vi. 7.

I am **Jehovah** *their God*] a closing asseverative formula: see on vi. 8.

CHAPTERS XXX.—XXXI.

Contents:—The altar of Incense, xxx. 1—10; the maintenance of public service, xxx. 11—16; the Bronze Laver, xxx. 17—21; the composition of the holy Anointing Oil, xxx. 22—23; the composition of the Incense, xxx. 24—38; the nomination of Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab to construct, or take the chief part in constructing, the Tabernacle, and its appurtenances, xxxi. 1—11; the observance of the Sabbath, xxxi. 12—17; Moses receives from God the two tables of stone, preparatory to descending from the mount; xxxi. 18. The whole, except xxxi. 18^b, belongs to P. There are, however, strong reasons for holding that it does not belong to P proper, but to a posterior and secondary stratum of P (P_2), of which there are indications also in other parts of the Pentateuch. It is surprising to find the *Altar of Incense*, which from its importance might have seemed to demand a place in ch. xxv., among the other sacred vessels of the Tabernacle, mentioned for the first time in xxx. 1—10, when the directions respecting the Tabernacle seem to be complete, and brought to a solemn close by the promise in xxix. 43—46 that Jehovah will take up His abode in the sanctuary so constructed: even in xxvi. 34 f., where the position of the vessels in the Tabernacle is defined, the Altar of Incense is not named. In xxx. 10 an annual rite of atonement is prescribed to be performed upon it; but in Lev. xvi., where the ceremonial of the day of atonement is described in detail, no notice of such a rite is to be found; and only one altar, the altar of Burnt-offering, is mentioned throughout the chapter (on *v.* 18 see Dillm. and Keil, who agree that the *order* of the ceremonial in *vv.* 16^b—18 shews the altar of Burnt-offering to be here meant). Further, a number of passages occur, in which the altar of Burnt-offering is referred to as '*the* altar,' implying apparently that there was no other (e.g. chs. xxvii.—xxix.; Lev. i.—iii., v.—vi., viii., ix., xvi.). Hence it seems that the Tabernacle, as pictured in the original legislation of P, contained no incense altar (incense being offered on pans or censers, Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12, Nu. xvi. 6, 7, &c.), and that both this and other passages in which it is spoken of (xxx. 27, xxxi. 8, xxxv. 15, xxxvii. 25,

*P*₂ And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: of 30
acacia wood shalt thou make it. A cubit shall be the 2
length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare
shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the
horns thereof shall be of one piece with it. And thou 3
shalt overlay it with pure gold, the [1]top thereof, and the

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[1] Heb. *roof.*

xxxix. 38, xl. 5, 26, Lev. iv. 7, 18, Nu. iv. 11), or which term 'the Altar' of xxvii. 1, &c., as though for distinction, 'the altar of Burnt-offering' (as xxx. 28, xxxi. 9, xxxv. 16, xxxviii. 1, xl. 6, 10, 29, Lev. iv.), or 'the Bronze altar' (xxxviii. 30, xxxix. 39), belong to a secondary stratum of P. The other subjects treated in chs. xxx.—xxxi. are such as would naturally find place in an Appendix, or (remarkably enough) occasion similar difficulties. Thus in xxix. 7 (cf. 29), Lev. viii. 12, the ceremony of anointing is confined to the high priest (Aaron): in xxx. 30 it is extended to the priests (his 'sons'). The same extension recurs in xxviii. 41, xl. 15, Lev. vii. 36, x. 7, Nu. iii. 3. That the ceremony was regarded originally as limited to the high priest seems, however, to be confirmed by the title 'the *anointed* priest' applied to him (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, vi. 22; cf. xvi. 32, xxi. 10, 12, Nu. xxxv. 25), which, if the priests generally were anointed, would be destitute of any distinctive significance.

xxx. **1—10.** The *Altar of incense*: its construction and place (*vv.* 1—6), and its use (*vv.* 7—10).

1—6 (cf. xxxvii. 25—28, xl. 26). The altar of incense was to be of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, a cubit (1½ ft.) broad and long, and 2 cubits (3 ft.) high; at its upper corners were to be four horns (cf. xxvii. 2); a rim or moulding of gold was to run round it, probably near its top; and close under this moulding, on two of the opposite sides, there were to be two gold rings to receive the poles for carrying it. It was to stand in the Holy place, directly in front of the mercy-seat. A remarkable incense-altar, decorated with lions and composite animal figures, has been found at Taanach (see the writer's *Schweich Lectures*, p. 84 f., with an illustration); but it bears no resemblance to the altar here described.

1. *incense*] Heb. *ḳeṭōreth*, 'sweet smoke' (see on xxix. 13), which may denote, according to the context, either the 'sweet smoke' rising from animal sacrifices (Ps. lxvi. 15; and perhaps usually in the earlier literature, Dt. xxxiii. 10, 1 S. ii. 28, Is. i. 13), or the sweet smoke rising from 'incense' (so always in P and Chron.).

2. *the horns*, &c.] see on xxvii. 2; also, for *of one piece with it*, xxv. 31. The blood of the sin-offering was sprinkled upon the horns of this altar in the cases specified in xxx. 10, Lev. iv. 7, 18.

3. *pure gold*] see on xxv. 3. From being thus overlaid wholly (except at the bottom) with gold, it was also called the *golden altar* (xxxix. 38, xl. 5, 26, Nu. iv. 11).

[1]sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou P_2
4 shalt make unto it a [2]crown of gold round about. And two
golden rings shalt thou make for it under the crown thereof,
upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt
thou make them; and they shall be for places for staves to
5 bear it withal. And thou shalt make the staves of acacia
6 wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt put it
before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before
the mercy-seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet
7 with thee. And Aaron shall burn thereon incense of
sweet spices: every morning, when he dresseth the lamps, he
8 shall burn it. And when Aaron [3]lighteth the lamps [4]at even,

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[1] Heb. *walls.* [2] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*
[3] Or, *setteth up* Heb. *causeth to ascend.*
[4] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

sides] Heb. *walls*: so of the Bronze altar, Lev. i. 15, v. 9.

a crown] *a* **rim** *or* **moulding**: see on xxv. 11, and cf. xxv. 24.

4, 5. The rings and acacia-wood poles, for the transport of the altar, as in the case of the ark (xxv. 12—15), the table of Presence-bread (xxv. 26—28), and the Bronze altar (xxvii. 4—7).

4. *upon the two ribs thereof*] i.e. upon its *flanks* or sides, a common metaph. sense of 'rib' in Heb. (see on xxv. 12). The words seem tautologous beside the following 'upon the two sides of it'; either they have come in here by error, through a recollection of xxvii. 12, or (Di.) the expression denotes the extreme ends of the two sides, near the corners.

sides] not as *v.* 3, but the usual word for 'side,' xxvi. 13, &c.

5. Cf. xxv. 13, 28, xxvii. 6.

6. *the veil*, &c.] See xxvi. 31, 33.

by] **before** (as xxvii. 21 for the same Heb.) would be clearer: **in front of** might then be used instead of 'before' (twice).

the testimony] i.e. the commandments written on the two tables of stone: see on xxv. 16.

meet with thee] cf. xxv. 22, xxix. 42.

7—10. Incense is to be burnt upon the altar twice a day by the high priest, in the morning when the lamps are removed from the candlestick for trimming, and in the evening when they are replaced and lighted. Atonement is to be made for it once a year by the blood of the sin-offering (Lev. xvi. 15—19) being applied to its horns.

7. *burn*] properly, *make to exhale* (or *make into*) *sweet smoke*, as xxix. 13 (see the note).

sweet spices] see on *v.* 34.

when he dresseth the lamps] cf. on xxvii. 21.

8. *lighteth*] **fixeth on**: see on xxv. 37.

at even] **between the two evenings**, as xxix. 39: see on xii. 6.

P_2 he shall burn it, a perpetual incense before the Lord
throughout your generations. Ye shall offer no strange 9
incense thereon, nor burnt offering, nor meal offering; and
ye shall pour no drink offering thereon. And Aaron shall 10
make atonement [1]upon the horns of it once in the year:
with the blood of the sin offering of atonement once in the
year shall he make atonement [2]for it throughout your
generations: it is most holy unto the Lord.

[1] Or, *for*

[2] Or, *upon*

perpetual] better, **continual**: the expression is a standing one; see on xxix. 42.

before **Jehovah**] as xxix. 25, and constantly in the priestly laws.

9. The altar is to be reserved exclusively for incense, and for incense moreover made from the authorized prescription (*v.* 34 ff.).

strange] i.e. strange to the law, unauthorized; cf. '*strange* fire,' Lev. x. 1, Nu. iii. 4, xxvi. 61. Comp. on xxix. 33; and see *DB*. iv. 623.

10. An annual rite of atonement to be performed for it. The law presupposes Lev. xvi. (which prescribes the ceremonial of the annual Day of Atonement), and is thus later than it. Lev. xvi. 16, 18, 20 prescribes a rite of atonement for the Holy place, the Tent of Meeting, and the altar of burnt-offering, but none for the altar of incense: the present verse supplies the deficiency.

upon the horns of it] by putting some of the blood of the *sin-offering of atonement* (the goat for the people of Lev. xvi. 5, 15—19) upon them: cf. Lev. iv. 7, 18. The marg. *for* may be disregarded.

for it] to preserve it, like the other sacred objects, in its ideal holiness: cf. xxix. 36, with the note.

most holy] see on xxix. 37.

make atonement] both here and elsewhere *make* **propitiation** would be a better rend. of *kipper*, and *propitiation*, &c., of its derivatives (cf. *propitiatory*, suggested on xxv. 17 for *kappōreth*): not only is this the idea of the word, but *kipper* and its derivatives are usually represented in LXX. by (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, ἱλασμός, &c., which in the NT. are expressed in English by '(make) *propitiation*' (Rom. iii. 25; 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10; Heb. ii. 17 RV.): an important link of connexion between OT. and NT. is thus lost, when, of the two corresponding terms, the rend. is *atonement* in the OT. and *propitiation* in the NT. (note that in NT. 'atonement' occurs in AV. Rom. v. 11 only, RV. *reconciliation*; in RV. never). For a fuller discussion of the meaning and use of the Heb. term, reference must be made to the notes on Lev. iv., and to the writer's art. PROPITIATION in *DB*.; see also H. M. P. Smith's arts. in the *Biblical World* (Chicago), Jan., Feb., Mar., 1908. Here it can only be briefly explained that *kipper* is used in *two* applications: (1) with a *human* subject, to *make appeasement* or *propitiation*, xxxii. 30 (see the note), Gen. xxxii. 20, 2 S. xxi. 3 (cf. in the passive, the implicit subject being some act or

11 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, When thou P$_2$
12 takest the sum of the children of Israel, according to those
that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man

rite, 1 S. iii. 14, Dt. xxi. 8^{b}, Is. vi. 7, xxii. 14, xxvii. 9, Prov. xvi. 6); so in P, where the subject is always either the priest, or (rarely) an offering, and the means of effecting the propitiation usually a sacrifice (as ch. xxix. 36, 37, Lev. i. 4), but occasionally some other act or offering (as below, *vv.* 15, 16, Nu. xxv. 13: see further details in *DB.* iv. 130); (2) with *God* as subject, *to treat propitiously* (EVV. *to be merciful*, *forgive*, &c.) either an offender (Dt. xxi. 8^{a}, xxxii. 43, Ez. xvi. 63, 2 Ch. xxx. 18) or an offence (Jer. xviii. 23, Ps. lxv. 3, lxxviii. 38, lxxix. 9, Dan. ix. 24). The actual meanings, and usages, of *kipper* can be determined from the OT. itself (see *DB.* l.c.). Whether, however, as used to be supposed, its *primary* meaning was either (Arab.) to *cover*, or (Syr.) to *wipe away*, is very doubtful. In Ass. *kapāru*, it seems, means properly to *remove*; *kuppuru* is to *remove ritual impurity* from a person or thing; and the word appears to have come into Heb. with the sense of *ritual purgation* attaching to it, and to have been developed there so as to express the ideas of *purge away* (sin) *ritually*, *declare purged*, *remove guilt* or *cause of offence*, *appease*, &c. See Langdon, *Exp. Times*, April 1911, p. 320 ff.; cf. Zimmern, *KAT.*^{3} 601 f.

11—16 (cf. xxxviii. 24—31). The ransom of souls at a census. When a census of the people is taken, every man is to pay half a (silver) shekel to Jehovah as a ransom for his life, that no 'plague' break out among the people: the proceeds of the tax to be applied to the maintenance of the daily services in the sanctuary. It must have been a popular belief, current at the time when this law was drawn up, that a census was dangerous to the lives of the persons numbered (cf. 2 S. xxiv.), whether because it was likely to give rise to feelings of self-satisfaction and pride, or because it tended to bring the sins and imperfections of individuals prominently before God's notice: every adult male of the community was therefore to pay a 'ransom' (xxi. 30) for his life, by which he, as it were, purchased it for himself and secured it against peril of death. The Gallas of E. Africa believe that to count their cattle impedes the increase of the flock; and the Lapps, at least formerly, would not count themselves, for fear of the great mortality which they supposed would ensue (Frazer, p. 174 of the volume cited on xxiii. 19^{b}). And an Arab is averse to counting the tents, or horsemen, or cattle of his tribe, lest some misfortune befal them (Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 74 f.). In 2 Ch. xxiv. 6, 9 (in two passages *added* by the Chronicler to the original narrative of 2 K. xii. 7—9) it is stated that the tax here imposed was enforced—though not apparently upon occasion of a census—by Joash.

12. *takest the sum*] so Nu. i. 2, 49.

numbered...numberest] The verb means lit. to *visit* (viz. to see how many they are), i.e. to *review*, *muster*, *inspect*. So *vv.* 13, 14, Nu. i. 3, 19, and often in Nu. i.—iv., xxvi.; 2 S. xviii. 1, xxiv. 2.

P_2 a ransom for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest
them; that there be no plague among them, when thou
numberest them. This they shall give, every one that 13
passeth over unto them that are numbered, half a shekel
after the shekel of the sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty
gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to the LORD. Every 14

a ransom for his soul] i.e. for his *life* ('soul' as the seat of life, as xxi. 23, 30, and constantly): 'ransom' (*kōpher*), in the sense of *price for a life*, as xxi. 30, where see the note.

that there be no plague (xii. 13) &c.] cf. Nu. viii. 19.

13. *passeth over*, &c.] viz. before the officer who took the census, *to those that are numbered*, and who stand on the other side. Cf. to 'pass over' (of sheep being numbered) Lev. xxvii. 32, Jer. xxxiii. 13; and in 2 S. ii. 15 Heb.

half] not the usual Heb. word for 'half'; in the Hex. found only in P (11 times), and only 4 times elsewhere. So *vv.* 15, 23, xxxviii. 26.

the shekel of the sanctuary] xxxviii. 24—26, Lev. v. 15, xxvii. 3, 25, Nu. iii. 47, 50, vii. (14 times), xviii. 16† (all P). Some standard (silver) 'shekel' is plainly alluded to: it is not known certainly what. A standard (silver) shekel, of full weight (as opposed to worn shekels in common use), preserved in the sanctuary, has been thought of. Or, as the expression may be rendered with equal, not to say, greater propriety, *the* **sacred** *shekel* (LXX. σίκλος ὁ ἅγιος), and as moreover the Mishnah (*Bekhōrōth* viii. 7) expressly enjoins that 'all payments according to the sacred shekel are to be made in Tyrian (i.e. Phoenician) money,' in which the silver shekel weighed 224 grs., it may (Kennedy, *DB.* iv. 422; G. F. Hill, *EB.* SHEKEL, § 5) denote the *ancient Hebrew silver shekel* (which had the same weight as the Phoenician silver shekel), called 'sacred' because it was the traditional standard by which sacred dues were paid (see further *ll.cc.*). A silver shekel of 224 grains would weigh just 6 grains more than an English half-crown: at the *present* value of silver (2*s.* 3*d.* an oz.) it would be worth about 1*s.* 1*d.*

the shekel is twenty gerahs] The same definition recurs Lev. xxvii. 25, Nu. iii. 47, xviii. 16; and in Ez. xlv. 12 (of his shekel, though not called 'sacred'). The *gērāh* (only in these passages) is rendered ὀβολὸς by LXX., and by Onk. *mā'āh*, also = an *obol*, the weight of which in 4—3 cent. B.C. was *c.* 11·21 grs.: this would make the 'sacred' shekel (= 20 gērāhs) *c.* 224·2 grs.

The later institution of an annual Temple-tax of a half-shekel (Mt. xvii. 24 RV.: Gk. τὰ δίδραχμα, 'the double drachm') is based ultimately on this passage. The drachm was worth 6 obols: and the double drachm (= 12 obols) was taken as the equivalent of a half-shekel (= 10 obols): cf. *DB.* iii. 422^b, 428^b; *EB.* iv. 4446, 4786.

an offering] **a contribution**, Heb. *terūmāh* (see on xxv. 2); here of a contribution levied on,—or, to preserve the figure of the original, *taken off*,—the whole of a man's property for sacred purposes. So *vv.* 14, 15.

one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from P_2
twenty years old and upward, shall give the offering of the
15 LORD. The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall
not give less, than the half shekel, when they give the
offering of the LORD, to make atonement for your souls.
16 And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children
of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tent of
meeting; that it may be a memorial for the children of
Israel before the LORD, to make atonement for your souls.

17, 18 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Thou shalt also
make a laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, to wash
withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting
19 and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein. And Aaron
and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat:
20 when they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with
water, that they die not; or when they come near to the

14. *from twenty years old and upward*] i.e. from adult age.

15. Rich and poor are to contribute alike, for both stand in the same relation towards Jehovah.

16. *for the service*, &c.] i.e. for the maintenance of the daily worship in the Tent of Meeting, the morning and evening sacrifices, &c. The reference cannot be to the work of *erecting* the sanctuary; for (1) the injunction is general (*When thou takest the sum*, &c.), not specific (*And thou shalt take*, &c.); and (2) even supposing it were specific, the first census according to P is the one in Nu. i., which (*v.* 1 compared with Ex. xl. 2, 17) took place a month *after* the sanctuary was completed and put up.

be a memorial, &c.] to keep Jehovah in continual remembrance of the ransom which had been paid for their lives: cf. xxviii. 12, 29, Nu. x. 10, xxxi. 54.

17—21. The *bronze Laver* (cf. xxxviii. 8, xl. 30). This was for the priests to wash their hands and feet in, before entering into the Tent of Meeting, or offering sacrifice: it was to stand in the court, in front of the Tent of Meeting, between it and the (bronze) altar. The shape and dimensions of this laver are not prescribed. In Solomon's Temple there were ten lavers, each of large size, for the same purpose (1 K. vii. 38 f.).

18. *Thou shalt also make*] Heb. **And** *thou shalt make.*

brass] **bronze** or **copper**, as always: see on xxv. 3. The metal, according to xxxviii. 8, was obtained from the mirrors of the women who 'served in the host' (see the note).

base] some kind of pedestal, upon which it rested.

20. *that they die not*] cf. xxviii. 35, with the note.

P_2 altar to minister, to burn an offering made by fire unto the
LORD: so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that 21
they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them,
even to him and to his seed throughout their generations.

Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take thou 22 23
also unto thee the chief spices, of flowing myrrh five hundred
shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two
hundred and fifty, and of sweet calamus two hundred

21. *a statute for ever*, &c.] see on xii. 14, and xxviii. 43.

22—33 (cf. xxxvii. 29[a]). The *holy Anointing Oil.* An aromatic oil to be prepared, by mixing, in stated proportions, olive oil with (probably) the essences of myrrh, cinnamon, sweet-smelling cane, and cassia; and the Tent of Meeting, with its appurtenances, as also Aaron and his sons, to be anointed with it, as a mark of consecration to Jehovah. The oil thus prepared to be reserved exclusively for sacred purposes.

22. *Moreover*] Heb. **And.**

23. *Take thou also*] **And thou** (emph.), *take*: cf. on xxvii. 20.

spices] such as were brought to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, and others (1 K. x. 2, 10, 15), and prized by the Hebrews (Cant. iv. 10, 14, 16, v. 13; Is. xxxix. 2). For *chief* (i.e. finest, best), cf. Cant. iv. 14, Ez. xxvii. 22; and for the Heb. idiom here, G.-K. § 131[d].

flowing myrrh] cf. Cant. v. 5, 13, which likewise imply a *liquid.* Modern 'myrrh' (the produce of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*, indigenous in Yemen and E. Africa) is, however, a solid, and also devoid, or nearly so, of aroma: the liquid *mōr* of the Hebrews appears to have been what is now called the 'Balsam of Mecca,' a 'greenish turbid fluid of syrupy consistence, having a very grateful odour, something like oil of rosemary,' the product of *Balsamodendron opobalsamum*, a tree which grows abundantly on the coast territory of Arabia, and for which in ancient times Jericho was especially celebrated (see Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer's art. BALSAM in *EB.*: the art. MYRRH is briefer).

five hundred shekels] probably about 16 lbs. av. (*DB.* iv. 906[a]).

sweet-smelling *cinnamon*] Cinnamon is mentioned also in Prov. vii. 17, Cant. iv. 14, Rev. xviii. 13†. Modern cinnamon is the fragrant inner bark of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*, a plant of the laurel family, and is obtained from Ceylon. The cinnamon of the ancients, however, came from S. China (the Indians, Persians, and Arabians called it *Chinese wood*), and was probably the *Cinnamomum cassia* (see *EB.* s.v.). 'The Greeks and Romans used cinnamon as an unguent: the *cinnama rara* was highly prized by them (Theophr. *plant.* ix. 7; Diosc. i. 13; Martial iv. 13. 3); and the *unguentum cinnamomimum* was very costly (Plin. xiii. 2; Athen. p. 439, 690)' (Kn.). 'Sweet-smelling' cinnamon would be cinnamon of the best kind: there were other kinds which yielded an inferior fragrance (Diosc. *l.c.*, Theophr. ix. 5, cited by Kn.).

sweet calamus] better, **sweet-smelling cane** (the word is the ordinary

24 and fifty, and of [1]cassia five hundred, after the shekel P_2
25 of the sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin: and thou shalt
make it an holy anointing oil, a perfume compounded
after the art of the perfumer: it shall be an holy anointing
26 oil. And thou shalt anoint therewith the tent of
27 meeting, and the ark of the testimony, and the table and

Heb. one for 'cane' or 'reed'), elsewhere called 'the *goodly cane* from a far country' (Jer. vi. 20), or *cane* alone, Is. xliii. 14, Ez. xxvii. 19, Cant. iv. 14: the *κάλαμος ἀρωματικός*, *calamus odoratus* of the classical writers, which 'came from India (cf. the 'far country' of Jer.), and was used both as incense and medicinally (Diosc. i. 17), and also as an ingredient in unguents (Theophr. ix. 7, Plin. xiii. 2, xii. 48)' (Kn.). It may have been what is now known in India as the *Lemon grass* (cf. *NHB.* 439; *DB.* iv. 213^{a}). Cf. in Ass. ritual, *EB.* iv. 4123.

24. *cassia*] Ez. xxvii. 19†: Heb. *ḳiddāh*, prob. the same as the *κιττώ*, spoken of by Diosc. (i. 12) as one species of *κασία*; Vulg. *cassia*. The word in Ps. xlv. 8† is different (*ḳ^{e}ẓī‘ōth*, things *scraped off*, i.e. scraped or powdered bark); but doubtless denotes either the same or a kindred substance. The *κασία*, *cassia* of the ancients (Theophr. ix. 5; Plin. xii. 19) is probably the same as the modern 'cassia,' viz. the inner bark, peeled off and dried in the sun, of a species of cinnamon tree, found in S. India and Malacca, which yields an inferior kind of cinnamon (see further *EB.* s.v.). *Costus* (RVm.; also written above the text in one MS. of LXX., Graec. Ven., and Saad.) is another oriental aromatic plant (*Costus Arabicus*, L.), used in the preparation of unguents: Hor. *Carm.* iii. 1, 44; Plin. xii. 12, 25, xiii. 1, 2). All these foreign aromatic substances would come by trade-routes from the distant East, whether over-land by way of Babylon, or by sea, round Arabia (see G. A. Smith, TRADE AND COMMERCE in *EB.* §§ 30, 40, 56, 58, 63, 71).

the shekel of the sanctuary] or *the* **sacred shekel**: see on *v.* 13.

an hin] prob. 1⅓ gallon: see on xxix. 40.

25. *it*] i.e. the olive oil of *v.* 24, by mixing it viz. with the other ingredients specified. 'According to the Rabbis, the essences of the different spices were first extracted, and then mixed with the oil' (Kn.).

a perfume, &c.] lit. *a perfume of perfumery*, *the work of the perfumer* (like the 'work of the weaver,' &c., see on xxvi. 1: so *v.* 35, xxxvii. 29). 1 Ch. ix. 30 (render 'compounding the perfume of the spices') shews that in the age of the Chronicler (*c.* 300 B.C.) the anointing oil was made by the 'sons of the priests.' For other allusions to perfumers or perfumery, see 1 S. viii. 13 (RVm.), Is. lvii. 9, Neh. iii. 8 (RVm.), Cant. v. 13 (RVm.).

26—28 (cf. Lev. viii. 10^{b}—11). The Tent of meeting, the ark and other articles belonging to it, with their various vessels, to be all anointed with the aromatic oil thus produced. The command is

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[1] Or, *costus*

P_2 all the vessels thereof, and the candlestick and the vessels
thereof, and the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt 28
offering with all the vessels thereof, and the laver and the
base thereof. And thou shalt sanctify them, that they 29
may be most holy: [1]whatsoever toucheth them shall be
holy. And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and 30
sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's

[1] Or, *whosoever*

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repeated in xl. 9—11: cf. also Lev. viii. 10^{b}—11, Nu. vii. 1, and (specially of the altar) Ex. xxix. 36, Nu. vii. 10, 84, 88.

29. The effect of the anointing is to *sanctify* the objects to which the process is applied (cf. xxix. 36).

most holy] See on xxix. 37.

shall **become** *holy*] i.e. be forfeited to the sanctuary, or, if a person (marg.), be given over to the Deity, that He may deal with him as He pleases. See further on xxix. 37.

Anointing[1], in a religious sense, is in the OT. a symbolical act, denoting (1) the divine appointment, or consecration, of a *person* for a particular purpose, esp. a king (1 S. x. 1 and often), the high priest (Ex. xxix. 7), later also the ordinary priests (see on *v.* 30), and, at least once, a prophet, 1 K. xix. 16^{b} (cf., in a fig. sense, Is. lxi. 1); it is followed by, and is sometimes a figure of, the outpouring of the Spirit upon the person anointed (1 S. x. 6, cf. *v.* 1, xvi. 13; Is. lxi. 1 (Luke iv. 18), Acts iv. 27, x. 38, 2 Cor. i. 21, 1 Jn. ii. 20, 27): (2) the consecration of a *thing*, viz. a sacred stone, Gen. xxxi. 13 (see xxviii. 18), xxxv. 14 (so among the Greeks; see the writer's *Genesis*, p. 267), the Tabernacle and its appurtenances (see on *vv.* 26—28), a future Altar of burnt-offering, Dan. ix. 24 (see the note in the *Camb. Bible*). The practice of anointing is widely diffused in the world: the unguent—originally *fat*, regarded in primitive thought as an important seat of life—was regarded, it seems, at least primitively, as a vehicle transferring to the person or object anointed a Divine life or potency. See art. ANOINTING (Crawley and Jastrow) in Hastings' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, i. (1908), 549—557, esp. 550, 554, 556 (cf. *EB.* s.v. i. 175); and for the anointing of *priests*, p. 552^{b}, and of temples and other sacred objects, p. 553 f.

30. *Aaron and his sons*] In xxix. 7 (cf. Lev. viii. 12), 29 anointing is prescribed only for Aaron (the high priest), and his successors in the same office: and that originally it was only the high priest who was anointed seems to follow from the fact that he is called distinctively 'the anointed priest,' Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, vi. 22 (cf. xvi. 32, xxi. 10, 12, Nu. xxxv. 25). The extension of the ceremony to his 'sons' (the ordinary priests)

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[1] Heb. *māshaḥ* (whence 'Messiaḥ'), to be carefully distinguished from anointing the head or person for the *toilet* (Heb. *sūk*) Dt. xxviii. 40, 2 S. xiv. 2 *al.* In NT. χρίω (fig., never lit.) corresponds to the former, and ἀλείφω (e.g. Mt. vi. 17) to the latter.

31 office. And thou shalt speak unto the children of P_2
Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me
32 throughout your generations. Upon the flesh of man shall
it not be poured, neither shall ye make any like it, according
to the composition thereof: it is holy, *and* it shall be holy
33 unto you. Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, he shall be cut off
from his people.

34 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet

must represent a later usage: it is found here, xxviii. 41, xl. 15, Lev. vii. 36, x. 7, Nu. iii. 3. It is difficult to resist the inference that these passages belong to a later stratum of P. The reference can hardly be to the sprinkling with oil and blood noticed in Ex. xxix. 21, Lev. viii. 30; for this is not termed 'anointing,' and is subsequent to the anointing proper (Ex. xxix. 7; Lev. viii. 12).

31—33. The oil thus prepared to be reserved exclusively for the sacred purposes thus specified.

31. *throughout your generations*] See on xii. 14.

32. *of man*] i.e. of ordinary men (cf. Ps. lxxxii. 7, Is. viii. 1, Hos. vi. 7 [2nd marg.]).

poured] **poured for anointing**, viz. for the toilet; the Heb. word (*sūk*) being the one used distinctively in this connexion (footnote, p. 337).

33. *a stranger*] i.e. one not authorized to be anointed with it = one not of the seed of Aaron: cf. on xxix. 33.

shall be cut off, &c.] a formula signifying emphatically the Divine disapproval: see on xii. 15.

from his **father's kin**] The word, though it is externally the same as the ordinary Heb. word for 'a people,' is *plural*: as it is impossible to speak of a man's 'peoples,' the word, when it is so used, must have some different meaning; and this is shewn by Arabic (where '*am* means both *patruus* and *patruelis*) to be *father's kin* (cf. *EB*. iii. 3289). The word, in this sense, is almost entirely confined to P: with *to be cut off from* it occurs in it 12 times, and with *to be gathered to* (Gen. xxv. 8 *al.*) 9 times.

34—38. The holy *Incense* (cf. xxxvii. 29^b). Incense to be made, of four specified ingredients, mixed together in equal proportions, and tempered with salt, for use upon the altar of incense (*vv.* 7 f.). Incense of the same composition to be used for no other purpose.

34. *sweet spices*] In the Heb. one word, *sammim* (plur.),—from the same root as the Arab. *shamma*, to 'smell,'—not the one rendered 'spices' (*b*^{e}*sāmim*) in *v.* 3, and, to judge from xxv. 6 ('*b*^{e}*sāmim* for..., and for the incense of *sammim*'), a narrower term than that: used exclusively (but only in P and Chr.) of the materials of which the incense was made, and mostly in the expression 'incense of sweet spices' (sometimes rendered 'sweet incense') *v.* 7, xxv. 6, Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 12 *al.*;

P_2 spices, [1]stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like

[1] Or, *opobalsamum*

2 Ch. ii. 4, xiii. 11 (both passages written by the Chronicler himself). It might be rendered for distinctness (cf. *EB.* iv. 4746), **fragrant powders.**

stacte] Heb. *nāṭāph*†, from *nāṭaph*, to *drip*. Some fragrant oil or resin is evidently meant; it is uncertain what. 'Stacté' is a transliteration of LXX. σταкτή, Vulg. *stacte*, meaning also something that *drips* or *trickles*. Stacte was the Gk. and Lat. name of a very fragrant and costly kind of myrrh (σμύρνα), variously described by the ancients as an oil 'dripping' from crushed myrrh, either alone (Theophr. *Odor.* 29; on the text, see Schneider's note: cf. Diosc. i. 77) or mixed with a little water (Diosc. i. 73), or as prepared from crushed myrrh dissolved in oil (Theophr. *l.c.*), or as exuding spontaneously from the tree (Plin. *H.N.* xii. 15, § 68). **Myrrh-oil** would be a clearer rend. Lucr. (ii. 847) mentions the 'blandum stactaeque liquorem'; and Plautus (*Truc.* ii. 5, 23) speaks of it as burnt on the altar to Lucina. This rend. of LXX. seems probable: still we do not *know* that it is right: it may be founded merely on the agreement of meaning between *nāṭāph* and 'stacte.' Ges. (*Thes.*) identified *nāṭāph* with the gum of the storax tree (*NHB.* 395 f.), a beautiful perfumed shrub, abundant on the lower hills of Palestine, the gum of which (Diosc. i. 79) is still used in Syria as a perfume. The Rabbis identified it with *ẓŏri* (EVV. 'balm'), and said that it was so called because it 'dripped' from the tree called *ḳᵉṭāph*, i.e. (Kimchi, *Book of Roots*, s.v.) the *balsam*-tree: hence, no doubt, RVm. *opobalsamum* ('juice-balsam,' as opposed to *xylobalsamum*, 'wood-balsam,' the scented *twigs* of the balsam-tree), an aromatic gum obtained (Diosc. i. 18; Plin. *H.N.* xii. 25, § 116, cf. § 118) from the Judaean balsam-tree by incisions in the bark. If however the *mōr* of *v.* 23 (see the note there) was really the juice or gum of the balsam-tree, it is hardly likely to have been called here by a different name.

onycha] Heb. *shᵉḥēleth*†; LXX. ὄνυξ, Vulg. *onyx*, whence EVV. *onycha* (cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 15); i.e. *unguis odoratus*, the 'operculum,' or closing flap, called ὄνυξ from its resemblance to the *nail*, of certain molluscs, which, when burnt, emits a strong aromatic odour[1]. Onycha is still gathered along the coasts of the Red Sea; and is largely used as an ingredient in the perfumery of Arab women (*EB.* s.v.); it is also said to be the principal component of incense in India and elsewhere (Kn.).

galbanum]. Heb. *ḥelbᵉnāh*†; LXX. χαλβάνη, Vulg. *galbanum*. This was the resin of an umbelliferous plant, used by the ancients medicinally, and also, from its pungent odour, when burnt, to keep off insects (Plin. xix. 58 *al.*), to expel serpents from stables (Verg. *G.* iii. 415 '*Galbaneoque* agitare graves nidore chelydros'), and revive sick bees

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[1] Cf. Diosc. ii. 10, as cited by Röd. in Ges. *Thes.* p. 1388: Ὄνυξ ἐστὶ πῶμα κογχυλίου ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς πορφύρας, εὑρισκόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἰνδίᾳ ἐν ταῖς ναρδοφόροις λίμναις (and also, he adds, though of a different kind, in the Red Sea): ἀμφότεροι δὲ εὐώδεις θυμιώμενοι, καστορίζοντες ποσῶς τῇ ὀσμῇ.

35 weight; and thou shalt make of it incense, a perfume after P_2
the art of the perfumer, [1]seasoned with salt, pure *and* holy:
36 and thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it

[1] Or, *tempered together*

(*ib.* iv. 264 'Hic iam *galbaneos* suadebo incendere odores'). Diosc. (iii. 87) and Theophr. (ix. 7) speak of galbanum as obtained from a Syrian νάρθηξ: but in modern times it seems to be almost entirely a product of Persia (*EB.*).

sweet spices, with] (even) **fragrant powders, and.** But probably the tautologous 'fragrant powders' is merely repeated by error from the previous line.

frankincense] Heb. *lĕbōnāh* ('whiteness,' with reference doubtless to the milky form in which it exudes from the tree), a fragrant gum-resin, obtained, by means of incisions, from trees belonging to certain species of the genus *Boswelliana.* These are now found mostly in Somali-land; but the most famous growth in ancient times was in the mountains of Shĕbā, or the Sabaeans, in S. Arabia (*EB.* s.v.: cf. Bent, *S. Arabia*, 1900, pp. 89, 91, 234 f., &c.: comp. Jer. vi. 20 ('frankincense *from Shĕbā*'), Is. lx. 6; Verg. *G.* i. 117 'solis est turea virga *Sabaeis*,' *Aen.* i. 416 f. 'centumque *Sabaeo Ture* calent arae'). Frankincense is mentioned first in Jer. (vi. 20, xvii. 26, xli. 5); elsewhere only in P (here; Lev. ii. 1 f., 15 f., vi. 15 as a concomitant of the meal-offering, cf. v. 11, Nu. v. 15; Lev. xxiv. 7 as placed on the Presence-bread), II Isaiah (xliii. 23, lx. 6, lxvi. 3), 1 Ch. ix. 29; and, for its fragrance, Cant. iii. 6, iv. 6, 14. The epithet *pure*, or better, **clear** (*zakkāh*; LXX. διαφανῆ), is meant probably to denote the superior kind called by Theophr. (ix. 4) καθαρὸν καὶ διαφανῆ, 'pure and transparent,' and said by Pliny (xii. 32) to be that gathered in autumn. Knobel states that he had some incense prepared according to this receipt in the laboratory of a colleague at Giessen, and that its odour was 'strong, refreshing, and very agreeable.'

35. *a perfume*, **the work** *of the perfumer*] as *v.* 25.

seasoned with salt] **salted** (cf. Ecclus. xlix. 1 Heb.). In spite of the Versions ('mixed'; and so RVm. = AV. *tempered together* [without 'with salt']), this is the only rend. which philology permits (so Ges. Di. Bä. &c.). '*Seasoned* with salt' is, however, a doubtful paraphrase; for the incense was not a food. Salt, from its purifying and antiseptic properties, may have been added to the other ingredients, as symbolical of what was wholesome and sound; it has also been supposed (J. D. Michaelis, as cited by Di. and Bä.) that it may have been used, as causing the incense to kindle more rapidly, for the purpose of diffusing a wider cloud of smoke. The incense used in the Herodian temple is stated by Jos. (*B.J.* v. 5. 5) and the Talm. to have consisted of thirteen ingredients: see *EB.* ii. 2167.

pure] a different word from the 'pure' of *v.* 34, and meaning free from adulteration, or other impurities.

36. *beat some of it very small*] cf. Lev. xvi. 12 'incense beaten small.'

*P*₂ before the testimony in the tent of meeting, where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy. And the 37 incense which thou shalt make, according to the composition thereof ye shall not make for yourselves: it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD. Whosoever shall make like unto 38 that, to smell thereto, he shall be cut off from his people.

The ingredients named in *v.* 34 were mixed together, and then apparently melted down into a solid mass: small portions of this were broken off, from time to time, and beaten into a powder, which was then placed ready for use, every morning and evening (*v.* 7), outside the veil, near the altar of incense. Or (Di.) 'put' may mean, put upon the altar and burn.

before the testimony] i.e. before the ark, as xvi. 34: see on xxv. 16.

meet with thee] See on xxv. 22.

most holy] See on xxix. 37. The anointing oil, not being brought into such close proximity to Jehovah, was only 'holy' (*v.* 32).

37, 38. Incense of this composition to be used exclusively in the service of Jehovah. Cf. *v.* 32 f.

37. *thereof*] i.e. of the incense described in *v.* 34.

38. *cut off from his* **father's kin**] See on *v.* 33.

The use of incense in religious ceremonies is very widespread, and many different substances have been used for the purpose—woods, barks, dried flowers, grasses, seeds, resins, gums (*Enc. Brit.* ed. 9, xii. 718). On Egyptian monuments the references to incense are numerous (Wilk.-B. iii. 398 f., with illustr. of censers,—bronze cups supported by long handles); large quantities of it were consumed in the temples (Erman, 300 f.,—with fabulous figures); and expeditions were constantly sent to the land of 'Punt' (Somali) to procure fragrant gums (*ibid.* 505—514). Plutarch (*de Isid. et Osir.* p. 383) describes the Eg. perfume called *kyphi*, which was used both for the toilet and as incense, consisting of sixteen ingredients (Erm. 232; Wilk.-B. iii. 398). There are also many references to incense (*kuṭrinnu*; cf. Heb. *ḳᵉṭōreth*) in Ass. and Bab. inscriptions. The use is also often alluded to by the classical writers. See further INCENSE in *EB.*; or, most fully, Atchley, *Hist. of the use of Incense in Divine worship* (1909), pp. 1—77 (on the pre- and non-Christian use of it).

The origin of this use of incense is uncertain. The Oriental has a partiality for aromatic odours: he enjoys them himself; he perfumes his person, his garments, and his house with them; and he offers them to guests and rulers whom he desires to honour (*DB.* ii. 468ᵃ; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 175, 256: cf. Prov. vii. 17, Cant. iii. 6, Ps. xlv. 9). Men naturally believe that what is grateful to themselves is also pleasing to the deity. If, however, the use of incense originated in a primitive, or semi-primitive people, another motive may have contributed to its adoption: it may have been regarded as a means of driving away evil spirits (cf. Tob. vi. 7, viii. 2 f.) from the precincts of

31 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have P_2
2 called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of
3 the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the spirit
of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge,
4 and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works,

a sanctuary. Cf. Atchley, pp. 61—77. In Nu. xvi. 46 P (cf. Wisd. xviii. 21) an atoning efficacy is attributed to the burning of incense. And in later times incense, rising heavenwards in a cloud, came to be regarded as a spiritual symbol of prayer (Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. viii. 3 f., v. 8).

Chap. xxxi. The nomination of two skilled artificers, Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab, to construct, or take the chief part in constructing, the Tent of Meeting and its appurtenances, according to the instructions contained in chs. xxv.—xxx. (*vv.* 1—6), with an enumeration of the articles to be made (*vv.* 7—11); the observance of the sabbath inculcated, *vv.* 12—17; Moses receives from Jehovah the tables of stone, *v.* 18. The whole is from P (or P_2), including an excerpt from H (in *vv.* 13—14^{a}), except *v.* 18^{b}, which is from E.

vv. **1—6.** The nomination of Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab.

2. *called by name*] i.e. specially chosen: cf. Is. xlv. 3, 4 (of Cyrus).

Bĕẓal'ēl] i.e. 'In the shadow (i.e. protection, Nu. xiv. 9 RVm.) of God'; cf. the Ass. name Ina-ṣilli-Bel, 'In the shadow of Bel' (cited by Bä.). There are no sufficient grounds for identifying the Ḥur here with the Ḥur of xvii. 10, xxiv. 14. The whole series Ḥur, Uri, Bĕẓal'ēl occurs again in 1 Ch. ii. 19 f., in the 'family' of Caleb, one of the three leading clans of Judah; but the relation of the two series of names to each other is uncertain: 1 S. xxx. 14 appears to shew that even in David's time the Caleb-clan was not yet actually part of Judah (comp. the writer's *Genesis*, p. 327; and *DB.*, *EB.*, s.v. CALEB).

In *v.* 6 Oholiab is associated with Bĕẓal'ēl; but Bĕẓal'ēl is evidently regarded as the constructor in chief: he always takes the first place (xxxvi. 1, 2; cf. xxxviii. 22 f.), and is often mentioned alone (xxxvii. 1, and implicitly in *vv.* 10, 17, 25, &c.).

3. *the spirit of God*] Regarded in the OT. as the source of any *exceptional* power or activity of man, as well as of supernatural spiritual gifts: see e.g. (in different connexions) Gen. xli. 38, Nu. xi. 17, Dt. xxxiv. 9 (of administrative capacity), Jud. iii. 10, 1 S. xi. 6, xvi. 13, Mic. iii. 8, Is. xi. 2, xlii. 1, lxi. 1; and cf. the writer's *Genesis*, p. 4; *DB.* ii. 403^{a}: here, of exceptional *artistic* capacity.

in] i.e. displaying itself in.

wisdom] of artistic skill, as *v.* 6, xxviii. 3.

4. *devise cunning works*] *devise* **works of skill** (*Speaker's Comm.*); so xxxv. 32, 35. Lit. *devise* (or *design*, xxvi. 1) *devices* (Jer. xviii. 18); here of skill in contriving and executing works of art, as in 2 Ch. xxvi. 15 mechanical contrivances (Heb. *devices* [EVV. *engines*, i.e. *ingenia*, inventions], *the device of the deviser*).

P_2 to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting 5
of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all
manner of workmanship. And I, behold, I have appointed 6
with him Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of
Dan; and in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have
put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded
thee: the tent of meeting, and the ark of the testimony, and 7
the mercy-seat that is thereupon, and all the furniture of
the Tent; and the table and its vessels, and the pure candle- 8
stick with all its vessels, and the altar of incense; and the 9
altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the laver and
its base; and the [1]finely wrought garments, and the holy 10
garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons,

[1] Some ancient versions render, *garments of service.*

4, 5. *in gold, and in silver, and in* **bronze**, &c.] such as would be needed for carrying out the preceding body of directions (xxv. 10 ff.; xxvi. 15ff.; xxviii. 9—11, 21, &c.).

5. *for setting*] See xxv. 7, xxviii. 17, 20.

6. Oholiab to be Bĕẓal’ēl’s associate. The *name* ‘Oholiab’ is peculiar, and perhaps not genuinely Hebrew (Gray, *Heb. Pr. Names*, p. 246): it means apparently *The father* (God) *is my tent*; cf. Phoen. אהלבעל, אהלמלך, *Baal*, or *the King*, *is a tent*; Sabaean אהלעתתר, אהלאל, ‘*Athtar is a tent*, *God is a tent*; and the Edomitish *Oholibamah* (‘My tent is the high place’?), Gen. xxxvi. 2, 41.

and in the hearts, &c.] i.e. those who are already *wise-hearted*, i.e. (cf. on xxviii. 3) possess artistic aptitudes, are to be further endowed by God with *wisdom*, i.e. with the requisite skill to assist Bĕẓal’ēl and Oholiab in their work.

7—11. Enumeration of the articles to be made (see chs. xxv.—xxviii., xxx.).

8. *the table*] i.e. the table of the Presence-bread, xxv. 23—30.

the pure candlestick] i.e. made of pure gold (xxv. 31): so xxxix. 37, Lev. xxiv. 4.

10. *the garments* **of plaited** (?) **work**] in the Heb. a peculiar expression, of most uncertain meaning, not found before, but recurring (with the addition, ‘for ministering in the holy place’) in xxxv. 19, xxxix. 1, 41†. No root שרד occurs in Heb.: in post-Bibl. Hebrew and Aramaic (see *NHWB*. iii. 587^{b}) derivatives mean a *plaited basket*, a *sieve*, a *grating* before an oven; Onk. also uses *sārādā* for a *grating* in Ex. xxvii. 4, and for a *hanging* in xxvii. 9, &c.: hence, if the word is correctly handed down,—and it occurs four times,—it can, with our present knowledge, be only explained to mean something of the nature of *plaited work*. The reference is evidently to the artistically woven

11 to minister in the priest's office; and the anointing oil, and *P_2*
the incense of sweet spices for the holy place: according to
all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

12 13 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou also *P*
unto the children of Israel, saying, | Verily ye shall keep my *H*
sabbaths: for it is a sign between me and you throughout
your generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD

garments of the priests (ch. xxviii.). The 'and' before 'the holy garments' is better omitted, as in xxxv. 19, and (in the Heb.) xxxix. 41: the garments in question *were* the 'holy' ones. LXX. (*στολαὶ λειτουργικαί*), Pesh. Targ. render *garments of ministry* (cf. RVm.); either treating שרד, very improbably, as though it were the same as שרת, or finding שרת four times in their MSS. for שרד,—a not less improbable alternative. 'Finely wrought' (RV.) yields an excellent sense; but unfortunately has no philological justification.

11. *sweet spices*] **fragrant powders**: see on xxx. 34.

12—17 (cf. xxxv. 2, 3). The observance of the sabbath inculcated. The section has in *vv.* 13, 14^a (see the notes) strong affinities with the 'Law of Holiness,' or H (the older laws embedded in P, in Lev. xvii.—xxvi.); and there is little doubt that some of H's injunctions on the observance of the sabbath have here been excerpted by P or P_2 and emphasized by him with the addition of *vv.* 14^b—17: the whole thus forming a law inculcating the observance of the sabbath at a time when the execution of urgent sacred work might be taken as an excuse for disregarding it. The parts excerpted from H have also (like those in Lev. xvii.—xxvi.: see *LOT.* pp. 45 f., 138—141; ed. 6—8, pp. 49 f., 145—148) remarkable affinities with Ezekiel.

13. *Speak thou also*] **And thou** (emph.), *speak thou* (xxvii. 20).

Verily] cf. on xii. 15 ('surely').

ye shall keep my sabbaths] the sabbaths sacred to me. Note exactly the same words in H, Lev. xix. 3, 30, xxvi. 2: 'my sabbaths,' also, often in Ezek. (xx. 12, 13, 16, 20, 21, 24, xxii. 8, 26, xxiii. 38, xliv. 24); only besides in Is. lvi. 4†.

a sign, &c.] The sabbath, as a day observed weekly in honour of Jehovah, and kept sacred to Him, is a constantly recurring memorial of Israel's dedication to Him, and of the covenant-relation subsisting between them. Comp. Ez. xx. 12 (cited below).

throughout your generations] See on xii. 14. So *v.* 16.

that **men** *may know* (Heb. simply *to know*: so Ps. lxvii. 2 Heb.) &c.] that all the world may recognize, by means of the sabbath, that it is Jehovah who 'sanctifies' Israel, or provides it with the means of becoming a holy people. 'I am Jehovah which sanctify [better, 'which sancti*fieth*'] you (him, them)' is one of the dominant thoughts of H (Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 15 (cf. *v.* 8), 23, xxii. 9, 16, 32). Comp. Ez. xx. 12 'I gave them *my sabbaths*, to be *a sign between me and* them, *that men*

H which sanctify you. Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; 14
for it is holy unto you: every one that profaneth it shall
P surely be put to death: | for whosoever doeth any work
therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people.
Six days shall work be done; but on the seventh day is 15
a sabbath of solemn rest, holy to the LORD: whosoever
doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall surely be put
to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the 16
sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me 17
and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the LORD
made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested,
and was refreshed.

might know [Heb. *to know*] *that I am Jehovah, which sanctifieth* them' (similarly *v.* 20); also, for the last clause, Ez. xxxvii. 12.

14. *holy*] cf. xvi. 23 (P), xx. 8 (E), Is. lviii. 13, Ez. xx. 20, &c.

profaneth] To 'profane' is characteristic—like its opposite, to 'sanctify'—of H, Lev. xviii. 21, xix. 8, 12, 29, xx. 3, xxi. 4, 6, 9 (twice), 12, 15, 23, xxii. 2, 9, 15, 32, and Ezek. (about 30 times,—6 times, as here, of the sabbath, viz. xx. 13, 16, 21, 24, xxii. 8, xxiii. 38: so Is. lvi. 2, Neh. xiii. 18). In P only once (Nu. xviii. 32).

shall surely be put to death] cf., in the Book of the Covenant, xxi. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, xxii. 19; and in H, for various moral and religious offences, Lev. xx. 2, 9, 10—13, 15, 16, 27, xxiv. 16, 17 (for murder). In Nu. xv. 32—36 (P) this penalty for sabbath-breaking is said to have been inflicted.

that soul, &c.] See on xii. 15, and xxx. 33.

15. How the sabbath is to be observed, viz. by cessation from work. Cf. xx. 9 f.

a sabbath of **entire rest**] So xxxv. 2, Lev. xxiii. 3 *al.*: see on xvi. 23.

16, 17. The main thoughts of *vv.* 13—15 repeated, and emphasized, in P's manner: cf. on vi. 27.

16. *Wherefore*] The Heb. is simply **And.**

to observe] *to* **hold.** See on xii. 47.

a perpetual (or, as the same Heb. is rendered elsewhere, *everlasting*) *covenant*] An expression frequent in P: Gen. ix. 16 (of the rainbow), xvii. 7, 13, 19 (of circumcision), Lev. xxiv. 8, cf. Nu. xviii. 19, xxv. 13; also Ez. xvi. 60, xxxvii. 26, Jer. l. 5, Is. xxiv. 5, lv. 3, lxi. 8, Ps. cv. 10†. Here, as the context shews (cf. p. 175), the stress lies not on the divine promise, but on Israel's obligation to observe the terms on which the covenant is based.

17. *for...earth*] *verbatim* as xx. 11.

rested] **desisted** (from work), or **kept sabbath**: see on xx. 8.

was refreshed] lit. *took breath*,—a strong anthropomorphism: elsewhere used only of men, xxiii. 12, 2 S. xvi. 14†.

18 And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of *P*
communing with him upon mount Sinai, the two tables of
the testimony, | tables of stone, written with the finger *E*
of God.

18^{a}. *communing*] **speaking**. See on xxv. 22.

tables of the testimony] i.e. of the Decalogue (see on xxv. 16). So xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29†.

18^{b}. *tables of stone*] as xxiv. 12 (E), where see the note. E's narrative in Ex. xxiv. 12—15^{a} must have been followed by a statement that Moses, after remaining some time on the mountain (xxxii. 1), received from God the tables of stone, of which these and the following words are the close. The intermediate part has been replaced by the narrative of P (xxiv. 15^{b}—xxxi. 18^{a}).

written with the finger of God] hence Dt. ix. 10. The practice of inscribing laws on tables of metal or stone was very general in antiquity: Rome, Athens, Crete, Carthage, Palmyra, Babylonia, all supply examples; it would be no cause for surprise, if the original of some of the laws contained in the 'Book of the Covenant' were to be brought to light by excavation in Palestine. That the tables on which the Decalogue was written are said to have been inscribed by 'the finger of God' (cf. xxxiv. 1) is an expression (Di.) of the sanctity and venerable antiquity attributed to them.

CHAPTERS XXXII.—XXXIV.

The Episode of the Golden Calf, and incidents arising out of it, or mentioned in connexion with it.

The narrative of these chapters, read from a purely religious point of view, is remarkably beautiful and impressive; a striking picture is given not only of Moses' affection and noble self-devotion for his people, but also of the long intercession by which (cf. Gen. xviii.) he at last succeeds in winning from Jehovah Israel's forgiveness, His promise again to be with His people, and the vision of His moral glory for himself. But 'the connexion between its different parts, and the progress of the narrative, is often so imperfect and so far from clear' (Di.) that to the historical student it presents problems and difficulties which are not readily solved. As Di. points out, 'the want of connexion both backwards and forwards is most remarkable in xxxiii. 7—11: why the Tent of Meeting is here suddenly introduced, is not explained, and can only be conjectured, and *v.* 12 goes on as if *vv.* 7—11 or *vv.* 4—11 were not there at all. The connexion between xxxiv. 9 and 10 is also imperfect: it is surprising in *v.* 9 to find Jehovah entreated to go with the people, when He has already in xxxiii. 14—16 promised to do so; and it is also surprising that xxxiv. 10 is no direct answer to the entreaty of *v.* 9. Even in ch. xxxii., where the narrative wears the appearance of being more consistent, it is remarkable that the questions put to Aaron in *vv.* 21—24 lead to nothing further, that in spite of the punishment inflicted in *v.* 27 f. further punishment is threatened in *v.* 34^b^, and that while in *v.* 35 a punishment is described vaguely, it does not read like the punishment threatened just before in *v.* 34^b^. Further, while in P the erection of the Tent of Meeting is not described till ch. xl., in xxxiii. 7—11 there appears, as already in regular use, a tent, called by precisely the same name. The angel of Jehovah, again, is in xxxiii. 3, 5 represented as distinct from, and exclusive of, Jehovah Himself, whereas in xxiii. 20 he appears as His full and sufficient representative. The covenant of xxxiv. 10—27 is described as if it were one made for the first time; neither *v.* 10 nor *v.* 27 suggests that it is a second, or new, covenant. The laws in xxxiv. 10—26 are mostly identical verbally with a particular section of those contained in chs. xxi.—xxiii.': what is the relation subsisting between the two recensions, and how is the repetition to be explained? It must be evident that all these difficulties and inconsistencies are due simply to the amalgamation—and sometimes the imperfect amalgamation—of different sources: they are lessened, though they can hardly be said to disappear, when these sources are recognized and disengaged from one another. Details will be better considered in the notes on the separate chapters. xxxiv. 29—35 belongs clearly to P: the rest of the three chapters is due principally to J, or the compiler of JE, but parts belong to E. The excerpts from J and E are also in several cases plainly incomplete at the beginning or the end, so that details or explanations are missing which can only be supplied by conjecture.

xxxii. The sin of the Golden Calf, *vv.* 1—6; Jehovah, having told Moses that it is His intention to destroy the people in consequence, is diverted from His purpose by Moses' intercession, *vv.* 7—14; Moses, coming down from the mount, and seeing the calf and the dancing, breaks the tables of stone, and then makes the people drink the powder of the calf, *vv.* 15—20; Aaron's excuses, *vv.* 21—24; the insubordination of the people punished by the sons of Levi, who are rewarded for their zeal by the priesthood, *vv.* 25—29; Moses intercedes with Jehovah, and obtains from Him the promise that he may lead the people on to Canaan, though without His own personal presence, *vv.* 30—34; the people plagued for their sin, *v.* 35.

The account of some of the events narrated in this ch., given in the retrospect of Dt. ix. 8—29, deserves to be compared: the reader who will be at the pains to *underline* in his text of Dt. the passages in *vv.* 12—17, 21, 26—29 taken *verbatim* from Ex. xxxii. 7—10, 15, 19, 20, 11, 13, 12, 11, will find remarkable resemblances, and also some remarkable differences: in particular (*vv.* 26—29), words taken from Ex. xxxii. 11—13 (and also from Nu. xiv. 16), but referred to *a different occasion* (comp. the writer's *Deut.* pp. 10, 112 ff.).

Why, it may be asked, was the figure of a *bull* chosen to represent Jehovah? The same figure, it will be remembered, was chosen also by Jeroboam I, when he set up the two 'calves' in Bethel and Dan (1 K. xii. 28 f., cf. 32), in order to divert the people from going up on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and told the Israelites that they were the gods who had brought them up out of the land of Egypt: and the worship of these calves continued till the fall of the N. kingdom in B.C. 722 (2 K. x. 29, Hos. viii. 5, 6, x. 5, xiii. 2, 2 K. xvii. 16). From the time of Philo onwards it has commonly been supposed that the symbolism was derived from Egypt, where the bull Apis was revered in the temple at Heliopolis as the incarnation of Osiris, and the bull Mnevis in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, as the incarnation of the sun-god (Erman, *Eg. Relig.* 1907, p. 22; cf. Wilk.-Birch, iii. 86—95, 306 f.). There are however objections to this view. (1) The Egyptians worshipped only the *living* animals, not images of them; (2) it is unlikely that an image reflecting an Egyptian deity would have been chosen as the symbol of the national God, Jehovah, or have been represented as the deity who had delivered Israel from Egypt; (3) it is equally unlikely that Jeroboam should have sought to secure his throne by inviting his people to adopt the symbolism of a foreign cult. For these reasons most recent writers (including Di.) prefer to seek the origin of the bull-symbolism in the native beliefs either of the Israelites themselves, or of the Semitic nations allied to them. In Israel itself traces of bull-symbolism, other than that in question, are few and uncertain: not much can be built upon either the use of the term *'abbīr*, 'mighty one,' both of bulls (Ps. l. 13 *al.*), and (in the form *'ābīr*, const. *'ăbīr*) of the 'Mighty one of Jacob' (Gen. xlix. 24), or upon the oxen which supported Solomon's molten sea, or which ornamented the panels of the bases of the lavers in the Temple (1 K. vii. 25, 29). But many representations have been found of Hadad, the Syrian storm-god, with lightnings in his hand, standing upon a bull; and a bull seems often also to have been regarded as a symbol of the Phoenician Baal (see particulars in Baudissin's art. *Kalb, goldenes*, in *PRE.*³ ix. (1901), 708—710): in Assyria, also, though nothing is known of the bull as the *material* image of a deity, the bull in the Zodiac symbolized Marduk; and the huge winged bull-colossi, with human heads, which guarded the gates of Assyrian temples, are an indication that some mythological significance was attached to the animal. Among an agricultural people, also, a young bull would be a very natural symbol of strength and vital energy (cf. Dt. xxxiii. 17). These facts make it not improbable that in the *popular* religion of Israel the bull may have been regarded as an emblem of divine might, and even perhaps used to represent Jehovah; and that this popular belief may have supplied the antecedents for the bull-worship which is actually mentioned in the OT., and which prevailed in the N. kingdom from the time of Jeroboam to its close in B.C. 722. The popular belief itself may have been derived from Israel's nearest neighbours, the Canaanites, or (p. 416 f.) brought by the N. tribes directly from the East.

The narrative represents Aaron as the first to suggest the worship of Jehovah under the form of a bull. This was the popular worship of the N. kingdom: it is not *explicitly* condemned by Amos; but Hosea inveighs against it strongly, on account of its unspirituality, and the ease with which Jehovah's distinctive character might in consequence become obliterated, and His rites assimilated to those of Baal. The

E And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come 32
down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us [1]gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, 2
Break off the golden rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. And all the people brake off the golden rings 3
which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.
And he received it at their hand, and fashioned it with 4

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[1] Or, *a god*

writers whose narratives stand combined in Ex. xxxii. stand on the side of the image-less worship of the Temple at Jerusalem: their standpoint was in principle the same as that of the Second Commandment and Hosea. In recording the condemnation of Aaron, they condemned at the same time the recognized worship of the N. kingdom. It is possible that—although Jeroboam himself appointed non-Levitical priests (1 K. xii. 31)—there may have been among the priests of the calves some who traced their ancestry to Aaron, and claimed him as the founder of the calf-worship in Israel. If this were the case, it would make Aaron's condemnation the more pointed. But, however that may be, the chapter remains an emphatic protest against any attempt to represent Jehovah under a material form. See further Ew. *Hist.* ii. 182—185; Kennedy, art. CALF, GOLDEN CALF in *DB.* i.; and Baudissin as cited above.

xxxii. **1—6.** The people, disheartened by the length of Moses' absence on the mount, induce Aaron to make them a god, who may act as their visible leader. The invisible, spiritual leadership of Jehovah is an idea to which evidently they have not risen. Cf. Acts vii. 40, 41.

1. *delayed*] Heb. *caused shame* (i.e. disappointment): the same idiom, Jud. v. 28 (lit. 'Why doth his chariot *put to shame* in coming?').

to Aaron] who had been left below by Moses (xxiv. 14).

Up, &c.] Hitherto Moses has been Jehovah's representative: now that he seems to have deserted them, the people want a substitute; so they ask Aaron to make them an image, which, in the manner of antiquity, they may regard as their leader.

gods] The Heb. *'ĕlōhim* may have either a sing. or a plur. force; but the verb *shall go* is plur.: it seems, therefore, either that the plur. is a 'plural of majesty' (Gen. xxxv. 7; G.-K. § 145^{i}), or, though the image represents Jehovah (*v.* 5), that the people are represented as speaking polytheistically. So *v.* 23.

2. *of your sons*] earrings are not elsewhere in the OT. described as worn by males (unless indeed, by implication, in Gen. xxxv. 4).

4. *fashioned it*, &c.] the earrings having naturally been previously

a graving tool, and made it a molten calf: and they said, *E*
[1]These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out
5 of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw *this*, he built
an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said,
6 To-morrow shall be a feast to the LORD. And they rose
up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and
brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat
and to drink, and rose up to play.
7 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go, get thee down;

[1] Or, *This is thy god*

melted down, and cast approximately into the shape of a young bull. The image may either have been of solid gold, or, in spite of the term 'molten' (see Is. xxx. 22; and cf. Dt. vii. 25, Is. xl. 19), have consisted of a wooden core, overlaid with gold: *v.* 24^b—though the terms used can hardly be pressed—would suggest the former view, *v.* 20 would favour the latter.

a graving tool] a pointed metal instrument: the word rendered 'pen' (i.e. a sharp metal *stylus*) in Is. viii. 1.

calf] The Heb. *'ēgel* means a *young bull*, just as the fem. *'eglāh* (EVV. usually 'heifer') means a *young cow*; but it does not mean necessarily an animal as young as a 'calf': the *'eglāh* for instance might be three years old (Gen. xv. 9), and give milk (Is. vii. 21), or plough (Jud. xiv. 18).

These be thy gods] Cf. almost the same words in 1 K. xii. 28: in the allusion, Neh. ix. 18, the sing. 'This' is used. 'These' must refer to an actual plural, and is of course quite suitable in speaking of Jeroboam's two calves; here it seems as if the narrator had used the plural for the purpose of introducing a covert polemic against the calf-worship of the N. kingdom. So *v.* 8.

which brought thee, &c.] They recognize in the calf, not only the god who should in the future (*v.* 1) go before them, but also the god who had already led them forth out of Egypt.

5. Seeing the impression which the image made upon Israel, Aaron at once builds an altar before it, and proclaims a feast to Jehovah. The calf is thus clearly regarded, not as exclusive of Jehovah, but as *representing* Him.

6. *burnt offerings and peace offerings*] Cf. on xx. 24.

to eat and to drink] i.e. to take part in the sacred meal accompanying the peace-offering; cf. on xviii. 12.

to play] to amuse themselves, e.g. by singing and dancing, *vv.* 18, 19. Comp. the quotation in 1 Cor. x. 7.

7, 8. Jehovah makes known to Moses the people's sin. The verses are not necessarily by a different hand (R^{JE}) from *v.* 18 f. Moses' anger may naturally have been kindled by the spectacle of the doings in the camp, the full character of which he did not before realize.

E for thy people, which thou broughtest up out of the land
of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: they have turned 8
aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them:
they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped
it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be thy gods,
O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
R^{JE} | And the LORD said unto Moses, I have seen this people, 9
and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people: now therefore let me 10
alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that
I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great
nation. And Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, 11
LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people,
which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt
with great power and with a mighty hand? Wherefore 12
should the Egyptians speak, saying, For evil did he bring
them forth, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume
them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce
wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Re- 13
member Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom

7. *thy people*] not *mine*; Jehovah dissociates Himself from His sinful nation.

8. *the way*, &c.] See xx. 4, 23.

9—14. Jehovah declares that He will exterminate the people: but allows Himself to be diverted from His purpose by Moses' intercession.

9. *stiffnecked*] so xxxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9; Dt. ix. 6, 13 (repeated from here)†.

10. *and I will make*, &c.] The promise given to Abraham (Gen. xii. 2) is now restricted to Moses (cf. Nu. xiv. 12).

11. *besought*] properly, as Arabic seems to shew, '*made sweet* the face of,' fig. for, *entreated*, *sought to conciliate*: a frequent idiom, e.g. 1 S. xiii. 12, 1 K. xiii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 19; with a human object, Ps. xlv. 12, Prov. xix. 6, Job xi. 19. In the prayer which follows, Moses urges *four* motives for mercy: (1) Israel is Jehovah's people; (2) its deliverance has demanded the exertion of great power; (3) the mockery of the Egyptians, if it now perish; (4) the oath to the forefathers. Cf. the intercession in Nu. xiv. 13—19.

a mighty hand] See on iii. 19.

12. *For evil*] i.e. with an evil purpose. Cf. Dt. ix. 28^b.

the mountains] viz. of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

13. *to whom*, &c.] See Gen. xxii. 16 (the only place in Genesis where the covenant is confirmed with an *oath*).

thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will *R^{JE}*
multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land
that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they
14 shall inherit it for ever. And the LORD repented of the evil
which he said he would do unto his people.

15 And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, with *E*
the two tables | of the testimony | in his hand; tables that *R^{P}*
were written on both their sides; on the one side and on
16 the other were they written. And the tables were the work
of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven
17 upon the tables. And when Joshua heard the noise of the
people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise

I will multiply, &c.] Gen. xxii. 17; cf. also xv. 5, xxvi. 4.

and all this land, &c.] Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 15, xv. 7, 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 13 (all JE).

14. *And* **Jehovah** *repented*, &c.] so Gen. vi. 7, Jud. ii. 18, 1 S. xv. 11, 35, 2 S. xxiv. 16 *al.* Hebrew writers often express themselves 'anthropopathically,' i.e. attribute to God the feelings or emotions of a man. God is thus said to 'repent,' not because He really changes His purpose, but because He does so apparently, when, in consequence of a change in the character and conduct of men, He is obliged to make a corresponding change in the purpose towards them which He had previously announced, and adopt towards them a new attitude. See esp. Jer. xviii., where it is taught that if man repents, a threat may be withdrawn (cf. Jer. xxvi. 3, 13, 19, Jon. iii. 9, 10), while on the other hand if man turns to evil a promise may be revoked. Here Jehovah 'repents,' as a consequence of Moses' intercession (cf. Am. vii. 3, 6). God is also said to 'repent,' when he stops a judgement in the midst, as it seems, of its course, through compassion (2 S. xxiv. 16, Dt. xxxii. 36). Where, however, nothing is likely to occur to cause a change in Jehovah's declared purpose, He is said to be 'not a man, that he should repent' (1 S. xv. 29; cf. Nu. xxiii. 19).

15—20. Moses' return to the camp. His punishment of the people for their sin.

15. *of the testimony*] The expression is P's (see on xxv. 16); and will have been introduced here by R^{P} on the basis of xxxi. 18^{a}, xxxiv. 29. E would have written 'the tables of *stone*' (xxxi. 18^{b}).

written on both their sides, &c.] This statement is made only here. The tables, since Moses could carry them himself, will have been pictured by the writer as comparatively small.

16. *the work of God*, &c.] See xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18^{b}.

17. *Joshua*] whom Moses had left on the lower part of the mountain (xxiv. 13), and whom he must be supposed to have now rejoined.

E of war in the camp. And he said, It is not the voice of 18
them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them
that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing
do I hear. And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh 19
unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing: and
Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his
hands, and brake them beneath the mount. And he took 20
the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and
ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and
made the children of Israel drink of it. And Moses 21
said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou
hast brought a great sin upon them? And Aaron said, Let 22
not the anger of my lord wax hot: thou knowest the people,
that they are *set* on evil. For they said unto me, Make us 23
gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the
man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know
not what is become of him. And I said unto them, Who- 24
soever hath any gold, let them break it off; so they gave it

18. Lit. *It is not the sound of the answering of might, neither is it the sound of the answering of weakness; the sound of answering-in-song do I hear*; i.e. not the answering cries of victors and vanquished, but the answering voices of singers, are what Moses hears. The passage (Di.) 'has a highly peculiar, almost poetical character' (cf. *v.* 25); and there is a play on the double sense of the word 'answer.' For the sense of answering responsively in song, see on xv. 21.

19. *the dancing*] For dancing at a religious ceremony, see on xv. 20.

20. The people are made to drink their own sin.

burnt it with fire] i.e. either (cf. on *v.* 4) burnt the wooden core, and ground the gold plating to powder by rolling large stones to and fro over it; or, if it were wholly of gold, reduced it by fire to shapeless lumps of metal, which were then ground to powder similarly.

strewed it upon the water] Dt. ix. 21 says 'and I cast the dust thereof into the *wādy* that descended out of the mount'—apparently to carry it away, without any mention of the Israelites being made to drink it.

to drink of it] Cf. the curses to be drunk by the suspected wife, Nu. v. 24.

21—24. Aaron, taken to task by Moses for what has occurred, makes excuses.

22. Aaron first excuses himself by casting the blame upon the people: they are set on evil, and he merely (*v.* 33) responded to their request.

my lord] as Nu. xi. 28, xii. 11.

24. He next excuses himself by declaring that he merely threw the

me: and I cast it into the fire, and there came out this *E*
25 calf. | And when Moses saw that the people were *J*
broken loose; for Aaron had let them loose for a [1]derision
26 among their enemies: then Moses stood in the gate of the
camp, and said, Whoso is on the LORD's side, *let him come*
unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves
27 together unto him. And he said unto them, Thus saith
the LORD, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword
upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout
the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every
28 man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And
the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and
there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.

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[1] Heb. *whispering.*

gold which they gave him into the fire, and the calf came out—as it were spontaneously, without any cooperation on his part.

Jehovah's anger with Aaron individually, His threat to destroy him, and Moses' intercession for him, narrated in Dt. ix. 20, are not mentioned in the extant parts of J or E in Exodus.

25—29. The people being in rebellion, the Levites, responding in a body to Moses' appeal for help, seize their swords, and slay 3000 of them. For the zeal thus displayed on Jehovah's behalf, they are rewarded with the priesthood. It is noticeable that, though Aaron is a 'Levite' (iv. 17: see note), the other 'Levites' here take part against him. For another view of these verses,—viz. that they are not in their original context, and that they describe the punishment, not for the worship of the Golden Calf, but for some independent act of rebellion against Jehovah,—see Di., C.-H., and McNeile (pp. xxxiv f., 207 f.).

25. *broken loose...let them loose*] viz. from their allegiance to Jehovah, under Aaron's leadership: cf. for the word v. 4.

for a **whispering** (i.e. *a derision*: LXX. ἐπίχαρμα) *among* **them that rose up against them**] The expression is poetical, and may have been taken from an ancient song (so Ew. *Hist.* ii. 182). Their foes would deride, when they heard that they had deserted their national God, who they boasted had led them out of Egypt.

26—28. The zeal of the sons of Levi for Jehovah. At Moses' summons, they seize their swords, and slay 3000 of the rebels.

26, 27. Moses decides quickly that prompt measures must be taken.

26. *Who*, &c.] In the Heb., more tersely and forcibly, **Who is for Yahweh? To me!**

27. *Thus saith*, &c.] as v. 1, Jos. vii. 13, 1 S. x. 18 *al.* Moses speaks as a prophet. Cf. on iv. 22.

29. The Levites are invited to qualify themselves to receive the priesthood as a reward for their zeal.

J And Moses said, [1]Consecrate yourselves to-day to the LORD, 29
[2]yea, every man [3]against his son, and [3]against his brother;
that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day. And 30
it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the
people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up

[1] Heb. *Fill your hand.*
[2] Or, *for every man* hath been *against his son and against his brother*
[3] Or, *upon*

Fill your hand *to-day to* **Jehovah**] i.e. (see on xxviii. 41), Provide yourselves with sacrifices, that you may be installed into the priesthood.

for *every man* (is) *against*, &c.] That is the spirit which you have shewn to-day, and which is demanded for the priesthood (Di.). Cf. Dt. xxxiii. 9 (written under the monarchy), where the priestly tribe is eulogized for its abnegation of natural relationships, though it is uncertain whether the present incident is specifically alluded to.

that he may, &c.] The 'blessing' is the privilege of officiating as priests. Cf. Kennedy, *DB.* i. 341^b.

In view of Dt. x. 8 ('At that time Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark' &c.), where the fragment of an itinerary in *vv.* 6 f. must be either parenthetic, or misplaced (so that *At that time* will refer to the period of the stay at Horeb, the subject of Dt. ix. 8—x. 5), Di. and others can hardly be wrong in holding that JE's narrative here was followed originally by an account of the consecration of the tribe of Levi—as a reward, presumably, for the display of zeal on Jehovah's behalf described in *vv.* 26—29, which the compiler of Ex. did not deem it necessary to retain by the side of the more detailed particulars of P. In P, it will be remembered, the consecration of the priesthood is narrated in Lev. viii., and that of the 'Levites' (in P the inferior members of the tribe, as distinguished from the priests) in Nu. viii. 5 ff.; but down to the time when Dt. was written, any member of the tribe had the right to exercise priestly functions (Dt. xviii. 1, 6—8); and it would be during this stage in the history of the tribe that J or E—like the writer of Dt. x. 8 f.—would speak of the *whole* tribe being set apart or consecrated for priestly functions.

30—34. Moses, with noble disinterestedness, offers his own life, if he can thereby secure his people's pardon: Jehovah replies that He cannot on these terms take the life of the innocent; but He yields so far as to permit Moses to lead the people on to Canaan, though without His own personal presence. The passage (esp. *vv.* 30, 31) hardly reads as if it had been preceded by *vv.* 9—14: still, the two passages are so far consistent that whereas in *vv.* 11—13 Moses had only petitioned that the people might not be *destroyed*, he now petitions for its entire *forgiveness.*

30. *Ye*] the pron. is emphatic.

unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make atonement for *J*
31 your sin. And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said,
Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made
32 them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their
sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book
33 which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses,
Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of
34 my book. And now go, lead the people unto *the place*
of which I have spoken unto thee: | behold, mine angel *Gl*
shall go before thee: | nevertheless in the day when I visit, *J*

make **propitiation**] viz. by intercession. The word (*kipper*) is used, not in the technical sense which it has in P (see on xxx. 10), but in that of *propitiating* or *appeasing*—here by intercession, Gen. xxxii. 20 by a present, Prov. xvi. 14 by conciliatory behaviour, Is. xlvii. 11 (fig., of propitiating calamity) by either a bribe or some religious ceremony (EVV. '*put* it *away*'). Cf. *DB.* iv. 129^{a}, § 5.

31. *returned*] viz. to the mountain.

Oh] Heb. *'ānnā*, a particle of entreaty: Gen. l. 17 '*Oh*, forgive, we pray'; Is. xxxviii. 3 '*Oh*, Lord'; Neh. i. 5 (EVV. 'I beseech thee').

32. Moses' love for his people finds here noble and pathetic expression.

if thou wilt forgive their sin—] For the aposiopesis, comp. Gen. xxx. 27, xxxviii. 17, Dan. iii. 15, Luke xiii. 9. LXX., Sam., Ps.-Jon. supply 'forgive.'

and if not, *blot me*, &c.] i.e. let me die (cf. Nu. xi. 15): Moses would rather not live than that his people should remain unforgiven. The 'book' which God has written is the 'book of life,' or 'of the living' (Ps. lxix. 28; cf. Is. iv. 3), i.e. the book in which the names of the living are said metaphorically to be inscribed. The figure is borrowed from the custom of keeping registers of citizens (Jer. xxii. 30, Ez. xiii. 9). The 'book' is not to be understood in the NT. sense of the expression 'book of life' (Phil. iv. 3, Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27), i.e. the register of the saints ordained to eternal life. Cf. Kirkpatrick's note on Ps. lxix. 28 (in the *Camb. Bible*).

33. Jehovah replies that He will blot out of His book not the righteous, but those only who have sinned against Him.

34. He yields, however, so far to Moses' entreaty as to put off the punishment of the people to an indefinite future, and to bid Moses lead Israel on to Canaan, under the guidance—not indeed of Himself personally, but—of His angel. It is true, the angel usually (see on iii. 1, xxiii. 20) represents Jehovah so fully as not to be exclusive of Him: but xxxiii. 2 (see the note), 3, shew that (unless the clause is a later insertion) it must be exclusive of Him here.

35. The verse seems here out of place (so Di.): perhaps it originally formed the sequel to *v.* 20 (We., Bä.). It does not read like a description of the punishment threatened at the end of *v.* 34.

E I will visit their sin upon them. | And the LORD smote 35
the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.
J And the LORD spake unto Moses, Depart, go up hence, **33**
thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the
land of Egypt, unto the land of which I sware unto Abraham,
to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give
Gl it: | and I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive 2
out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the
J Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: | unto a land flowing 3
with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of

which Aaron made] The words read like a scribe's correction of the less exact 'they made' just before.

xxxiii. Jehovah bids Moses lead the people on to the promised land, but refuses to go with them personally Himself, *vv.* 1—3. The people strip themselves of their ornaments, *vv.* 4—6. How Moses used to pitch the Tent of Meeting at some distance outside the camp, and how Jehovah used to speak with him there, *vv.* 7—11. Moses again entreats Jehovah, partly (*vv.* 12, 14—16) to let him know whom He will send with him on the way to Canaan, partly (*vv.* 13, 17—23) to vouchsafe him a vision of His glory.

1—3. Jehovah commands Moses to lead the people on to Canaan, but refuses to go with them personally Himself.

1. *go up*] into the high ground of Canaan. Cf. on i. 10.

which I sware, &c.] See the passages quoted on xxxii. 13.

2. *an angel*] in the place of Jehovah, and exclusive of Him (see *v.* 3): not, therefore, as xxiii. 20, where Jehovah is in some sense present in the angel (*v.* 21 'my name is in him'). As was remarked on xxxii. 34, this is not the usual idea of the 'angel': it can, however, be avoided here only by some such supposition as that the words 'behold, mine angel shall go before thee' in xxxii. 34, and *v.* 2 here, are later insertions in the text, made on the basis of xxiii. 20, without regard to the contradiction which, if 'angel' is used here as in xxiii. 20, they involve with *v.* 3^b ('I will not go up with thee'). There are independent reasons for thinking that *v.* 2 here may be a gloss: it interrupts the connexion between *v.* 1 and *v.* 3 (notice '*unto* the land' &c. at the beginning of *v.* 3); the list of nations is found elsewhere in passages that are probably secondary; and the verse seems inconsistent with *v.* 12 (where Moses apparently asks to be told what he has already been told here).

I will drive out] LXX. (codd. A, F, Luc.) he will *drive out*, which suits the context better: Jehovah does not personally go with the people into Canaan (*v.* 3).

the Canaanite, &c.] On the list of nations, see on iii. 8.

3. *a land flowing*, &c.] See on iii. 8.

in the midst of] *v.* 5, xvii. 7, xxxiv. 9, Nu. xi. 20, xiv. 14, 42.

thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee *J*
4 in the way. And when the people heard these evil tidings,
they mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.
5 | And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto the children of *E*
Israel, | Ye are a stiffnecked people: if I go up into the *R^{JE}*
midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee: there-
fore now | put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may *E*
6 know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel
stripped themselves of their ornaments from mount Horeb
onward.

a stiffnecked people] xxxii. 9.

lest I consume thee, &c.] in consequence of some outburst of wilfulness or rebellion on thy part.

4—6. The people strip themselves of their ornaments.

4. *these evil tidings*] that Jehovah would not accompany them to Canaan.

and no man, &c.] The removal of ornaments was a mark of mourning and grief: Ez. xxiv. 17, xxvi. 16, Judith x. 3 f. (Kn.).

5. The people are here told to do what they have already done (*v.* 4^b), a clear proof that two narratives have been combined. In *v.* 4 the removal of the ornaments is a spontaneous token of grief; in *v.* 5 it is done at Jehovah's command. It is true, LXX. omit *v.* 4^b: but the omission is open to the suspicion of having been made to avoid the awkward anticipation of *v.* 5^b.

Ye are, &c.] The compiler (so Di.) emphasizes afresh (see *v.* 3) Israel's stiffneckedness. The entire context of the words assigned to E has naturally not been preserved.

go up **in** *the midst of thee*] viz. towards Canaan (as *v.* 3).

what to do unto thee] i.e. how to deal with thee.

6. *Horeb*] E's term: see on iii. 1.

There can be little doubt that, as Di. remarks, according to E the ornaments were to be used in the construction or decoration of the Tent of Meeting (cf., in P, xxv. 2—8, xxxv. 22—29): some account of the construction of the Tent would naturally precede the notice of its use in *vv.* 7—11. But E's account of the Tent of Meeting, 'which originally followed here, and which certainly differed greatly from that of P, was omitted by the compiler, who preferred that of P (chs. xxv.—xxvii.); and only its conclusion is preserved in *vv.* 7—11.' Whether (Di. *al.*) the ark in its tent was intended originally as a substitute for the immediate presence of Jehovah on Sinai, after the people had left Sinai (just as in P, after the Tent of Meeting is erected, Jehovah speaks to Moses not on Sinai, but from the Tent), is more perhaps than we can say.

7—11. The Tent of Meeting, and the use made of it by Moses. The sudden introduction of this notice of the Tent of Meeting is extremely

E Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without 7
the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent
of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which
sought the LORD went out unto the tent of meeting, which
was without the camp. And it came to pass, when Moses 8

surprising; and it is difficult to explain it, except by the conjecture mentioned on *v.* 6. The notice is a highly interesting and remarkable one, preserving, as it does, the oldest representation that we possess—that of E—of the Tent of Meeting, and differing in many particulars from the representation given by P (chs. xxv.—xxxi., &c.). The 'tent' is obviously much simpler in structure than that of P; it is guarded by one attendant, the Ephraimite Joshua, instead of by the host of Levites pictured by P (Nu. iii.—iv.); and it is *outside* the camp (so Nu. xi. 26f., xii. 4), at some distance from it, not in its centre, as in P (Nu. ii. 17). The tenses, throughout the section, are frequentative, and describe what was Moses' habitual practice—no doubt, in E's view, during the whole time of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness. *Used* in *v.* 7 is intended to rule the whole section: but *would go out*, *would rise up*, &c., with *whenever* for *when* in *vv.* 8, 9, would be clearer.

7. *used to take*, &c.] at every new encampment of the Israelites.

the tent] As the context shews, not Moses' tent, or a provisional tent, but the same sacred tent which is mentioned by P, under the same name (xxv. 22), though described by him as a much more ornate and elaborate structure (see further Kennedy in *DB.* iv. 654). It is introduced as something already known ('*the* tent'): in all probability it had been just mentioned in a part of E no longer preserved (cf. on *v.* 6); and as it was a well-known element of the tradition, the art. could be retained by the compiler. The rend. '*a* tent,' which Heb. idiom would also permit (G.-K. § 126 r,s), does not suit the sequel, which implies that not a casual, but a *definite* tent, is meant.

pitch it] Heb. *pitch it for himself*: it was intended particularly for his own use, in his converse with God. P's 'Tent of Meeting' was used similarly (xxv. 22, Lev. i. 1, Nu. vii. 89): but that is represented principally as a centre for sacrifice and other ceremonial observances.

without the camp] like the local sanctuaries of a later age, outside the towns of Canaan.

The tent of meeting] I.e. the tent where Jehovah used to 'meet' Moses, and communicate to him His will. See more fully on xxvii. 21.

every one which sought, &c.] Every one who desired to 'seek' Jehovah in order to obtain an oracle (2 S. xxi. 1 Heb.: cf. p. 314, McNeile, p. cxvi f., *EB.* iii. 3841; Jud. xviii. 5, 1 S. xxii. 10, xxiii. 2, 2 S. xvi. 23), perhaps also with sacrifice or prayer (2 S. xii. 16)—would go out to the Tent of Meeting for the purpose.

8. Whenever Moses went out to the Tent, all the people would rise up, and follow him reverently with their eyes. The camp seems to be pictured on a much smaller scale by E than by P.

went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and *E*
stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses,
9 until he was gone into the Tent. And it came to pass,
when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud
descended, and stood at the door of the Tent: and *the*
10 *LORD* spake with Moses. And all the people saw the pillar
of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people
11 rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. And
the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh
unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but
his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed
not out of the Tent.

12 And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest unto *J*
me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know
[1]whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know

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[1] Or, *him whom*

door] lit. *opening*: so *vv.* 9, 10, and regularly with 'tent.'

9, 10. Whenever Moses entered the Tent, the pillar of cloud (xiii. 21, 22), symbolizing Jehovah's presence, would descend and stand by the entrance of the Tent (cf. Nu. xi. 25, xii. 5, Dt. xxxi. 15), God would speak to him there, and the people, every one at the entrance of his tent—in the East a common place for sitting in (Gen. xviii. 1)—would rise up and worship,—or rather, **do obeisance** (cf. on xxxiv. 14).

11. would speak *unto Moses face to face*] not from the distant heaven, or with the comparative indistinctness of a vision or a dream (Nu. xii. 8), but 'face to face' (so Dt. xxxiv. 10; cf. v. 4), or 'mouth to mouth' (Nu. *l.c.*), like one friend speaking to another. Moses **would** then **return** *into the camp*; but *his minister* (xxiv. 13), Joshua, remained permanently in charge of the Tent (cf. Samuel, 1 S. iii. 3, 15).

12—23. Moses resumes the intercession broken off at *v.* 3; and starting from the command given him in xxxii. 34^a, xxxiii. 1^a obtains from Jehovah (*vv.* 14—16, as the text stands; see, however, on *v.* 14) the promise that He will not carry out the threat of *v.* 3, but will Himself accompany the people on their way to Canaan, and also (*vv.* 17—23) that He will vouchsafe Moses himself a glimpse of His glory.

12. Moses complains to Jehovah that He has not treated him with the confidence that He had given him reason to expect.

Bring up] viz. into Canaan, like 'go up,' *v.* 1. So *carry up*, *v.* 15.

whom thou wilt send with me] An angel has been promised in xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2: so that, unless these verses are later insertions in the original context of J, the meaning would seem to be, which of the many angels that He has, He intends to be our guide (Di.).

Yet thou hast said, &c.] Neither of the two statements which follow

J thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.
Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy 13
sight, shew me now thy ways, that I may know thee, to the
end that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that
this nation is thy people. And he said, My presence shall 14
go *with thee*, and I will give thee rest. And he said unto 15

has been made before, though the first may be said to be implied in the privileged position towards God which Moses is everywhere represented as enjoying, and the second in the promise of xxxii. 10^{b}, and in the acceptance of Moses' intercession in xxxii. 14, 34. In xxxiii. 17 the same words are used by Jehovah Himself.

I know thee by name] i.e. know thee individually, more intimately than the other Israelites, like a king who knows the names of only such of his servants as he is on intimate terms with (Kn.). Cf. Is. xliii. 1, xlv. 3, 4.

13. *if*, &c.] A common Heb. phrase: Gen. xviii. 3, xxx. 27 *al.*

shew] lit. **make me to know.** 'Shew' in Old English meant not only to *let see*, but also to *let know*, or *tell*: see on Dan. ii. 2, iv. 2 in the *Camb. Bible*, or the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, p. 481. Cf. Ps. ciii. 7.

ways] His ways of dealing with men, Dt. xxxii. 4: see xxxiv. 6f.

that I may know thee, &c.] understand what Thy nature and character is, and shape my petitions accordingly, that so *I may find grace in thy sight*, and my future prayers may be answered.

is thy people] and should not, therefore, be left by Thee without a leader.

14. Jehovah promises that His presence shall go with Moses (as the representative of His people), and that He will give him—and with him the people—rest. The words do not however seem very suitable as an answer to *v.* 13; and Di.'s suggestion is a plausible one, that *vv.* 14—16 are misplaced, and should follow xxxiv. 9 (so also McNeile, p. xxxvi), where, it may be noticed, Moses is still praying for what, if xxxiii. 14 is in its right place, has been already granted (cf. p. 367).

presence] lit. *face*, i.e. the person himself (2 S. xvii. 11), in so far as he is present (LXX. αὐτὸς προπορεύσομαι): cf., of God, Dt. iv. 37 ('brought thee out *with his presence*' [LXX. αὐτός]), Is. lxiii. 9 ('the angel *of his presence* saved them,' i.e. the angel in whom His presence was manifest, cf. xxiii. 21; but LXX. 'No messenger or angel, (but) *his presence* (αὐτὸς) saved them'). The expression can hardly, however, have been intended to denote Jehovah's *entire* Being: it must rather (*DB.* v. 639^{b}) have denoted His Being either as manifested in an angel more fully than in the ordinary 'angel of Jehovah' (Bä.), or as others think (Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* 1903, p. 215; Kennedy, *Samuel*, p. 323f.), as attaching to the Ark (cf. p. 280).

give thee rest] viz. in the assured possession of Canaan: cf. Dt. iii. 20, xii. 10, Josh. xxii. 4.

15. Moses replies that if Jehovah will not go with them, they prefer

him, If thy presence go not *with me*, carry us not up hence. *J*
16 For wherein now shall it be known that I have found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth?

17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my
18 sight, and I know thee by name. And he said, Shew me,
19 I pray thee, thy glory. And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will proclaim the name of the LORD before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I

to remain where they are, in the neighbourhood of their God (xix. 4), at Sinai.

16. For how can it be known that they stand in Jehovah's favour except by His personally accompanying them, and thereby shewing that they are distinguished from all other nations of the earth?

separated, &c.] The word, as viii. 22, ix. 4, xi. 7 (Heb.): for the thought, cf. xix. 5, Dt. vii. 6, 1 K. viii. 53 (a different Heb. word).

17. *this thing also*] i.e., as the text stands, accompany you personally to Canaan (*v.* 16): but, if *vv.* 14—16 (see on *v.* 14) stood originally after xxxiv. 9, give Moses a knowledge of His 'ways' (*v.* 13). In either case, the new paragraph would begin better at *v.* 18.

and I know thee by name] See on *v.* 12.

18—23. Moses repeats, in a more definite form, his request of *v.* 13. He asks to be allowed to see Jehovah's glory; but is told in reply that he cannot see this in its fulness (*v.* 20); he may, however, have a glimpse of it, sufficient to disclose to him God's *moral* nature.

18. *Shew me*] Here, as a modern English reader would expect, 'make me to *see*,' not as in *v.* 13, 'make me to *know*.'

thy glory] Thy full majesty.

19. *goodness*] **goodliness** or **comeliness**, viz. of the Divine appearance; cf. Hos. x. 11 (lit. 'the *goodness*, i.e. *comeliness*, of her neck'). 'It is to be a spectacle of outward beauty as a visible sign of His moral perfection' (McNeile).

proclaim the name of **Jehovah**] and so manifest the character implied in it—here, in particular, Jehovah's *moral* character. The name was regarded by the Hebrews as the expression of the character of the person denoted by it: see e.g. Is. i. 26, iv. 3, lxi. 3^b (the names here mentioned are to be given to Zion or Israel, because they will possess the qualities denoted by them).

and I will be gracious, &c.] In virtue of the graciousness implicit in His name (xxxiv. 6 f.), He will shew grace and mercy to such as deserve it. Who these are, is not expressly stated; but fallen and penitent Israel is what is intended. For the form of sentence called

J will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew
mercy. And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for man 20
shall not see me and live. And the LORD said, Behold, 21
there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock:
and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that 22
I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee
with my hand until I have passed by: and I will take away 23
mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my face shall
not be seen.

the *idem per idem* construction, which is idiomatic in both Heb. and Arabic, where the means, or the desire, to be more explicit does not exist, cf. iii. 14, iv. 13, xvi. 23, 1 S. xxiii. 13 (lit. *and they went where they went*), 2 S. xv. 20 ('seeing I am going *whither I am going*'), 2 K. viii. 1 ('and sojourn *where thou wilt sojourn*'); and see the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, on 1 S. *l.c.* The second 'will' in each sentence is a simple future: it must not be emphasized as though it meant 'wish to' (θέλω). The quotation (from LXX.) in Rom. ix. 15 ('I will have mercy on whom I have mercy &c.') expresses the sense exactly. All that is said here is that God is gracious to those to whom He is gracious: on the motives which may prompt Him to be gracious, the passage is silent. See further p. 54.

20. The thought that no one could 'see God,' at least in His full glory, 'and live,' is often expressed in the OT.: cf. Gen. xxxii. 30, Dt. iv. 33, v. 24, 26, Judg. vi. 22f., xiii. 22, Is. vi. 5.

21—23. Jehovah accordingly bids Moses stand where he may see, as He passes by, not His full glory, but only His *back*, or **hinder parts** (xxvi. 12 Heb.), i.e., so to say, only the afterglow, which He leaves behind Him, but which may still suggest faintly what the full brilliancy of His presence must be (cf. Job xxvi. 14).

21. *stand*] better, **station thyself**: cf. xxxiv. 2.

xxxiv. Moses is commanded to hew two tables of stone, like those which he had broken, and to take them up the mount to Jehovah, *vv.* 1—5. Proclamation of Jehovah's moral character in the promised theophany, *vv.* 6—8. Moses again entreats Jehovah to forgive His people's sin, and to go with them to Canaan, *v.* 9 [and receives the promise that He will do so, xxxiii. 14—16]. Establishment of a covenant with Israel, *vv.* 10—28. How Moses' face shone, when he came down from conversing with Jehovah on the mountain, *vv.* 29—35.

Vv. 29—35 have all the marks of belonging to P; but the analysis of *vv.* 1—28 presents great difficulties. If these verses be read carefully, it will be seen that one thing is commanded, and another done. In *vv.* 1—4 Moses is commanded to prepare and take up the mountain two tables of stone like those which he had broken: Jehovah will then write upon them the words which were upon the first tables (i.e. the Decalogue of Ex. xx.). In *v.* 10, however, Jehovah declares that He is about to make a covenant: a number of regulations which Israel is to observe are given (*vv.* 11—26): Moses is then told to write these words, for they are the basis of the covenant (*v.* 27); and (*v.* 28^b^) he does write upon the tables 'the words of the covenant, the ten words.' It is true, as Di. observes, Moses is not in *v.* 27 told to write the words *on the tables*, so that, in itself, the intention of the command might be that he was to write them on a scroll for his own use: if this were the case, it would of course leave the way open for understanding the 'words of the covenant' in *v.* 28 of the Decalogue of Ex. xx. In view, however, of the connexion in which *vv.* 27, 28 now stand, it seems most unnatural to distinguish the covenant of *v.* 28 from the covenant of *v.* 27; or to understand the 'he' in 'and he wrote' in *v.* 28^b^, of any one but the 'he' (twice) in *v.* 28^a^, i.e. of Moses. The contradiction therefore remains: in *v.* 1 it is said that *Jehovah* will write upon the tables the Decalogue of Ex. xx.; in *v.* 28 it is said that *Moses* wrote the 'words of the covenant' given in *vv.* 11—26.

There are also other difficulties. As was pointed out on p. 347, there is nothing in the terms of xxxiv. 10, 27 to suggest that a *renewal* of the covenant is contemplated; and in addition to this, as Dr McNeile well argues, a fresh body of laws (*vv.* 11—26) is not required: 'a covenant having been formed (xxiv. 7 f.), and based upon laws which are given earlier in the book (xx. 22—xxiii. 33), and then having been broken by sin, all that can conceivably be required is repentance and forgiveness. The original covenant laws must unalterably hold good.' *Vv.* 1—4 should in fact be followed consistently not by the wholly different laws contained in *vv.* 11—26, but—as they are followed after the quotation in Dt. x. 1—3—by such words as, 'And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten words (i.e. the Decalogue of Ex. xx), ...and Jehovah gave them unto' Moses (Dt. x. 4).

It is plain, from what has been said, that the representation in xxxiv. 1—28 is not throughout consistent with itself. The following considerations will shew how critics generally—Di., for instance, not less than Wellh.; cf. *EB.* ii. 1444—suppose that the inconsistencies arose. The laws on worship contained in xxxiv. 12—26 are evidently nothing but a different recension of laws on the same subject embedded in the Book of the Covenant, esp. in xxiii. 12, 15—19: here, in J, they appear as the laws on the basis of which the covenant is—not *renewed*, but—established for the first time (*vv.* 10, 27), just as in E (in its present form) the laws contained in the Book of the Covenant form the basis on which the covenant is established (xxiv. 7 f.). J's original narrative in xxxiv. 1—5, 10—28, in other words, describes really the *first* establishment of the covenant, and formed originally the sequel in J to xix. 20—25 (see on xxiv. 1): it is a parallel to E's account of the establishment of the covenant preserved in xx. 22—xxiii. 33, xxiv. 3—8: there was no room for it immediately beside E's account of the same event: but it was retained by the compiler, and placed by him where it now stands, immediately after the account of the people's forgiveness and re-instatement in Jehovah's favour, where it has in consequence the appearance of the *renewal* of the covenant which had been broken. The inconsistencies have arisen from the imperfect adjustment of the

J And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of **34**
E stone | like unto the first: and I will write upon the tables
the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest.

two narratives, the narrative of the re-writing of the tables which had been broken, and that of the (re-)establishment of the covenant. If we omit from *vv.* 1, 4 the clauses marked in the analysis, we shall find that we have in *vv.* 1—5, 10—28, a consistent account of Moses ascending the mountain with two tables of stone, of his receiving from Jehovah the laws which were to form the basis of the covenant (*vv.* 10, 27), and of his writing these laws upon the tables (*v.* 28). By the insertion from E—who, as he described (xxxii. 19) the breaking of the tables, will also naturally have described how they were replaced—of the two clauses in *vv.* 1, 4 a narrative describing how Moses ascended the mountain to receive the laws of *vv.* 10—26 was transformed into one describing how he ascended the mountain to receive the Decalogue of Ex. xx., which Jehovah promises that He will re-write. But the wording of *v.* 28^b was not altered so as to adjust it properly to the new sense of *vv.* 1—4; and hence the inconsistency between *v.* 28 and *vv.* 1—4.

One more point remains to be noticed. *V.* 28^b—understood in the sense which the context naturally imposes—speaks of the 'words of the covenant' (i.e. the words on which the covenant of *vv.* 10, 27 is based) as 'ten words'; and hence Göthe (in 1773), Wellhausen (independently: see *Compos. des Hex.*^{2} p. 328), and others have supposed that there stood originally in *vv.* 11—26 *ten* regulations, which have since been added to by later hands, forming—in contrast to the 'moral Decalogue' of Ex. xx.—a 'ritual Decalogue,' which according to the writer of *v.* 28 was inscribed upon the two tables, and formed the basis of the covenant. As there are more regulations than ten in *vv.* 11—26, of course the 'ten' in question can be differently constituted: Wellh. (*l.c.* p. 331: so Bä. p. xlvi) supposes them to have consisted of *vv.* 14^a, 17, 18^a, 19^a, 22^a, 22^b, 25^a, 25^b, 26^a, 26^b. In view of the close connexion subsisting between *v.* 27 and *v.* 28 those who argue in this manner can hardly be blamed. It is however open to question whether 'the ten words' are an original part of the text of *v.* 28: they may be a harmonizing addition, intended (in spite of the inconsistency which it involves) to identify the 'words' written upon the tables with the Decalogue of Ex. xx. But, whether they were ten or more, it certainly seems that, according to the writer of *vv.* 27, 28, the ritual regulations of *vv.* 10—26 were—like the 'moral Decalogue' of E—written upon stone tables. The argument for this view of the chapter is clearly and forcibly presented in the *Interpreter*, Oct. 1908, p. 6 ff.

1—5. Moses is commanded to hew two tables of stone, similar to those which he had broken (xxxii. 19), and bring them up Sinai to Jehovah. The former tables are said (xxxii. 16) to have been themselves God's handiwork: in the new tables only the writing is to be His.

2 | And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning *J*
unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the
3 top of the mount. And no man shall come up with thee,
neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount;
neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.
4 And he hewed two tables of stone | like unto the first | ; *E*
and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto
mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took
5 in his hand two tables of stone. And the LORD descended
in the cloud, [1]and stood with him there, and proclaimed
6 [2]the name of the LORD. And the LORD passed by before

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[1] Or, *and he stood with him there, and called upon &c.*

[2] Or, *Jehovah by name*

2. *be ready*] Cf. xix. 10.

station thyself for *me*] The same word as in xxxiii. 21.

the top of the mount] xix. 20, xxiv. 17.

3. The precautions are similar to those taken in xix. 12 f.

before] rather, *in front of*, i.e. on the slopes in front of the mountain, towards its foot.

As was pointed out on p. 347, the historical retrospect in Dt. ix. 8—29 is based largely upon Ex. xxxii., and contains numerous verbal excerpts from it; and a comparison of Dt. x. 1—3 with Ex. xxxiv. 1, 4 makes it practically certain that in the text of Ex. xxxiv. 1, 4 which lay before the author of Dt., there was mention of the *ark* as made at this time by Moses. Here is the text of Dt. x. 1—3, with the words excerpted from Ex. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4 printed in italics:—'(Dt. x. 1) At that time *Jehovah said unto* me, *Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first*, and *come up* unto *me* to *the mount*, and make thee an ark of wood; (2) that I may *write upon the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest*, and thou shalt put them in the ark. (3) And I made an ark of acacia-wood; *and* I *hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and* I *went up* to the *mount;* and the *two tables* were *in* my *hand*.' Thus in Dt. Moses is instructed to make, and actually does make, the ark, *before* ascending the mount the second time to receive the tables of stone (Ex. xxxiv. 4); whereas in Ex. the command to make the ark is both given to Bezalel and executed by him, *after* Moses' return from the mountain (xxxv. 30 ff., xxxvi. 2, xxxvii. 1—all passages belonging to P). The two accounts are evidently discrepant: and there can be no reasonable doubt that the notices of the ark contained in the original text of Ex. xxxiv. 1, 4 were omitted by the compiler, as inconsistent with the more detailed particulars, which he preferred, contained in the narrative of P.

5. *and* **he** (Moses) **took his stand** (cf. *v.* 2) *with him there, and* **called upon** *the name of* **Jehovah**] i.e. invoked Him in worship. The marg. must be followed: the subject of the verbs is Moses (see xxxiii. 21).

J him, and proclaimed, The LORD, the LORD, a God full of
compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in
mercy and truth; [1]keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving 7
iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no
means clear *the guilty*; visiting the iniquity of the fathers
upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon
the third and upon the fourth generation. And Moses 8
made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and
worshipped. And he said, If now I have found grace in 9
thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord, I pray thee, go in the
midst of us; for it is a stiffnecked people; and pardon
our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.

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[1] See ch. xx. 5, 6.

The sequel follows in *v.* 10. *Called upon* is lit. 'called *with*,' i.e. used the name in invocation: so Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33 *al.*

6—8. Description of the theophany promised in xxxiii. 19—23. The theophany consists essentially in a proclamation of the glories of Jehovah's *moral* nature, developed with special reference to the occasion giving rise to the theophany, and emphasizing the predominance of the Divine attributes of mercy above those of judgement. Echoes of this great declaration of Jehovah's moral nature occur frequently in the later literature: Nu. xiv. 18 (a quotation), Jer. xxxii. 18, Nah. i. 3^{a}, Neh. ix. 17, 31, Joel ii. 31, Jon. iv. 2, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxi. 4^{b}, cxii. 4^{b}, cxlv. 8, 2 Ch. xxx. 9. It is also probably the source of the explanatory comments on the second commandment in Ex. xx. 5^{b}, 6.

Vv. 6—9 are not really connected with their present context: cf. McNeile, 217, xxx (*a*), xxxvi. *Vv.* 1^{a}, 2—5, 10—28 form one connected whole (p. 364 f.); and xxxiii. 1, 3—4, 12—13, 17—23, xxxiv. 6—9, xxxiii. 14—16 (see p. 361) form another.

7. *keeping mercy*, &c.] hence, with 'doing' for 'keeping,' xx. 6.

forgiving iniquity, &c.] Cf. Mic. vii. 18.

will by no means clear the guilty] so Nu. xiv. 18, Nah. i. 3^{a}, Jer. xxx. 11 = xlvi. 28 (EVV., here, 'will in no wise *leave unpunished*'). The verb is the one rendered *hold guiltless* in xx. 7: see the note there.

visiting the iniquity, &c.] See on xx. 5.

8. Moses now reverently does obeisance (cf. iv. 31, xii. 27).

9. Jehovah's 'ways' (xxxiii. 13) and character having now been disclosed to Moses, he again entreats Jehovah, who is ready to forgive (*v.* 7^{a}), to pardon His people's sin, and give proof that He has again received them into His favour, by going personally with them to Canaan. xxxiii. 14 (see note) should now probably follow as the answer.

9. *stiffnecked*] This character of the people (xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5) is here made the motive for its being treated with favour and forgiven.

for thine inheritance] The thought of Israel being Jehovah's inherit-

10 And he said, Behold, I make a covenant: | before all thy *RJ*
people I will do marvels, such as have not been [1]wrought
in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among
which thou art shall see the work of the LORD, for it is a
11 terrible thing that I do with thee. Observe thou that which
I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee
the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the

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[1] Heb. *created*.

ance occurs in Dt. iv. 20, ix. 26, 29, and in the Song, xxxii. 9, but not elsewhere in the earlier books of the Pentateuch.

10—28. The (re-)establishment of the covenant, with the laws upon which it is based. The passage belongs in the main to E; but it has probably been enlarged in parts with hortatory additions by the compiler. We have met with some such additions before, in xx. 22—xxiii. 33; and they are found elsewhere also in connexion with laws, as in Lev. xviii. 1—5, 24—29, xx. 22—24 (H), and Dt. xii.—xxvi. *passim*.

10. Jehovah declares His purpose of concluding a covenant with His people, to be confirmed by wonders of a character to convince all of His power and greatness. The wonders meant are such as those narrated in Nu. xi., xvi., xx., xxi., &c. The verse, however, is hardly an answer to *v.* 9, whereas xxxiii. 14 would answer it directly: the conjecture (p. 361) that xxxiii. 14—16 should follow here is thus confirmed.

I make] Heb. *am making*, i.e. am about to make: the partic. after *Behold*, as vii. 17, viii. 2, xix. 9, and frequently.

marvels] iii. 20, Jos. iii. 5, Jud. vi. 13, Ps. lxxviii. 4, 11, &c.

wrought] lit. **created** (marg.), of an *event*—not, as usually, of a material object—requiring superhuman power to produce it: cf. Nu. xvi. 30 (RVm.), Jer. xxxi. 22, Is. xlv. 7, xlviii. 7.

with thee] i.e. in dealing with thee: cf. Dt. i. 30, x. 21 (also with 'terrible'): in both these passages 'for' is lit. *with*.

11—26. The conditions of the covenant, i.e. the laws upon the acceptance of which its establishment depends. The laws themselves seem to have received parenetic additions from the compiler.

11—16. No alliance to be entered into with the Canaanites, lest intercourse with them seduce Israel into idolatry (comp. xxiii. 24, 32 f., Dt. vii. 2—5).

11. *that which I* **am commanding** *thee this day*] viz. the injunction which follows (*v.* 12 ff.), to have no dealings with the Canaanites. The formula is one which is extremely common in Dt. (iv. 40, vi. 6, vii. 11, viii. 1, 11 &c.).

behold, &c.] Jehovah Himself will make the way easy for such a command to be obeyed.

drive out] The *promise*, as xxiii. 28, 29, 30, xxxiii. 2: cf. the same word in a *command*, xxiii. 31^{b}.

the Amorite, &c.] See on iii. 8.

R^{JE} Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. Take heed to 12
thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of
the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the
midst of thee: but ye shall break down their altars, and 13
dash in pieces their [1]pillars, and ye shall cut down their
J [2]Asherim: for | thou shalt worship no other god: for the 14
R^{JE} Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God: | lest thou 15

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[1] Or, *obelisks*

[2] Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

12. *Take heed to thyself*] Also a phrase common in Dt. (iv. 9, 23, vi. 12 Heb., viii. 11 Heb., xi. 16 *al.*).

lest thou make, &c.] Cf. xxiii. 32.

a snare] i.e. an allurement to ruin: cf. xxiii. 33^b with the note.

13. The altars and religious emblems of the Canaanites to be utterly destroyed. Cf. xxiii. 24, with the references; and the almost verbal repetitions in Dt. vii. 5, xii. 3.

pillars] or **standing-stones**: see on xxiii. 24.

Ashērim] The plur. of *Ashērāh*, the sacred wooden (see Dt. xvi. 21, Jud. vi. 26) post or column, which stood by the altar in Canaanite places of worship (cf. Jud. vi. 25—30, by an altar of Baal), and was often by the unspiritual Israelites set up (2 K. xvii. 10), or (Dt. xvi. 21) 'planted,' beside the altar of Jehovah. It is often supposed to have been a conventional substitute for a sacred tree; but this is not certain. We have no particulars about the precise size or shape of an Ashērāh: the two posts, of the form of tree-trunks, resting on a wide base, and surmounted by representations of the full and crescent moon, carved upon a stone from Carthage (Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 19; Benzinger, *Arch.* ^{1}p. 381, ^{2}p. 326), *might* indeed be Ashērāhs; but we have no evidence that they were. The name *Abd-ashirta* ('servant of Ashirta') in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and the expression 'finger (oracle) of Ashirta,' on a cuneiform tablet of *c.* 1350 found at Taanach (see the writer's *Schweich Lectures*, p. 82), seem to indicate that there was an old Semitic goddess *Ashērāh*; and if this was the case, the 'Ashērāh' of the OT. was probably her emblem: but the great difference in the Heb. (אשרה and עשתרת) makes it unlikely that she was the same as the Phoen. 'Ashtōreth, or the Ass. *Ishtar* (Benz. *Arch.*^{2} 326 f.). On account of their heathen associations, the Ashērīm, like the *maẓẓēbāhs* (see on xxiii. 24), were proscribed by the more spiritual Israelites. For other allusions to Ashērāhs, see Dt. vii. 5, xii. 3 (repetitions of the present prohibition), 1 K. xiv. 15, 23, xv. 13, xvi. 33, 2 K. xiii. 6, xviii. 4, xxi. 3, 7, xxiii. 4, 6, 7, 14, 15; and comp. Moore's art. in *EB.* s.v.

14. *thou shalt* **not** *worship* **any** *other god*] Cf. the plural 'other gods,' in xx. 3. 'Worship' is lit. *bow down* (Ex. xx. 5), as regularly.

whose name is Jealous] on 'name' (='character'), see on xxxiii. 19.

a jealous God] as xx. 5, where see the note.

make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they R^{JE}
go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their
16 gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; and
thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their
daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy
17 sons go a whoring after their gods. | Thou shalt make *J*
18 thee no molten gods. The feast of unleavened bread shalt
thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread,
| as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month R^{JE}

15, 16. The consequences likely to follow from any alliance with the Canaanites: participation in their rites, and intermarriage with them, leading (*v.* 16^{b}) to still further idolatry.

15. *go a whoring after*] a term of disparagement for, 'desert Jehovah for.' The same expression, *v.* 16, Dt. xxxi. 16 (J); Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5 (Heb. '*after* Molech'), both H; Jud. ii. 17, viii. 27, 33 (all the Deut. compiler); Ez. xx. 30; 1 Ch. v. 25: also, more generally, of following an unworthy object, Lev. xx. 6, Nu. xv. 39 (both H); Ez. vi. 9.

and thou eat, &c.] See on xviii. 12; and comp. esp. Nu. xxv. 2.

16. *and thou take*, &c.] Intermarriage with Canaanites is forbidden, for the same reason, in Dt. vii. 3 f.; cf. Josh. xxiii. 12 (D^2), and Jud. iii. 6 (where disregard of the prohibition is said to have been followed by the same consequences which are here apprehended).

17. Molten gods thou shalt not make thee] Cf. Lev. xix. 4 (H) 'And *molten gods ye shall not make you*'; also, for the general thought, Ex. xx. 23.

Vv. 18—26 agree, for the most part verbally, with Ex. xiii. 13, 14, xxiii. 12, 15—19. The agreements and differences will be seen most clearly, if the two recensions are printed in parallel columns, with the differences in xxxiv. marked either by italics or, where anything is omitted, by a space in the text.

xxiii. 10, 11. (The fallow year.)

12. Six days shalt thou do thy work: but on the seventh day thou shalt desist: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy bondmaid, and the sojourner, may be refreshed.	xxxiv. 21. Six days shalt thou labour; but on the seventh day thou shalt desist: *in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt desist.*
13. And in all things that I have said unto you take ye heed: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard upon thy mouth.	Cf. xxxiv. 14^{a}. *For thou shalt not worship any* other go*d.*
14. Three times (r^{e}*gālim*) thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.	

15^{a}. The feast of unleavened cakes shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened cakes, according as I commanded thee, at the appointed time in the month of Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt;	18. The feast of unleavened cakes shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened cakes [xiii. 6^{a}], as I commanded thee, at the appointed time in the month of Abib; for in *the month of Abib* thou camest out from Egypt.
xiii. 12. And thou shalt cause to pass over all that first openeth the womb unto Yahweh: and all that first openeth [the womb], the casting of beasts that thou shalt have, the males (shall be) Yahweh's:	19. All that first openeth the womb *is mine*: and all *thy cattle that is* male, *that which first openeth* [*the womb*] *of ox and sheep*:
13. and all that which first openeth [the womb] of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb [*or* kid]; and if thou dost not redeem it, thou shalt break its neck: and all the first-born of men among thy sons thou shalt redeem.	20. and that which first openeth [the womb] of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb [*or* kid]; and if thou dost not redeem it, thou shalt break its neck: all the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem.
[Cf. xxii. 29^{b} The first-born of thy sons thou shalt give unto me.]	
xxiii. 15^{b}...and none shall appear before me empty.	And none shall appear before me empty.
16...and the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours which thou sowest in the field; and the feast of ingathering at the going out of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field.	22. And the feast of *weeks thou shalt hold thee*, the firstfruits of *wheat harvest*; and the feast of ingathering *at the close of* the year.
17. Three times (*p^{e}ʿāmim*) in the year shall all thy males appear before (אל פני) the Lord Yahweh.	23. Three times (*p^{e}ʿāmim*) in the year shall all thy males appear before (את פני) the Lord Yahweh, *the God of Israel.* 24. *For I will dispossess nations before thee, and enlarge thy border; and no man shall desire thy land, when thou goest up to appear before* (את פני) *Yahweh thy God, three times in the year.*
18. Thou shalt not sacrifice with leavened bread the blood of my sacrifice: neither shall there remain all night the fat of my feast until morning.	25. Thou shalt not *slaughter* with leavened bread the blood of my sacrifice; neither shall there remain all night *unto the* morning *the sacrifice of the* feast *of the passover.*

Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. *RJE*
19 | All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy cattle that *J*
20 is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. And the firstling of
an ass thou shalt redeem with a [1]lamb: and if thou wilt not
redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn
of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear
21 before me empty. Six days thou shalt work, but on the
seventh day thou shalt rest: in plowing time and in harvest

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[1] Or, *kid*

19. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.	26. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

These are evidently two recensions of one and the same collection of laws. Neither can well be throughout in its original order, and later additions have almost certainly been introduced into both. xxxiv. 21 is obviously, where it stands, out of place, and is in a much better position in xxiii. 12. xxiii. 12^b and xxxiv. 21^b look like explanatory additions made to the same original law by two different compilers (comp. Ex. xx. 11 with Dt. v. 14 last clause, 15). xxiii. 13 (see note *ad loc.*) reads like the conclusion of some collection of laws, no longer in its original place. xxiii. 14, 17 would hardly both stand in a document written by a single hand: probably xxiii. 17 has been introduced from xxxiv. 23. In xxiii. 15 the words from *Seven days* to *appear before me empty* leave *v.* 16 without a verb to govern it (in the ||, xxxiv. 22, there is a fresh verb); and have probably been introduced here from xxxiv. 18. xxxiv. 19, 20 (to *redeem*) seems to interrupt the connexion where it stands, and to be interpolated between xxiii. 15^a and 15^b: on the other hand, the first clause of xxxiv. 19 seems in form more original than the first clause of xiii. 12. xxxiv. 24 is pretty clearly a reflection of the compiler. The two recensions are derived evidently from a common original; but we cannot in all cases say how the differences between them arose. For notes upon the passage as a whole, the reader is referred to chs. xiii. and xxiii.: it will be sufficient here to comment on the more important expressions peculiar to ch. xxxiv.

18. See on xxiii. 15^a.

19, 20^a (to *redeem*). See on xiii. 12, 13.

19. *and all*, &c.] Something must be out of order: since the firstborn of cattle are included among 'all that first openeth the womb,' 'mine' cannot logically be the predicate of *and all* &c. Perhaps (Di.) *thou shalt sanctify* (Dt. xv. 19), or *sacrifice*, *unto me* has fallen out after 'sheep.' There is a similar inexactness in xiii. 12.

20^b. *appear before me*] read probably **see my face.** See on xxiii. 15^b.

21. *in plowing time*, &c.] i.e. even at times when the need of

J thou shalt rest. And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, 22
even of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of in-
gathering at the year's [1]end. Three times in the year shall 23
all thy males appear before the Lord GOD, the God of
RJE Israel. | For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge 24
thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when
thou goest up to appear before the LORD thy God three
J times in the year. | Thou shalt not offer the blood of my 25
sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of

[1] Heb. *revolution*.

working continuously might seem most urgent. For clause [a], see on xxiii. 12.

22. See on xxiii. 16. *Feast of weeks* is a name derived (see Dt. xvi. 9) from the 'seven weeks'—the average duration of harvest-time—by which this feast followed the commencement of harvest. The same expression is used in Dt. xvi. 10, 16, 2 Ch. viii. 13 †.

hold thee] See on xii. 47. So Dt. xvi. 13.

close] lit. *circuit*, i.e. *completed circuit*; Ges. (*Thes.*) '*ad* (post) *decursum anni*.' So 1 S. i. 20 (lit. *at the* (completed) *circuit of days*),—also, in all probability, of the feast of weeks at the close of the year (notice in *v.* 21 'the yearly sacrifice,' lit. *the sacrifice of days*, of the same feast[1]): the word occurs also in Ps. xix. 6 [Heb. 7], 2 Ch. xxiv. 23 †; cf. the cognate verb in Is. xxix. 1 'let the feasts *go round*,' i.e. complete their circuit.

23. *appear before*] read probably **see the face of**. See on xxiii. 17.

24. An ideal picture. The Israelites may feel quite secure in observing these pilgrimages; *for* their enemies will be dispossessed, and their territory enlarged, so that, even though their men are absent from their homes on pilgrimage, no one will think of invading their land.

cast out] **dispossess** (Jud. xi. 23 EVV., 24 RV.). The *thought* as xxiii. 27 f.; the *expression* as Dt. iv. 38, ix. 4, 5, xi. 23, xviii. 12 (EVV. in all, *drive out*, which, however, confuses the word with the different one (*gārash*) so rendered in *v.* 11 here),—all with Jehovah as subject.

goest up] viz. to Jerusalem, for pilgrimages to which 'go up' was the technical expression (1 K. xii. 27, 28; Is. ii. 3; Ps. cxxii. 4).

25. See on xxiii. 18. In cl. [b] what in xxiii. 18 is prescribed apparently for all festal sacrifices is here referred specifically to the passover, —'fat,' which is not elsewhere mentioned in connexion with the passover, being changed into 'sacrifice,' which would refer naturally to the flesh of the lamb eaten at the passover.

[1] The words 'that [Heb. *and*] Hannah conceived' in *v.* 20 are almost certainly misplaced, and should stand at the beginning of the verse: 'And Hannah conceived; and it came to pass, *at the close of the days* (i.e. *of the year*), that she bare a son.'

26 the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. The *J*
first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto
the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a
27 kid in its mother's milk. And the LORD said unto Moses,
Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words
28 I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. And
he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he
did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon
the tables the words of the covenant, | the ten [1]command- *Gl*
ments.

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[1] Heb. *words.*

be left] **remain all night** (*yālīn*), exactly as xxiii. 18.

26. See on xxiii. 19.

27. These words,—i.e. the commands of *vv.* 11—26,—are to be written down by Moses; for they constitute the conditions upon which Jehovah establishes His covenant (*vv.* 10, 27) with Israel. 'The verse is J's parallel to xxiv. 3—8 in E' (Di.).

after the tenor of] The expression used in Gen. xliii. 7.

28^a. *And he was there*, &c.] viz. after the ascent of the mount described in *v.* 4, i.e. in the *present* form of *vv.* 1—4, Moses *second* ascent of it, but in their *original* form, if the view stated on p. 364 be correct, the ascent mentioned in xxiv. 1—2, 9—11, so that in this case the forty days of J here will be the same as the forty days of E in xxiv. 18^b.

28^b. *And he wrote*] i.e., in the *present* context of the words, Moses (see p. 364). Of course it must be admitted that *v.* 28^b may have once stood in a context in which the pronoun would refer naturally to Jehovah: this would be the case, for instance, if it once stood immediately after *v.* 4, as Dt. x. 4 would suggest (cf. p. 364).

the words of the covenant] The 'words' of *v.* 27, i.e. the commands of *vv.* 11—26. It is difficult to think that this expression, at least as an original part of J, can have denoted the Decalogue of Ex. xx.: for the Decalogue of Ex. xx. is not in any part of Ex. made the basis of a covenant: this is a representation characteristic of Dt. (iv. 13, v. 2, 3 *al.*: see pp. 175, 193).

the ten commandments] Heb. **words**: i.e., if the words are part of J, and in their original context, the 'words,' or commandments, of *vv.* 11—26, which, though they are now more, may once have consisted only of ten (the 'ritual Decalogue,' p. 365). But it is probable that the words are a later addition, made, on the basis of Dt. iv. 13, x. 4, after the original wording of the chapter had been modified in *vv.* 1, 4, so as to make it describe the re-writing of the 'moral' Decalogue of Ex. xx. (p. 365); and in this case they will, as in Dt. iv. 13, x. 4†, refer to that Decalogue. So Kittel, Bä., McNeile (p. xxxi), *al.*

P And it came to pass, when Moses came down from 29
mount Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in Moses'
hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist
not that the skin of his face [1] shone [2] by reason of his speaking
with him. And when Aaron and all the children of Israel 30
saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they
were afraid to come nigh him. And Moses called unto 31
them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation
returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. And after- 32
ward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them
in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him
in mount Sinai. And when Moses had done speaking with 33
them, he put a veil on his face. But when Moses went in 34
before the LORD to speak with him, he took the veil off,

[1] Or, *sent forth beams* (Heb. *horns*)

[2] Or, *while he talked with him*

29—35. The shining of Moses' face when he came down after God's converse with him on the mountain. The sequel in P to xxiv. 15—18^a, xxv. 1—xxxi. 18^a (Di.).

29. *the two tables of the testimony*] as xxxi. 18^a; cf. on xxv. 16.

shone] viz. from the reflexion of the Divine glory (xxiv. 16 f.). The Heb. verb is a peculiar one, recurring only *vv.* 30, 35: it is a denominative from *ḳeren*, 'horn,' in the sense of *ray* (see Hab. iii. 4), and means thus, *was rayed.* Jerome, following Aq., rendered literally in the Vulg. *quod cornuta esset*; hence the frequent representation of Moses in art with horns rising out of his head. LXX. δεδόξασται; see below.

by reason of] The marg. is equally possible grammatically; but the context shews that the rend. of the text is right.

31. *the rulers* **in** *the congregation*] See on xvi. 22.

32. *all that*, &c.] The directions given in chs. xxv.—xxxi.

33—35. The glow alarmed the Israelites: Moses, therefore, put a veil on his face, which he wore ever afterwards, except when he went in to speak with God, or while he was communicating to the people the Divine message which he had received: in ordinary life the reflexion of the Divine glory upon his face was thus hidden from the people.

33. *a veil*] The Heb. word (*masweh*) occurs only here and *vv.* 34, 35.

34, 35. *But* **whenever** *Moses went in...he* **would take**...; *and he* **would come** *out*, *and* **speak**...; *and the children of Israel* **would see**..., *and Moses* **would put**, &c.] The tenses are throughout frequentative, describing Moses' habitual practice.

34. *went in before* **Jehovah**] viz. into the Tent of Meeting (which is here presupposed): cf. xxv. 22, Nu. vii. 89.

Comp. 2 Cor. iii. 7—18, noticing (1) that St Paul interprets the

until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the *P*
35 children of Israel that which he was commanded; and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

narrative allegorically, assigning as the reason why Moses used to put on the veil, not that the Israelites might not constantly be beholding the glow on Moses' face, but that they might not see its gradual *waning away* (*v.* 13), which St Paul regards as a type of the passing away of their own dispensation; and (2) that St Paul's key-words in the passage, *δόξα, δεδόξασται* ('glory,' 'hath been made glorious'), are suggested by the LXX. rend. of 'shone' in *vv.* 29, 35, *δεδόξασται*. The narrative is a beautiful symbolical expression of the truth that close converse with God illumines the soul with a Divine radiance, and that those who 'with unveiled face' behold spiritually as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are gradually through its influence transformed more and more completely into His likeness (2 Cor. iii. 18).

CHAPTERS XXXV.—XL.

These chapters, which all belong to P, form the sequel to chs. xxv.—xxxi., and narrate the execution of the instructions there communicated to Moses. In the main, the narrative is repeated *verbatim* from the instructions in chs. xxv.—xxxi., with the simple substitution of past tenses for future; in two or three cases, however, a phrase is altered, and there are also some instances of omission or abridgement. Thus a few verses (as xxv. 8—9, 15, 22, 40) are omitted, as not needing repetition; others (as xxv. 16, 21, 30, 37^b), chiefly relating to the *position* or use of the different vessels named, are incorporated in xl. 17—23, the account of the erection of the Tent of Meeting, where they actually belong; and the sections on the Anointing Oil and the Incense (xxx. 22—33, 34—38) are merely referred to briefly in a single verse (xxxvii. 29). There are also, as compared with chs. xxv.—xxxi., differences in the *order* of contents. The relation of chs. xxxv.—xl. to chs. xxv.—xxxi. will appear perhaps most clearly from the following synoptical table:—

CHAPTERS XXXV.—XL.	CHAPTERS XXV.—XXXI.
xxxv. 1—3. Observance of the Sabbath inculcated (*v.* 3 added).	xxxi. 15 (*vv.* 13—14, 16—17 not repeated).
4—9. The people invited to make voluntary offerings.	xxv. 2—7 (*vv.* 8, 9 not repeated).
10—19. All skilled workmen invited to assist.	

20—29. Presentation of the offerings.	
30—xxxvi. 1. Moses announces to the people the appointment of Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab, and of other skilled workmen qualified to assist.	xxxi. 2—6 (*vv.* 7—11, the details of things to be made, not repeated).
xxxvi. 2—7. Delivery of the offerings to Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab. The liberality of the people has to be checked.	
8—19. The curtains for the Dwelling, the tent over it, and the two outer coverings.	xxvi. 1—11, 14 (*vv.* 9^b, 12, 13 not repeated).
20—34. The boards, or 'frames,' to support the curtains.	xxvi. 15—29 (*v.* 30 not repeated).
35—38. The Veil and Screen.	xxvi. 31—32, 36—37 (*vv.* 33—35 not repeated).
xxxvii. 1—9. The Ark and Mercy-seat.	xxv. 10—14, 17—20 (*vv.* 15, 16, 21, 22 not repeated).
10—16. The Table of Presence-bread.	xxv. 23—29 (*v.* 30 not repeated).
17—24. The Candlestick.	xxv. 31—39 (*vv.* 37^b, 40 not repeated).
25—28. The Altar of Incense.	xxx. 1—5 (*vv.* 6—10 not repeated).
29. The Anointing Oil, and the Incense.	xxx. 22—25, 34—35 (abridged: *vv.* 26—33, 36—38 not repeated).
xxxviii. 1—7. The Altar of Burnt-offering.	xxvii. 1—8^a (*v.* 8^b not repeated).
8^a. The Bronze Laver (*v.* 8^b is new).	xxx. 18^a (*vv.* 18^b—21 not repeated).
9—20. The Court of the Tent of Meeting.	xxvii. 9—19.
21—31. Account of the amount of metal employed.	
xxxix. 1—31. Vestments of the priests:—	xxviii. 6—43.
2—5. The ephod (*v.* 1 introductory; most of *v.* 3 new).	xxviii. 6—8.
6, 7. The two onyx stones on the shoulder-straps, engraved with the names of the tribes of Israel.	xxviii. 9—12 (abridged).
8—21. The pouch of judgement, to contain the Urim and Thummim.	xxviii. 15—28 (*vv.* 13, 14 much abridged in xxxix. 16^a: *vv.* 29, 30 (the Urim and Thummim) not repeated).
22—26. The robe of the ephod.	xxviii. 31—35^a (*v.* 35^b not repeated).

27—29. The tunics, turban, caps, drawers, and sashes.	xxviii. 39, 40, 42^{a} (abridged: *vv.* 41, 42^{b}, 43 not repeated).
30, 31. The golden plate, on the front of the turban.	xxviii. 36, 37 (*v.* 38 not repeated).
32—43. Delivery of the completed work to Moses.	
xl. 1—8. Moses is commanded to set up the Tent of Meeting, and to arrange the sacred vessels in their places.	
9—15. Repetition of command to anoint the Tent of Meeting, and the sacred vessels (xxx. 26—29); and to wash, invest, and anoint the priests (xxix. 4—9; xxx. 30).	
16—33. Moses sets up the Tent of Meeting, and arranges the sacred vessels according to the instructions given partly in *vv.* 1—8, partly in chs. xxv.—xxxi.	See references to chs. xxv.—xxxi. in the notes on xl. 16—33.
34—38. The cloud takes up its abode on the Tent of Meeting.	

From a critical point of view, the most noticeable variation is the different position of the Altar of Incense and the Bronze Laver. These, which appeared before in the appendix to chs. xxv.—xxix., viz. in ch. xxx., are here introduced in accordance with the place which they would naturally hold, viz. in the description of the Dwelling (xxxvii. 25—28), and Court (xxxviii. 8), respectively; the Altar of Incense is mentioned also in ch. xl. (*vv.* 5, 26). If, therefore, chs. xxx.—xxxi. are rightly assigned to a secondary stratum of P (see p. 328), the same conclusion will follow, as a necessary corollary, for chs. xxxv.—xl. There are other indications pointing in the same direction. In the LXX. of chs. xxxv.—xl. the *order* of the contents in xxxvi. 8^{b}—xxxix. 43 differs remarkably from the Hebrew (see the Table in *LOT.* 37 f. [$^{6-8}$ 40 f.], or McNeile, pp. 224 f.); and the renderings of many of the technical terms of the Hebrew differ from those in chs. xxv.—xxxi. (see examples in McNeile, p. 226). It is thus difficult to suppose either (1) that the translators of chs. xxxv.—xl. had before them the Hebrew text of these chapters in its present form, or (2) that these translators were the same as those who translated chs. i.—xxxiv.; and it becomes probable 'that the Heb. text used by the original translators of Exodus did not contain chs. xxxv.—xl., and that they were supplied afterwards from a longer Heb. recension of the book, in which these chapters had not yet reached their final form' (Swete, *Intr. to OT. in Greek*, p. 236). These considerations support the conclusion, reached in the first instance upon independent grounds (the relation of these chapters to chs. xxx., xxxi.), that chs. xxxv.—xl. belong to a secondary and posterior stratum of P (P_2 or P_3). This is recognized even by

*P*₈ And Moses assembled all the congregation of the children 35
of Israel, and said unto them, These are the words which
the LORD hath commanded, that ye should do them. [1]Six 2
days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall
be to you an holy day, a sabbath of solemn rest to the
LORD: whosoever doeth any work therein shall be put to
death. Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations 3
upon the sabbath day.

And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the 4
children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the
LORD commanded, saying, [2]Take ye from among you an 5
offering unto the LORD: whosoever is of a willing heart,
let him bring it, the LORD's offering; gold, and silver, and
brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, 6

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[1] See ch. xxxi. 15.

[2] See ch. xxv. 2—7.

Dillm., who supposes (*Nu. Dt. Jos.* pp. 635, 688) that the execution of the instructions contained in chs. xxv.—xxxi. was originally narrated quite briefly—in, for instance, xxxv. 1—5, 20—21, xxxvi. 2—6, xl. 1—2, 34—38 [and Lev. viii.]; and that all the rest of chs. xxxv.—xl. is an expansion due to a later hand (or hands). See further Kuen. *Hex.* pp. 76—80.

xxxv. **1—3.** Command to observe the sabbath. A repetition of the substance of xxxi. 12—17 (note that *v.* 2 is in the main identical verbally with xxxi. 15), placed here apparently as a reminder to the Israelites that the sabbath must not be broken even for sacred purposes.

1. *the congregation*] see on xii. 3.

2. *an holy day*] Heb. *holiness* (without 'day'). Probably *ḳōdesh* has been accidentally transposed; and we should read, as in xxxi. 15, *a sabbath of* **entire** *rest*, *holy to Jehovah.* For 'entire rest,' see on xvi. 23.

3. An addition to the law of xxxi. 12—17. The explicit prohibition is not found elsewhere in the OT.; but it is implied in xvi. 23.

in all *your habitations*] see on xii. 20.

4—9. The people are invited to make voluntary offerings of the materials needed for the sanctuary. See xxv. 2—7, from which the list of materials in *vv.* 6—9 is verbally repeated.

4. *This is the thing which* **Jehovah** *hath commanded.* See on xvi. 16.

5. *from among*] **from**; 'among' is wrong. The prep. is the one rendered 'of' (i.e. *from*) in xxv. 2.

an offering (twice)] **a contribution**, Heb. *t^erūmāh*; see on xxv. 2.

of a willing heart] cf. on xxv. 2.

brass] **bronze** or **copper, as** xxv. 3.

6. See on xxv. 4.

7 and goats' *hair*; and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, P_s
8 and acacia wood; and oil for the light, and spices for the
9 anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; and onyx stones,
and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breast-
10 plate. And let every wise hearted man among you
11 come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded; the
tabernacle, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and its
12 boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; the ark, and
the staves thereof, the mercy-seat, and the veil of the screen;
13 the table, and its staves, and all its vessels, and the [1]shew-
14 bread; the candlestick also for the light, and its vessels, and
15 its lamps, and the oil for the light; and the altar of incense,
and its staves, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense,
and the screen for the door, at the door of the tabernacle;
16 the altar of burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves,
17 and all its vessels, the laver and its base; the hangings of
the court, the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the

[1] Or, *Presence-bread*

7. *sealskins*] **dugong skins** (xxv. 5). So *v.* 23.

8. *sweet incense*] *incense* **of fragrant powders** (xxv. 6). So *vv.* 15, 27.

10—19. All skilled workmen among the people invited to assist in the task of making the objects prescribed. There is nothing in chs. xxv.—xxxi. corresponding to this invitation: xxviii. 3 relates to the priestly vestments alone. The enumeration of things to be made begins with the Dwelling, and then proceeds in order from the Holy of holies to the Court, ending with the vestments for the priests.

10. *wise hearted*] i.e. *skilled*: see on xxviii. 3.

11. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling**, i.e. (see on xxvi. 1) the curtains, which, supported on the fabric of 'frames,' formed the 'Dwelling.'

its tent, and its covering] See xxvi. 7—13, 14.

12. *the veil of the screen*] i.e. the veil which acts as a screen (cf. xl. 3, 21), viz. in front of the Holy of holies. So xxxix. 34, xl. 21. Elsewhere 'the veil' alone.

13. *the* **Presence**-*bread*] included also in xxxix. 36 among the things brought by the people, though flour is not mentioned among the articles to be offered, *vv.* 6—9. The Presence-bread was afterwards prepared by the priests from materials offered by the people (Lev. xxiv. 5, 8 RVm.).

15. *the altar of incense*] this here appears in the place in which we should expect it, among the other vessels of the Holy place.

door (twice)] **entrance.**

the altar of burnt offering] See on xxxviii. 1.

P_3 screen for the gate of the court; the pins of the tabernacle, 18
and the pins of the court, and their cords; the [1]finely wrought 19
garments, for ministering in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons,
to minister in the priest's office.

And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed 20
from the presence of Moses. And they came, every one 21
whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit
made willing, *and* brought the LORD's offering, for the work
of the tent of meeting, and for all the service thereof, and
for the holy garments. And they came, both men and 22
women, as many as were willing hearted, *and* brought
brooches, and [2]earrings, and signet-rings, and [3]armlets, all
jewels of gold; even every man that offered an offering of

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[1] See ch. xxxi. 10. [2] Or, *nose-rings* [3] Or, *necklaces*

18. *cords*] i.e. tent-cords, to attach the curtains of the Dwelling, and hangings of the Court, to the tent-pins fastened in the earth (cf. xxxix. 40, Nu. iii. 26, 37, iv. 26, 32). Not mentioned in xxvii. 19, but implied in the mention of 'pins.'

19. *the* **plaited** (?) *garments*] See on xxxi. 10.

20—29. How the people responded to Moses' summons: ordinary men, women, and 'rulers,' all brought willingly whatever their means, or their ability, enabled them to provide. An ideal picture of a community ready and eager to contribute liberally to the sanctuary and service of its God. Cf. on xxv. 1.

20—29. Presentation of the offerings.

21. *stirred...up*] lit. *lifted up*: so *v.* 26, xxxvi. 2.

made willing] cf. on xxv. 2.

offering] **contribution**: see on xxv. 2.

all the service thereof] i.e., as xxx. 16, the daily worship, especially for the candlestick and the Altar of incense, the materials for which are mentioned in *v.* 28. 'All' must not be pressed; materials for the morning and evening daily burnt-offering, and for the Presence-bread (xxix. 38 ff.; xxv. 30), not being included in the sequel.

22. The offering of *men* and *women* alike; viz. gold (*v.* 6; xxv. 3), in various forms.

brooches] Heb. *ḥāḥ*,—elsewhere a 'hook' for the jaw (Ez. xxix. 4), or nose (2 K. xix. 28).

earrings] or *nose-rings*. See on xxxii. 2.

armlets] marg., *necklaces*: the precise meaning is uncertain. Heb. *kūmāz*, only besides Nu. xxxi. 50.

all jewels of gold] more clearly, '(even) **every jewel** *of gold*.'

and *every man that* **waved a wave-offering** *of gold unto* **Jehovah**

23 gold unto the LORD. And every man, with whom was P_3
found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and
goats' *hair*, and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, brought
24 them. Every one that did offer an offering of silver and
brass brought the LORD's offering: and every man, with
whom was found acacia wood for any work of the service,
25 brought it. And all the women that were wise hearted did
spin with their hands, and brought that which they had
spun, the blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine
26 linen. And all the women whose heart stirred them up
27 in wisdom spun the goats' *hair*. And the rulers brought
the [1]onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod,
28 and for the breastplate; and the spice, and the oil; for the
light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense.
29 The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto the
LORD; every man and woman, whose heart made them
willing to bring for all the work, which the LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.

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[1] Or, *beryl*

(brought it)] cf. *vv.* 23 *end*, 24 *end*. The rend. 'even' is impossible, besides yielding a wrong sense: the reference in this clause is not to those who brought brooches, and earrings, &c., but to such as brought gold in any form,—probably, in particular, ingots. 'Wave' and 'wave-offering' are used here, not in their proper sense (see on xxix. 24) of a ceremony implying that the object 'waved' is given ultimately to the priests, but in a weakened and later sense of *present*, *presentation*: so xxxviii. 24, 29, Nu. xviii. 11.

23, 24. The contributions of the *men*; viz. the other things mentioned in *vv.* 6, 7 (= xxv. 3—5).

24. *offering*] not as *v.* 22, but, as *v.* 5, **contribution** (see on xxv. 2). The verb 'offer' is cognate: lit. *lift* or *take up* (see *ibid.*).

the service] the business of constructing the sanctuary; so xxxvi. 1, 3.

25, 26. The special contributions of the *women*. The women spun yarn, both of linen (*v.* 25) and coarser (*v.* 26) materials. Spinning is still in the East the work of women: and both in the Sin. Peninsula and elsewhere women still spin camels' and goats' hair into the coarse yarn out of which tent-coverings are woven. 'Wise hearted,' and 'wisdom,' of technical skill; cf. *v.* 10, and on xxviii. 3.

27, 28. The contributions of the *rulers* (see on xvi. 22); precious stones, spices, and oil (*vv.* 9, 8 = xxv. 7, 6).

29. Whatever the Israelites offered was offered by them freely.

P_8 [1]And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the 30
Lord hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son
of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; and he hath filled him with 31
the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge,
and in all manner of workmanship; and to devise 32
cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,
and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, 33
to work in all manner of cunning workmanship. And he 34
hath put in his heart that he may teach, both he, and
Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Them 35
hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of
workmanship, of the [2]engraver, and of the cunning workman,
and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet,
and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do
any workmanship, and of those that devise cunning works.
And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work, and every wise hearted 36
man, in whom the Lord hath put wisdom and understanding
to know how to work all the work for the service of the
sanctuary, according to all that the Lord hath commanded.

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[1] See ch. xxxi. 1—6.

[2] Or, *craftsman*

30—xxxvi. 1. Moses communicates to the people Jehovah's nomination of Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab to superintend the construction of the sanctuary. *Vv.* 30^{b} (from *See*)—33 are all but verbally identical with xxxi. 2—5, only the third person being substituted for the first, as Moses is here the speaker. *Vv.* 34—36 are expanded from xxxi. 6; xxxi. 7—11 (the list of things to be made) is omitted.

31. *the spirit of God*] see on xxxi. 3.

32. *cunning works*] **works of skill** (xxxi. 4).

33. *cunning*] **skilled** (xxvi. 1). This word is not in xxxi. 5.

34. *that he may teach*] i.e. instruct others to become skilled workmen likewise. The assistance of the 'wise hearted' is promised in xxxi. 6 (cf. xxxvi. 1, 2, 4, 8); but it is not elsewhere said that Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab should instruct them.

35. *the* **craftsman** (RVm.)] the word (lit. *cutter in*, *incisor*), if followed by 'of stone' may mean an 'engraver' (xxviii. 11), but, used absolutely, signifies generally a worker in wood, stone, or metal.

cunning workman] **designer**, or **pattern-weaver**; see on xxvi. 1.

the embroiderer] See on xxvi. 1.

cunning works] **works of skill**, as *v.* 32.

xxxvi. **1.** *in whom*, &c.] cf. xxxi. 6^{b}.

the service of] i.e. the business of constructing, as xxxv. 24. So *v.* 3.

according to] **with regard** *to*.

2 And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise P_s
hearted man, in whose heart the Lord had put wisdom,
even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto
3 the work to do it: and they received of Moses all the offering,
which the children of Israel had brought for the work
of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they
4 brought yet unto him freewill offerings every morning. And
all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary,
5 came every man from his work which they wrought; and
they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much
more than enough for the service of the work, which the
6 Lord commanded to make. And Moses gave commandment,
and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the
camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more
work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were
7 restrained from bringing. For the stuff they had was
sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

2—7. Delivery of the offerings to Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab, and their assistants. The people continuing to bring offerings, in excess of what was required, are restrained by Moses. Another ideal picture: the people not only offer liberally, but offer more than is required; and their liberality has to be checked.

2. *every wise hearted man*, &c.] *v.* 1; cf. xxxi. 6^{b}.

stirred...up] lit. *lifted up*, as xxxv. 21, 26.

to come] *to* **draw near**, viz. for a sacred purpose, as often in P (xvi. 9, xl. 32, Lev. ix. 5, 8, xvi. 1, &c.); cf. on xii. 48.

3. *received of*] **took from before.** 'Of' is incorrect and inadequate: the picture is of the heap of materials lying *before* Moses.

offering] **contribution**, as xxv. 2, xxxv. 5, 21, 24. So *v.* 6.

And they] **They, however** (i.e. the Israelites): the pron. is emphatic.

4. *wrought*] **were working**.

5. *bring*] **are bringing**.

There follows now (xxxvi. 8—xxxix. 31) an enumeration and full description of the things made, repeated for the most part verbally—with of course the necessary change of tense—from chs. xxv.—xxviii., xxx., xxxi. (for ch. xxix., see Lev. viii.). The *order* is in certain cases different: thus the Dwelling (xxxvi. 8—38) is made before the articles (the Ark, &c.), which it is to contain (xxxvii. 1—24): and the altar of incense then follows immediately (xxxvii. 25—29), instead of coming, as in chs. xxv.—xxxi., in the appendix (xxx. 1—10). See further above, pp. 377, 378.

8—19 (xxvi. 1—14). The *curtains* forming the Dwelling (*vv.* 8—13); the *tent* over it (*vv.* 14—18); and the two protective *coverings* above

P_3 [1]And every wise hearted man among them that wrought 8
the work made the tabernacle with ten curtains; of fine
twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim
the work of the cunning workman made he them. The 9
length of each curtain was eight and twenty cubits, and the
breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had
one measure. And he coupled five curtains one to another: 10
and *the other* five curtains he coupled one to another. And 11
he made loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain
[2]from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the
edge of the curtain that was outmost in the second [3]coupling.
Fifty loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made 12
he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second [3]coupling:
the loops were opposite one to another. And he made 13
fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the curtains one to another
with the clasps: so the tabernacle was one. And he 14
made curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the tabernacle:
eleven curtains he made them. The length of each curtain 15
was thirty cubits, and four cubits the breadth of each curtain:
the eleven curtains had one measure. And he coupled five 16
curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves.
And he made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that 17
was outmost in the [4]coupling, and fifty loops made he upon
the edge of the curtain which was *outmost in* the second

---

[1] See ch. xxvi. 1—14.

[2] Or, *that was outmost in the* first *set*

[3] Or, *set*

[4] Or, first *set*

this (*v.* 19). *Mutatis mutandis*, the text agrees almost verbally with xxvi. 1—14, except in the Heb. idiom for 'one to another' in *vv.* 10, 12, 13 (so *v.* 22), and in the omission of the clauses relating to the *erection* of the Dwelling in xxvi. 9b, 12, 13 (without, however, their being introduced in xl. 17 ff.).

8. *every wise hearted man*, &c.] cf. *vv.* 1, 2, 4. In the account of the construction of the sanctuary these are mentioned only here; in the sequel (even in *v.* 8b) the sing. (referring to Bĕẓal'ēl) is used regularly (as in xxvi. 1, 4 &c.) till ch. xxxix., where the plur. reappears (though not uniformly).

the tabernacle] *the* **Dwelling**. See on xxvi. 1, and xxv. 9.

the cunning workman] *the* **designer**, or **pattern-weaver**.

11. *from*, &c.] **at the extremity** *in the* (first) **set** (xxvi. 4).

11 *end*, **12.** *coupling*] **set** (xxvi. 4 *end*, 5). So *v.* 17 (xxvi. 10).

13. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling** (xxvi. 6).

18 [1]coupling. And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple P_3
19 the tent together, that it might be one. And he
made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a
covering of [2]sealskins above.

20 [3]And he made the boards for the tabernacle of acacia
21 wood, standing up. Ten cubits was the length of a board,
22 and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. Each
board had two tenons, [4]joined one to another: thus did he
23 make for all the boards of the tabernacle. And he
made the boards for the tabernacle; twenty boards for the
24 south side southward: and he made forty sockets of silver
under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for
its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its
25 two tenons. And for the second side of the tabernacle, on
26 the north side, he made twenty boards, and their forty
sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two
27 sockets under another board. And for the hinder part of
28 the tabernacle westward he made six boards. And two
boards made he for the corners of the tabernacle in the
29 hinder part. And they were double beneath, and in like
manner they were entire unto the top thereof unto [5]one
30 ring: thus he did to both of them in the two corners. And
there were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen
31 sockets; under every board two sockets. And he
made bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one
32 side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the
other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of
33 the tabernacle for the hinder part westward. And he made
the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards

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[1] Or, *set*
[2] Or, *porpoise-skins*
[3] See ch. xxvi. 15—29.
[4] Or, *morticed*
[5] Or, *the first*

19. *sealskins*] **dugong** *skins* (xxvi. 14); see on xxv. 9.

20—34 (xxvi. 15—29). The **beams** or **frames** (see on xxvi. 15), forming the framework of the Dwelling. xxvi. 30 is not repeated.

20. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling**. So *vv.* 22, 23, &c.

22. *joined*] **clamped together**. See on xxvi. 17.

23. *the south side southward*] See on xxvi. 18.

24. *sockets*] **bases**; see on xxvi. 19. So in the sequel.

29. On this difficult verse, see on xxvi. 24.

P_3 from the one end to the other. And he overlaid the boards 34
with gold, and made their rings of gold for places for the
bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.
[1]And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and 35
fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the cunning
workman made he it. And he made thereunto four pillars 36
of acacia, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks were of
gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver. And 37
he made a screen for the door of the Tent, of blue, and
purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the
embroiderer; and the five pillars of it with their hooks: and 38
he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: and
their five sockets were of brass.
[2]And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two cubits 37
and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the
breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it: and he 2
overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a
[3]crown of gold to it round about. And he cast for it four 3
rings of gold, in the four feet thereof; even two rings on the

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[1] See ch. xxvi. 31—37. [2] See ch. xxv. 10—20.
[3] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

35—38. The *veil* in front of the Holy of holies (xxvi. 31, 32); and the *screen* at the entrance of the Dwelling on the east (xxvi. 36, 37). There is nothing here corresponding to xxvi. 33—35 (directions for hanging up the veil, and placing the ark &c. in position).

35. *cunning workman*] **designer,** or **pattern-weaver** (xxvi. 31).

37. *door*] **entrance** (xxvi. 36).

38. *their chapiters and their fillets with gold*] For 'chapiters' we should now say *capitals*; the 'fillets' (see on xxvii. 10) were bands of metal surrounding the pillars just below the chapiters. In xxvi. 37 the chapiters and fillets are not mentioned; and the five acacia-wood pillars are to be entirely overlaid with gold. As Di. points out, by the partial gilding a gradation would be obtained: (*a*) the pillars at the entrance to the *Most Holy* place overlaid entirely with gold (*v.* 36, xxvi. 32); (*b*) the pillars at the entrance to the *Tent* overlaid only at the top with gold (xxxvi. 38); (*c*) the pillars at the entrance to the *Court* (like those of the Court generally, xxvii. 17, xxxviii. 17) overlaid only at the top with *silver* (xxxviii. 19).

xxxvii. **1—9** (xxv. 10—20). The Ark. xxv. 15f., 21f. not repeated.

1. *Beẓal'el made the ark*] In Dt. x. 3 *Moses* makes it. See on xxxiv. 3.

2. *a crown*] *a* **rim** or **moulding** (xxv. 11). See on xxv. 11.

4 one [1]side of it, and two rings on the other [1]side of it. And *P*₃
he made staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with
5 gold. And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of
6 the ark, to bear the ark. And he made a [2]mercy-seat
of pure gold: two cubits and a half *was* the length thereof,
7 and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And he made
two cherubim of gold; of [3]beaten work made he them, at
8 the two ends of the mercy-seat; one cherub at the one end,
and one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the
mercy-seat made he the cherubim at the two ends thereof.
9 And the cherubim spread out their wings on high, covering
the mercy-seat with their wings, with their faces one to
another; toward the mercy-seat were the faces of the cherubim.

10 [4]And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits *was*
the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a
11 cubit and a half the height thereof: and he overlaid it with
pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold round about.
12 And he made unto it a border of an handbreadth round
about, and made a golden crown to the border thereof
13 round about. And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put
the rings in the four corners that were on the four feet
14 thereof. Close by the border were the rings, the places for the
15 staves to bear the table. And he made the staves of acacia
16 wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table. And
he made the vessels which were upon the table, the dishes
thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the bowls thereof, and
the flagons thereof, to pour out withal, of pure gold.

17 [5]And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten

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[1] Heb. *rib.* [2] Or, *covering* [3] Or, *turned*
[4] See ch. xxv. 23—29. [5] See ch. xxv. 31—39.

3. *side*] Heb. *rib.* See on xxv. 12.

6. *a mercy-seat*] Or, **propitiatory**: see on xxv. 17.

7. *beaten work*] see on xxvi. 18.

10—16 (xxv. 23—29). The table of the **Presence-bread** (see on xxv. 30). xxv. 30 (on the Presence-bread itself) is not repeated.

13. *cast*] in xxv. 26 *make.* The same change in xxxviii. 5.

17—24 (xxv. 31—39). The candlestick. xxv. 37^b, 40 are not repeated.

P_3 work made he the candlestick, even its base, and its shaft;
its cups, its knops, and its flowers, were of one piece with it:
and there were six branches going out of the sides thereof; 18
three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof,
and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side
thereof: three cups made like almond-blossoms in one 19
branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like
almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower:
so for the six branches going out of the candlestick. And 20
in the candlestick were four cups made like almond-blossoms,
the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: and a knop 21
under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under
two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two
branches of one piece with it, for the six branches going out
of it. Their knops and their branches were of one piece 22
with it: the whole of it was one beaten work of pure gold.
And he made the lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs 23
thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, of pure gold. Of a 24
talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels
thereof.

[1] And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood: a 25
cubit was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof,
foursquare; and two cubits was the height thereof; the
horns thereof were of one piece with it. And he overlaid 26
it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof
round about, and the horns of it: and he made unto it a
crown of gold round about. And he made for it two golden 27
rings under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof,
upon the two sides of it, for places for staves to bear it
withal. And he made the staves of acacia wood, and over- 28
laid them with gold. [2] And he made the holy anointing 29

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[1] See ch. xxx. 1—5.

[2] See ch. xxx. 23, 24, 34, 35.

23 Corresponding to xxv. 37^a, 38. For xxv. 37^b, cf. xl. 25.

25—28 (xxx. 1—5). The altar of incense. xxx. 6—10 are not repeated.

26. *a crown*] *a* **rim** or **moulding** (xxx. 3). See on xxv. 11.

29. The holy Anointing Oil, and the Incense. A summary abridgement of xxx. 22—25, 34—35; xxx. 26—33, 36—38, also, being not repeated.

oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, after the art of the P_3
perfumer.

38 [1]And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof.
2 And he made the horns thereof upon the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one piece with it: and he
3 overlaid it with brass. And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of
4 brass. And he made for the altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round it beneath, reaching halfway
5 up. And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grating
6 of brass, to be places for the staves. And he made the
7 staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with brass. And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made it hollow with planks.

8 [2]And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of [3]the [4]serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

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[1] See ch. xxvii. 1—8.

[2] See ch. xxx. 18.

[3] Or, *the women which assembled to minister*

[4] See Num. iv. 23, viii. 24; 1 Sam. ii. 22.

xxxviii. **1—7** (xxvii. 1—8^{a}). The altar of burnt offering. In *vv.* 4, 5 there are some changes of order: xxvii. 8^{b} is not repeated.

1. *the altar of burnt offering*] for distinction from the altar of incense (xxxvii. 25—28). In xxvii. 1 'the altar' simply. See introd. to chs. xxx.—xxxi. (p. 329).

2. *overlaid it with* **bronze**] According to Nu. xvi. 38, 39 (where 'a covering' is properly 'an *overlaying*,' as here), this was not done till a later time.

8. The Bronze Laver (xxx. 18—21). *V.* 8^{a} as xxx. 18^{a}; *v.* 8^{b} is new. xxx. 18^{b}—21 is not repeated here (see xl. 30—32).

8^{b}. *the serving women which served*] The expression is peculiar, the word used (צבא) being (both times) not the ordinary Heb. for 'serve,' but the word which means properly and regularly to *serve in a host*, to *war* or *fight*. The same word is used by P of the service of the Levites in (particularly) the transport of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances (Nu. iv. 1—33), Nu. iv. 23 (RVm.) 'Heb. *to war the warfare*'; cf. the cognate subst. *warfare* (EVV. 'service'), *vv.* 3 (see RVm.), 35, 39, 43, viii. 24, 25 (see RVm.). Either, it seems, the Levites in

P_3 [1]And he made the court: for the south side southward 9
the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an
hundred cubits: their pillars were twenty, and their sockets 10
twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets
were of silver. And for the north side an hundred cubits, 11
their pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the
hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. And for the 12
west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and
their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of
silver. And for the east side eastward fifty cubits. 13
The hangings for the one side *of the gate* were fifteen cubits; 14
their pillars three, and their sockets three; and so for the 15
other side: on this hand and that hand by the gate of the
court were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three,

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[1] See ch. xxvii. 9—19.

Nu., and the women here, are pictured as performing their duties in organized bands, like soldiers in an army (cf. Ges. *Thes.*, Di.), or (Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 32, 36) the word is one of those which in post-exilic times, when the nation had become a church, acquired a religious connotation. The women were no doubt thought of as washing, cleaning, repairing, &c. Women 'doing "warfare" at the entrance to the tent of meeting' are also mentioned in 1 S. ii. 22^{b}: but the passage is not expressed in the LXX., besides differing in representation from the context (the sanctuary a 'tent,' not a *hêkāl*, or 'temple'); and is beyond question a late gloss. LXX. render *νηστεύσασαι*, 'fasting,' either paraphrasing, or misreading צבאת as צמות ('fasting'). Onk. has *who prayed.* For other haggadic interpretations, see reff. in Di. The clause (8^{b}) must (Di. *al.*) be a later addition to the original narrative; for it obviously presupposes the *erection* of the Tent of Meeting, which is not narrated till ch. xl.

The metal mirrors are to be thought of as the *t^{e}rūmāh*, or 'contribution,' of the women; and the laver and its base, cast from them, as a 'memorial' of the gift. Comp. the explanation of the metal casing of the altar in Nu. xvi. 37—40.

9—20 (xxvii. 9—19). The Court of the Tent of Meeting. In *vv.* 16—19 the text (xxvii. 16—18) is reproduced with greater freedom than usual.

10. *fillets*] i.e. *bands*, or *binding-rings*; see on xxvii. 10.

12^{b}. *the hooks*, &c.] Not in xxvii. 12.

15. *on this hand...of the court*] Not in xxvii. 15; and, as Di. points out, a misplaced gloss (there is no 'so' in the Heb. at the beginning of the verse): read therefore (for *and so*, &c.), *and for the other side were hangings of fifteen cubits.*

16 and their sockets three. All the hangings of the court P_3
17 round about were of fine twined linen. And the sockets
for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and
their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters
of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with
18 silver. And the screen for the gate of the court was
the work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and
scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the
length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits,
19 answerable to the hangings of the court. And their pillars
were four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of
silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets
20 of silver. And all the pins of the tabernacle, and of
the court round about, were of brass.
21 This is the sum of *the things for* the tabernacle, even the

16. *of fine twined linen*] Cf. xxvii. 18, towards the end.

17. Expanded from xxvii. 17.

the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver] Sam. *their hooks of silver* (xxvii. 17), relieving the tautology with the last clause of the verse.

their chapiters] not mentioned in xxvii. 17.

18, 19. The *screen* for the gate of the Court. *V.* 18^{a}=xxvii. 16^{a}; *v.* 18^{b} ('the height,' &c.) inferred from xxvii. 18 ('answerable to' = *corresponding to*; cf. in RV. Ez. xl. 18, xlv. 7, xlviii. 13, 18; and see *DB.* s.v. ANSWER). *V.* 19^{a}=xxvii. 16^{b}; *v.* 19^{b} *their hooks of silver* inferred from xxvii. 17^{b}; the 'chapiters' and 'fillets' not mentioned in xxvii. 16 (cf. above, on *v.* 17), only the silver fillets implied in xxvii. 17^{a}.

20. As xxvii. 19^{b}.

21—31. Account of the amount of metal employed in the construction of the Tent of Meeting. A 'very late addition' to the narrative (Di., in agreement with We. and others): notice (1) in *v.* 25 f. the census of Nu. i. (*v.* 46) is presupposed, although according to P (Nu. i. 1 compared with Ex. xl. 17) this did not take place till a whole month after the Tabernacle was completed and erected; (2) the Levites, who are first appointed to their official duties in Nu. iii., are already (cf. Nu. iv. 33) represented as acting under Ithamar's superintendence; (3) 'wave-offering' (*vv.* 24, 29) appears in the same weakened sense as in xxxv. 22; (4) the writer, while passing over altogether the silver offered voluntarily (xxv. 3, xxxv. 5 f., 24), to all appearance (comp. *v.* 26 with xxxi. 13, 14) misunderstands xxx. 11—16, treating the poll-tax there imposed, at the time of a census, in order to form a fund for the maintenance of daily worship, as if it were a contribution of silver in kind, for the construction of the sanctuary.

P_3 tabernacle of the testimony, as they were counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the
priest. And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the 22
tribe of Judah, made all that the LORD commanded Moses.
And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the 23
tribe of Dan, [1]an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

All the gold that was used for the work in all the work of 24
the sanctuary, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the
shekel of the sanctuary. And the silver of them that 25
were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen

[1] Or, *a craftsman*

21. Superscription. **These are** *the reckonings of* (the metals employed for) the **Dwelling**, (even) *the* **Dwelling** *of the testimony* (so Nu. i. 50, 53, x. 11; cf. on xxv. 16), **which** *were* **reckoned** *according to the commandment of Moses*; (being) *the* **work** *of the Levites*, **under** *the hand*, &c. '*For* the service' is wrong grammatically (for the constr. see G.-K. § 118^{m}); the meaning is not that the reckonings were made *for* the Levites, but that they were *the work of* the Levites, done by them under the direction of Ithamar (cf. Nu. iv. 28, 33, vii. 8, where the same prep. is rendered *under*). For Ithamar see on vi. 23. 'Reckoning' is derived from the verb explained on xxx. 12, and is cognate with 'counted' just below and 'numbered' in *v.* 25.

22, 23. The writer, after mentioning what the Levites did (*v.* 21), reverts to the more important work done by the two artificers, Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab (xxxi. 2, 6, xxxv. 30, 35).

23. *a* **craftsman**, *and a* **pattern-weaver**, &c.] as xxxv. 35.

24. The *gold.* This amounted to 29 talents, and 730 shekels, or (as the talent contained 3000 shekels) 87,730 shekels, i.e. if the 'sacred' shekel (p. 333) weighed 224 grs., *c.* 40,940 oz. troy,—which, even at the present value of gold, would be worth nearly £160,000.

the offering] properly, *the* **wave-offering**; see on xxxv. 22. So *v.* 29.

the **sacred shekel**] See on xxx. 13; and cf. *DB.* iv. 906^{a}.

25—28. The *silver*, with particulars of the purposes for which it was used. This amounted to 100 talents and 1775 shekels, i.e. 301,775 shekels (*c.* 140,828 oz.), being half a shekel a head, exacted (according to xxx. 13 f.) from the 603,550 male Israelites, of 20 years old and upwards, of the census described in Nu. i. (see *v.* 46). No account is taken of the silver offered voluntarily (xxv. 3, xxxv. 5 f., 24).

26 shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: a beka a head, P_s
that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for
every one that passed over to them that were numbered,
from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand
27 and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. And
the hundred talents of silver were for casting the sockets of
the sanctuary, and the sockets of the veil; an hundred
28 sockets for the hundred talents, a talent for a socket. And
of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five *shekels* he
made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and
29 made fillets for them. And the brass of the offering
was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred
30 shekels. And therewith he made the sockets to the door
of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the brasen
31 grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, and the sockets
of the court round about, and the sockets of the gate of the
court, and all the pins of the tabernacle, and all the pins of
the court round about.

26. *a beḳaʽ*] Gen. xxiv. 22.† Lit. a *thing cleft* or *halved*. Three beḳaʽs have been found recently in Palestine (*Qu. St. of PEF.*, 1904, pp. 179, 211, *ZDPV.* 1906, p. 94), weighing respectively 90·58, 94·28, and 102·5 grains Troy. They are apparently light, or worn, beḳaʽs of the 'Phoenician' standard (*DB.* iv. 905^{b}; *EB.* iv. 4444, 5297 f.), in which the shekel weighed 224 grs.

that passed over to them that were numbered] as xxx. 13.

27. See xxvi. 19, 21, 25, 32 (40 + 40 + 16 + 4 = 100).

28. See xxvii. 10, 11, 17 (the hooks and the fillets of the pillars of the Court); xxxviii. 17, 19 (the chapiters as well).

29—31. The *bronze*. This weighed 212,400 shekels, or (see, for the standard of copper or bronze, *DB.* iv. 906^{a}) 108,749 oz. av. (= *c.* 3 tons).

30, 31. See xxvi. 37; xxvii. 2, 3, 4, 6; xxvii. 10, 11, 17, 18, 19. The Bronze Laver (xxx. 18) is passed over in the enumeration.

30. *the* **bronze** *altar*] i.e. the altar of burnt offering (xxvii. 1—8). So xxxix. 39; see p. 329.

xxxix. **1—31** (ch. xxviii.). The vestments for the priests. *V.* 1 is introductory. *V.* 1^{a} begins as though it belonged to xxxviii. 24—31, and was going on to state what was made of the richly woven materials offered by the Israelites (xxv. 4, &c.). At the same time it is remarkable (1) that the 'fine linen' is not mentioned at all, (2) that no notice is taken of the curtains and hangings (xxvi. 1 ff., 31, 36, xxvii. 9 ff.), for which nevertheless by far the greater part of the woven materials must have been used, and (3) that the second clause ('and **they** made,' &c.) is an evident doublet of the first (for 'holy garments' is a mere

P_3 And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made finely 39
wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place, and
made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD commanded Moses.

[1]And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and 2
scarlet, and fine twined linen. And they did beat the gold 3
into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue,
and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen,
the work of the cunning workman. They made shoulder- 4
pieces for it, joined together: at the two ends was it joined
together. And the cunningly woven band, that was upon 5
it, to gird it on withal, was of the same piece *and* like the
work thereof; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and
fine twined linen; as the LORD commanded Moses.

And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches of 6
gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according to

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[1] See ch. xxviii. 6—12.

synonym of 'finely wrought garments': see on xxxi. 10). It is possible therefore that *v.* 1^a (to *holy place*) is a fragment of a complete account of what was made of the woven materials; and that *and they made the holy garments*, &c., is the real beginning of the account of the making of the priestly vestments.

1. the plaited (?) *garments*] See on xxxi. 10.

as **Jehovah** *commanded Moses*] so seven times in this chapter (here, and *vv.* 5, 7, 21, 26, 29, 31); also seven times in ch. xl. (*vv.* 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32); and Lev. viii. 9, 13, 17, 21, 29.

2—5 (xxviii. 6—8). The ephod, with its shoulder-straps.

3. As far as *fine linen*, an addition, not in xxviii. 6, explaining how the gold was used; it was beaten into thin plates, and these were then cut into narrow strips, forming wires or threads, which were worked in with the variously coloured yarns (xxxv. 25). Cf. Wilk.-B. ii. 166 f.

beat] cf. Nu. xvi. 38, 39. The verb is the one from which *rāḳīaʽ*, 'firmament,' lit. *something beaten out*, is derived.

the cunning workman] *the* **designer**, or **pattern-weaver**.

4. *They made shoulder*-**straps** *for it*, *joined* (to it); *at* **its** *two* (top) **edges** *was it joined* (to them)] See on xxviii. 7.

5. *And the* **artistically** *woven band* (or simply, *And the* **band**) **of its attachment**, *that was upon it*, *was of the same piece*, &c.] See on xxviii. 8.

6—7. The two onyx stones on the shoulder-straps, engraved with the names of the tribes of Israel. *V.* 6 abridged from xxviii. 9—11; *v.* 7^a=xxviii. 12^a; xxviii. 12^b omitted.

6. *ouches*] **rosettes**; see on xxviii. 11. So *vv.* 13, 16, 18.

7 the names of the children of Israel. And he put them on P_3
the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial
for the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.
8 [1]And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning
workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue, and
9 purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was four-square; they made the breastplate double: a span was the
length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being double.
10 And they set in it four rows of stones: a row of sardius,
11 topaz, and carbuncle was the first row. And the second
12 row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. And the
13 third row, a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. And the
fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: they were
14 inclosed in ouches of gold in their settings. And the
stones were according to the names of the children of
Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings
of a signet, every one according to his name, for the twelve
15 tribes. And they made upon the breastplate chains
16 like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. And they made
two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two
17 rings on the two ends of the breastplate. And they put the
two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of
18 the breastplate. And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen
chains they put on the two ouches, and put them on the
19 shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. And
they made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two
ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was
20 toward the side of the ephod inward. And they made two
rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces of

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[1] See ch. xxviii. 15—28.

8—21 (xxviii. 15—28). The **pouch**, to contain the Urim and Thummim.

8. *the cunning workman*] *the* **designer**, or **pattern-weaver**.

9. *they made the* **pouch doubled**] See on xxviii. 15, 16.

10—13. The names of several of the stones are uncertain: see on xxviii. 17—20.

14, 15. Corresponding to xxviii. 21, 22.

16^a (to *gold*). Introduced here from xxviii. 13. *Vv.* 16^b (from *and two gold rings*)—21^a = xxviii. 23—28.

P_3 the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the
coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the
ephod. And they did bind the breastplate by the rings 21
thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that
it might be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod,
and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the
ephod; as the LORD commanded Moses.

[1]And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all 22
of blue; and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, as 23
the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about the
hole of it, that it should not be rent. And they made upon 24
the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and
scarlet, *and* twined *linen*. And they made bells of pure 25
gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the
skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates;
a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, upon 26
the skirts of the robe round about, to minister in; as the
LORD commanded Moses.

[2]And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work for 27
Aaron, and for his sons, and the [3]mitre of fine linen, and 28
the goodly headtires of fine linen, and the linen breeches of

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[1] See ch. xxviii. 31—34.
[2] See ch. xxviii. 39, 40, 42.
[3] Or, *turban*

22—26 (xxviii. 31—35^{a}). The robe of the ephod.

22. *woven work*] **the** *work* **of the weaver**; see on xxvi. 1. Not mentioned in xxviii. 31: see on xxviii. 32.

24. and *twined* linen] Sam. LXX. **and fine** *twined* **linen**, the usual expression. Not prescribed in the Heb. text of xxviii. 33, but read there in Sam. LXX.

26^{b}. *to minister in*] abridged from xxviii. 35^{a}. xxviii. 35^{b} is omitted, as not needing to be repeated.

27—29. The tunics and other priestly vestments. Abridged from xxviii. 39, 40, 42^{a}.

27. *coats*] **tunics**: see on xxviii. 39.

woven work] **the** *work* **of the weaver**; see on xxvi. 1.

28. *the mitre*] *the* **turban** (for the high-priest); see on xxviii. 39.

the goodly headtires] *the* **ornamental caps** (for 'caps,' see on xxviii. 40); lit. *the ornaments of* (i.e. *consisting in*; G.-K. § 128^{m}) *caps*. *Pᵉʼēr*, 'ornament,' is however itself also specialized in the sense of *ornamental cap*: see Ez. xxiv. 17, xliv. 18 ('tires,'—of the priests, as here). The *caps* were for the ordinary priests.

breeches] **loin-cloths** or **drawers**; see on xxviii. 42, 43.

29 fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine twined linen, and *P*$_3$
blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer;
as the LORD commanded Moses.

30 [1]And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold,
and wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a signet,
31 HOLY TO THE LORD. And they tied unto it a lace of blue,
to fasten it upon the [2]mitre above; as the LORD commanded
Moses.

32 Thus was finished all the work of the tabernacle of the
tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did according to
all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

33 And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the Tent,
and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars, and its
34 pillars, and its sockets; and the covering of rams' skins
dyed red, and the covering of [3]sealskins, and the veil of the
35 screen; the ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof,

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[1] See ch. xxviii. 36, 37.

[2] Or, *turban*

[3] Or, *porpoise-skins*

29. *the girdle*] *the* **sash**; see on xxviii. 39. But no doubt *the* **sashes** should be read with LXX.: see xxviii. 40.

30, 31 (xxviii. 36, 37). The plate, on the front of the high priest's turban.

30. *the holy crown*] *the holy* **diadem**; see on xxix. 6. Not mentioned in xxviii. 36.

31. *upon the* **turban** *above*] Comp. on xxviii. 37.

32. Subscription, in P's manner (cf. Gen. ii. 1), to the entire enumeration (xxxvi. 8—xxxix. 31).

the **Dwelling** *of the tent of meeting*] the pleonasm, as xl. 2, 6, 29; cf. *v.* 40.

and, &c.] for the form of sentence (in the Heb.), see on vii. 6.

33—40. The things made are all brought to Moses, and (*v.* 43) approved by him. A complete enumeration is given, substantially in the same order as in xxxv. 11—19.

33. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling**, i.e., in the proper sense of the term (see on xxvi. 1), the curtains constituting the 'Dwelling' (xxvi. 1—6).

the Tent] the tent of goats' hair, outside the 'curtains' (xxvi. 7—13).

34. I.e. the two protective outer coverings, of rams' skins, and **dugong** skins (xxvi. 14).

the veil of the screen] in front of the Holy of holies. The expression, as xxxv. 12, xl. 21.

35. *the ark of the testimony*] See on xxv. 16.

P_8 and the mercy-seat; the table, all the vessels thereof, and 36
the shewbread; the pure candlestick, the lamps thereof, 37
even the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof,
and the oil for the light; and the golden altar, and the 38
anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the
door of the Tent; the brasen altar, and its grating of brass, 39
its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base; the 40
hangings of the court, its pillars, and its sockets, and the
screen for the gate of the court, the cords thereof, and
the pins thereof, and all the instruments of the service of the
tabernacle, for the tent of meeting; the finely wrought 41
garments for ministering in the holy place, and the holy
garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons,
to minister in the priest's office. According to all that the 42
Lord commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all
the work. And Moses saw all the work, and, behold, they 43
had done it; as the Lord had commanded, even so had
they done it: and Moses blessed them.

37. *the pure candlestick*] as xxxi. 8.

to be set in order] i.e. to be arranged on it. See xxvii. 21.

38. *the golden altar*] i.e. the altar of incense (see xxx. 3). So xl. 5, 26, Nu. iv. 11.

door] **entrance.**

39. *the* **bronze** *altar*] as xxxviii. 30.

40. *instruments of the service*] cf. xxvii. 19.

of the **Dwelling of** *the tent of meeting*] cf. *v.* 32. The Heb. here, as Nu. ix. 15; see G.-K., § 128^{a} *end*, § $129^{d, f}$.

the cords thereof] see on xxxv. 18.

41. *the* **plaited** (?) *garments*] as *v.* 1, xxxi. 10, xxxv. 19.

(even) *the holy garments*] the 'and' has come in by some error: it is not in the Hebrew at all.

42. As in *v.* 32 (cf. xxv. 8), the Israelites generally, not Bĕẓal'ēl and Oholiab in particular, are mentioned as those who did the work. No doubt the 'wise hearted' assistants (xxxi. 6, xxxv. 10, 25, xxxvi. 1, 2, 4, 8) are thought of.

43. Moses found that all had been done according to Jehovah's instructions.

blessed them] for the energy and promptitude which had been shewn.

40 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, On the first P_8
2 day of the first month shalt thou rear up the tabernacle of
3 the tent of meeting. And thou shalt put therein the ark of
the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with the veil.
4 And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the
things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candle-
5 stick, and [1]light the lamps thereof. And thou shalt set the
golden altar for incense before the ark of the testimony, and
6 put the screen of the door to the tabernacle. And thou shalt
set the altar of burnt offering before the door of the taber-
7 nacle of the tent of meeting. And thou shalt set the laver
between the tent of meeting and the altar, and shalt put
8 water therein. And thou shalt set up the court round about,

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[1] Or, *set up*

CHAP. XL.

The erection of the Tent of Meeting.

xl. **1—15.** Moses is instructed by Jehovah to set up the Tent of Meeting, and the Court, to arrange the sacred vessels in their places (*vv.* 2—8), to consecrate the whole by anointing it (*vv.* 9—11), to clothe the priests in their vestments, and to anoint them (*vv.* 12—15). Most of these instructions have been given before; now that the time has come for carrying them out, they are summarily repeated (though not all that are necessary are given here; see *vv.* 17 ff.).

2. *the first day of the first month*] viz. (*v.* 17) of the second year of the Exodus, nine months since the arrival at Sinai (xix. 1).

the **Dwelling** *of the tent of meeting*] as xxxix. 32.

3. See xxvi. 33.

4. See xxvi. 35, xxv. 30; xxv. 37ᵇ.

set in order, &c.] lit. *arrange its arrangement*, with reference to the two *piles* of loaves arranged upon it. Cf. *v.* 23 (lit. '*arranged* upon it *the arrangement of* bread'). Lev. xxiv. 6 'two *rows*' (lit. *arrangements*). And so a later designation of the Presence-bread was 'bread of arrangement' (see on xxv. 30); cf. the 'table of the arrangement,' 2 Ch. xxix. 18.

light] **fix on**: see on xxvii. 20.

5ᵃ. See xxx. 6. The 'golden-altar,' as xxxix. 38, and *v.* 26 below.

5ᵇ. *door*] **entrance.** See xxvi. 36.

6. *the altar of burnt offering*] xxvii. 1—8; xxxviii. 1—7. The position of this altar has not been defined before.

the **entrance** *of the* **Dwelling**, &c.] cf. *v.* 2.

7. See xxx. 18ᵇ.

8. Cf. xxvii. 9ᵃ (the court), 16 (the screen).

P$_3$ and hang up the screen of the gate of the court. And 9
thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the
furniture thereof: and it shall be holy. And thou shalt 10
anoint the altar of burnt offering, and all its vessels, and
sanctify the altar: and the altar shall be most holy. And 11
thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and sanctify
it. And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the 12
door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water.
And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; and 13
thou shalt anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may
minister unto me in the priest's office. And thou shalt 14
bring his sons, and put coats upon them: and thou shalt 15
anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may
minister unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing
shall be to them for an everlasting priesthood throughout

9—11. The Dwelling, and everything belonging to it, to be anointed with the holy anointing oil: see xxx. 26—29; and cf. xxix. 36 f. (the altar alone).

9, 10. It is remarkable that, while in xxx. 29 (see *vv.* 26—28), the Tent of Meeting with *all* the vessels belonging to it, are, by anointing, made 'most holy' (see for this term on xxix. 37), here the altar only is 'most holy,' and the Tent of Meeting and all its contents are only 'holy.'

12—15. Aaron and his sons (i.e. the high-priest and the ordinary priests) to be washed, clothed in their sacred vestments, and anointed. See xxix. 4, 5—6 (much abridged here), 7—9; and xxx. 30.

13. *and sanctify him*] Not in xxix. 7; but cf. the similar clause in xxx. 30.

14. *coats*] **tunics.**

15^a. For the common priests being anointed exactly as the high-priest (not prescribed in ch. xxix.), see xxviii. 41; and cf. on xxx. 30.

15^b. *an everlasting priesthood*] It is to be for ever hereditary in Aaron's family. A perpetual priesthood is also promised to Aaron's 'sons' in xxix. 9: but it is not, as here, based upon their being anointed; in fact, no anointing is there prescribed for them at all. The Rabbis, understanding the pron. in 'their anointing' to refer to Aaron's sons alone, inferred that the anointing of Aaron's actual sons sufficed for the ordinary priests in all future ages, and that in the case of the ordinary priests the ceremony was never afterwards repeated (cf. Di., and Kalisch, *Leviticus*, pp. 666—8). But this is a forced and artificial interpretation: *their* and *to them* refer naturally to Aaron and his sons together (Di.).

16 their generations. Thus did Moses: according to all that *P*₃
the LORD commanded him, so did he.

17 And it came to pass in the first month in the second year,
on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared
18 up. And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and laid its
sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars
19 thereof, and reared up its pillars. And he spread the tent
over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above
20 upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he took
and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on
21 the ark, and put the mercy-seat above upon the ark: and
he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up the veil
of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony; as the
22 LORD commanded Moses. And he put the table in the
tent of meeting, upon the side of the tabernacle northward,
23 without the veil. And he set the bread in order upon it
24 before the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses. And
he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against
25 the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward. And he

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16. *Thus did Moses*] **And** *Moses did* (so),—leading on to the enumeration of particulars in *v.* 17 ff.: for the form of sentence, see on vii. 6. The verse, so far as *vv.* 9—14 are concerned, anticipates Lev. viii. 10—11, 6—9, 12—13: the execution of the command in *v.* 15 is nowhere recorded (cf. on xxx. 30).

17—33. Moses sets up the Tent of *Meeting*, and the Court, and arranges the sacred vessels according to the instructions given in *vv.* 1—8, or (in some cases) in chs. xxv.—xxxi. only. He also (*vv.* 23, 25, 27, 29) begins the daily services.

17. *the tabernacle*] *the* **Dwelling**. So *vv.* 18, 19, 21, &c.

18. See *v.* 2ᵇ, xxvi. 30.

19. *the tent over the* **Dwelling**, *and...the covering*] See xxvi. 7, 14. 'Covering' (strictly, 'covering*s*'), as xxxv. 11.

as **Jehovah** *commanded Moses*] so *vv.* 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32; cf. on xxxix. 1.

20. See xxv. 16, 21ᵇ; xxv. 14, 15; xxv. 21ᵃ. For the 'testimony' (i.e. the tables of stone with the Decalogue), see on xxv. 16.

21. See *v.* 3, xxvi. 33. The 'veil of the screen,' as xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34.

22. See xxvi. 35ᵃ, ᶜ; and cf. *v.* 4ᵃ, above.

23. See xxv. 30; and cf. on *v.* 4ᵃ, above.

24. See *v.* 4ᵇ, xxvi. 35ᵇ. For *over against*, read **opposite to**.

25. See *v.* 4ᵇ, xxv. 37ᵇ. For *lighted*, read **fixed on**.

P_3 [1]lighted the lamps before the LORD; as the LORD com-
manded Moses. And he put the golden altar in the tent of 26
meeting before the veil: and he burnt thereon incense of 27
sweet spices; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he 28
put the screen of the door to the tabernacle. And he set 29
the altar of burnt offering at the door of the tabernacle of
the tent of meeting, and offered upon it the burnt offering
and the meal offering; as the LORD commanded Moses.
And he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the 30
altar, and put water therein, to wash withal. [2]And Moses 31
and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet
thereat; when they went into the tent of meeting, and when 32
they came near unto the altar, they washed: as the LORD
commanded Moses. And he reared up the court round 33
about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the screen of
the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the 34

[1] Or, *set up*

[2] See ch. xxx. 19, 20.

26. See *v.* 5^a, xxx. 6. The 'golden altar,' as xxxix. 38.

27. See xxx. 7. Moses, however, not Aaron, according to the present writer, begins the daily services (cf. *vv.* 23, 25, 29), and maintains them during the first eight days till the priests are installed (cf. xxix. 35, Lev. viii. 33, ix. 1).

28. See *v.* 5^b; and cf. xxvi. 36. For *door*, read **entrance**, as regularly.

29. *at the* **entrance** *of the* **Dwelling**, &c.] See *v.* 6; and on xxxix. 32.

the burnt offering, &c.] See xxix. 38—42.

30. See *v.* 7, xxx. 18^b.

31—32. See xxx. 19—20. Moses is included, because for the time he acted as priest (*v.* 27). The tenses are frequentative, **used to wash** (twice), just as in xxxiv. 34 f., for instance. As 'Aaron and his sons' are not yet installed (see Lev. viii.), there is a prolepsis in the verses, even if (Di.) they are not a mere interpolation, attached unsuitably to *v.* 30, on the basis of xxx. 19 f.

33. See *v.* 8; cf. xxvii. 9^a, 16. ('Set up' here = 'hang up' in *v.* 8. 'Put up' in *v.* 8^a, and 'set up' in *v.* 8^b, would make the renderings in the two verses uniform.)

34—38. The cloud (see on xiii. 21, 22) now takes up its abode on the Tent of Meeting (cf. Nu. ix. 15 P), and the glory (see on xvi. 10) of Jehovah fills the **Dwelling** (*vv.* 34 f.). Ever afterwards, through the period of the Israelites' journeyings, the cloud, while they were stationary, remains upon the Tent of Meeting, with fire shining in it by night,

35 glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was *P_3*
not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud
abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the taber-
36 nacle. And when the cloud was taken up from over the
tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward, throughout
37 all their journeys: but if the cloud were not taken up, then
38 they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. For
the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and
there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house
of Israel, throughout all their journeys.

its being lifted up from it being a signal that they are to break up camp, and move on (*vv.* 36—38).

the glory of **Jehovah** *filled the* **Dwelling**] cf. xxix. 43.

35. *was not able*, &c.] cf. 1 K. viii. 10 f. (at the dedication of Solomon's Temple), Ez. xliii. 4 f.

36—38. The tenses are throughout frequentative (**used to go onward, used not to journey, used to be**), describing what was the case habitually during the journeyings in the wilderness. Cf. Nu. ix. 16—23, x. 34; also x. 11 f. (all P). For the divergent representations of J and E, see on xiii. 21, 22.

36. *went onward*] lit. *plucked up* (tent-pegs), i.e. broke up camp, the usual Heb. expression for *set out.* The verb is cognate with 'journeys,' and is rendered 'journeyed' in *v.* 37. Comp. on xii. 37, and xvii. 1.

38. *and there was fire therein*, &c.] i.e. in the cloud. Cf. Nu. ix. 15, 16 (P).

The book thus closes with the fulfilment of the promise given in xxix. 43, 45 (see on xxix. 43—6). The Dwelling is complete,—and Jehovah, with His protecting and sanctifying Presence, has taken up His abode in it, in the midst of His people. For the noble and impressive symbolism by which this great idea is expressed, see p. 113.

APPENDIX I.

The Passover.

History of the Passover in the OT. Let us first briefly consider what the *laws*, arranged in their probable chronological order, say about the Passover.

E contains no certain reference to the Passover. It contains regulations respecting the Feast of Unleavened Cakes, or *Mazzoth*, and the dedication of the first-born (xxiii. 15, xxii. 29); but it mentions neither the Passover nor the Exodus in connexion with either. On xxiii. 18, see the note *ad loc.*

In J the Passover is referred to twice. xii. 21—23 contains a command addressed to the Israelites in Egypt, in which they are told to take, according to their families, either a sheep or a goat from the flock, and to 'kill the passover': the blood of the victim is to be put into a bason, and applied by a bunch of hyssop to the doorposts and lintel of their houses: none is to go out from the door of his house till the morning: and Jehovah, when He passes through the land to smite the Egyptians, will 'pass over' or 'by' (*pāsaḥ 'al*) the houses marked with the blood. In *vv.* 25—27 the compiler of JE (probably) adds that the Israelites are to continue to observe the institution after they have entered Canaan, and to explain to their children that it is a memorial of this deliverance of the Israelites, at the time when the Egyptians were smitten. In xxxiv. 25 the Passover—as it is to be observed in the future—is called a *ḥag*, or pilgrimage; none of the flesh is to be left unconsumed till the morning. Nothing is said about the place at which the Passover is to be kept.

In Dt. (xvi. 1—8) the Passover (*vv.* 1—3^a, 4^b—7) is treated in close conjunction with *Mazzoth*, and almost regarded as the opening ceremony of the Feast of *Mazzoth* (notice how parts of *vv.* 3, 4^a, 8 are transferred *verbatim* from the directions for *Mazzoth* in Ex. xxiii. 15, xiii. 3, 7, 6). It is to be observed in the month of Ābib, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt by night. The offering is to be 'of the flock and the herd,' i.e. either a sheep, goat, or bullock; the flesh is to be boiled (*v.* 7 RVm.: 'roast' is a harmonistic rendering), and eaten with unleavened cakes, which are to be continued for 7 days (*v.* 3), as a memorial of the mingled hurry and alarm (*ḥippāzōn*) with which their forefathers left Egypt. The rites are to be celebrated not in the individual homes, but at the central sanctuary, in the evening, the time of the departure from Egypt (*vv.* 5—7): in the morning, the worshipper may return to his home. The regulation that none of the flesh is to remain all night until the morning (*v.* 4^b) is repeated from Ex. xxxiv. 25^b.

In Ezekiel's ideal legislation for the restored community (Ez. xl.—xlviii.), the Passover (xlv. 21—24) seems also, as in Dt., to be closely associated with *Mazzoth* (*v.* 21, whether read as in EVV., or with a probable correction, 'ye shall have the feast of the passover; for seven days shall unleavened cakes be eaten'). Nothing however is said about the private, domestic passovers, these being no doubt taken for granted; but on the 14th of the first month the 'prince' is to offer for himself and the people a bullock for a sin-offering: special sacrifices are also prescribed for each day of *Mazzoth*.

The minutest directions respecting the Passover are contained in P. In Ex. xii. 1—13 the following instructions are given for the Passover to be observed in Egypt: on the 10th day of the first month the head of each family is to select from the flock either a sheep or a goat, a year old, and perfect; if his family is too small to eat the whole of the animal at one meal, he may invite his neighbour to join with him: on the 14th day of the month it is to be killed 'between the two evenings'; its blood is then to be applied to the two door-posts, and the lintel, of the house; the animal itself is then, not to be eaten raw or boiled, but roasted; it is to be kept entire—head, legs, and inwards; it is to be eaten with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs; none of the flesh is to be left till the morning, and anything that may so remain is to be burnt with fire; those eating it are to have staves in their hands, and to be girded and shod, as if for a journey. The Passover is sharply distinguished from *Mazzoth*, the regulations for which follow in *vv.* 14—20. In the supplementary law of xii. 43—49 (intended for the future) the unity symbolized by the rite is emphasized in *v.* 46 (the Passover to be eaten in one house; none of the flesh to be carried out of it; no bone in it to be broken); in the rest of the law, emphasis is laid on the exclusively *national* character of the institution: no uncircumcised person is to eat of it: a slave, or foreigner settled in Israel, may eat of it only if he has been circumcised, and so incorporated into the religious communion of Israel. In Nu. ix. 1—14 it is provided that any person prevented by ceremonial uncleanness or absence on a journey from keeping the Passover at the regular time may observe it on the 14th of the following month. No doubt, in most of these regulations, P, as in the case of other ceremonial observances described by him, throws back into the Mosaic age, and represents as instituted by Moses, the ritual with which the Passover had come to be associated in his own day.

The later Jews distinguished between the 'Egyptian passover' and subsequent passovers; and pointed out (*Pesāḥim* ix. 5) as regulations designed only for the former, and not intended to be repeated, the selection of the lamb on the 10th day of the month, the sprinkling of the blood with hyssop on the houses, the 'haste' with which the meal was to be eaten, and abstention from leaven during one day only.

The following instances of the observance of the Passover are mentioned in the OT. In Jos. v. 10 (P) it is stated briefly that the Israelites kept the Passover, after crossing the Jordan, at Gilgal in the steppes of

Jericho. The next Passover mentioned is the one not noticed in 2 Kings, but said in 2 Ch. xxx. (esp. *vv.* 15—17) to have been kept by Hezekiah: the third is the passover of Josiah, referred to briefly in 2 K. xxiii. 21—23, and described more fully in the passage inserted between 2 K. xxiii. 21^a and 22 in 2 Ch. xxxv. 1^b—17 (as in other religious ceremonies described in Chr., the details largely, perhaps entirely, reflect the usage of the Chronicler's own age, *c.* 300 B.C.); the fourth and last is that of B.C. 516, Ezr. vi. 19 f. 2 Ch. xxx., xxxv., Ezr. vi. 19 f. shew that it was the post-exilic usage for the Levites to kill the passover,—whether for such as were not clean (2 Ch. xxx. 17), or for all (2 Ch. xxxv. 6, Ezr. vi. 20),—and for the priests to receive the blood from the Levites, and toss it against the altar (2 Ch. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11)[1]. The passover of Josiah was observed, in accordance with Dt. xvi. 2, 6, 7, at Jerusalem (2 K. xxiii. 23); and the same usage prevailed (cf. 2 Ch. xxx., xxxv., Ezr. vi. 19 f., and the NT.) till the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70. For the rites with which the blood was presented on the altar, and the paschal lamb was eaten, in NT. times, it must suffice to refer to *DB.* iii. 690 f.

The Passover, it is clear, was a sacrifice[2], but a sacrifice ***sui generis.*** In the meal connected with it, it resembles the *peace*-offering, and in the use made of the blood it has points of contact with the *sin*-offering: but it does not fall completely under any of the five great types of sacrifice described in Lev. i.—v. Even when, in consequence of the centralization of worship, the blood, as in the case of other sacrifices, was tossed against the altar by the priests, it still, in virtue of the domestic meal, which formed an essential part of it, retained its exceptional character. The Passover, no doubt, was an archaic institution, which acquired its main features before the Levitical system of sacrifices was developed, and was never assimilated to them.

Origin and significance of the Passover. Of the origin and significance of the Passover, as set forth in the Pent., there can, of course, be no question. It was instituted on the eve of the Exodus; its main purpose was to distinguish the houses of the Israelites from the houses of the Egyptians so that the former might not be entered by the angel of death; and it was to be observed annually ever afterwards as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt. 'But,' as it is pertinently asked (*DB.* iii. 688^a), 'do we thus arrive at the real explanation of its origin and primary significance? Our accounts in their present form' date from a time when the Passover was already an established institution, and they leave many features in it inadequately explained. 'In view of this fact; in view of the many features which seem to point to something behind the interpretation given of them; in view of what we find in the observances of related peoples, so far as these are known to us; and in view of the development in the case of all the other great feasts, and the historical interpretation which came to be given to them—it is probable that we have here another instance in which Israel's religion takes up, transforms, and appropriates an existing institution.'

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[1] In later times (*Pesāḥim* v. 6—8) the custom was for the priests to stand in two rows, extending from the place where the people assembled to slay the lambs to the altar; the blood of each animal was received in a basin, which was passed up one row of priests to be thrown against the altar by the priest standing nearest to it, while the empty basins were passed back down the other row. The fat also was now burnt upon the altar.

[2] This has been disputed only by some Protestant theologians, for the purpose of depriving Romanists of an argument that might be used to support the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass.

1. From the name *pésaḥ* we learn, unfortunately, nothing certain. The word denotes both the animal sacrificed (Ex. xiii. 21 *al.*), and the festival (Dt. xvi. 1 *al.*). *Pissēaḥ* is the Heb. word for 'lame,' and the verb *pāsah* means *to limp*, 1 K. xviii. 21 ('How long *are ye limping* &c.?'), 26 RVm. (of the sacred dance of the priests of Baal about the altar,—so described, either ironically, or because it was actually performed with limping movements): if *pésaḥ* were connected with this verb, it is thus conceivable that it might (1 *a*) have denoted originally a special kind of ritual dance, accompanied by the sacrifice of a lamb, and have been transferred afterwards to the sacrifice itself (cf. *DB.* v. 622ᵃ). Or, as *pāsaḥ* occurs in Ex. xii. 13 (see note), 23, 27, Is. xxxi. 5†, with some such meaning as *pass over* (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 14. 6 explains *pésaḥ* as meaning ὑπερβασία), or *spare*, it is possible either (1 *b*) that *to limp by* or *over* may in some way have acquired this sense; or (2) that there was another verb *pāsaḥ*, meaning to *pass over*: no such verb is indeed known to occur in any other Semitic language, but Thapsacus on the Euphrates has been supposed to have derived its name from it, with the meaning *ford*. This however is purely conjectural; and Xen. *Anab.* i. 4. 18 states that before his time there never was a ford at Thapsacus. Or (3) *pésaḥ* may be connected with the Ass. *pasāḫu*, to *be soothed*, which would give it the meaning *propitiation-sacrifice*. On the etymological meaning of *pésaḥ*, we can thus not get beyond conjectures.

2. In Ex. xii.—xiii., in both J and P, the Passover, *Maẓẓoth*, and the dedication of the first-born, stand (virtually) in juxtaposition as they do similarly in Dt. xv. 19—xvi. 8 (cf. also *Maẓẓoth* and the first-born in Ex. xxxiv. 18—20 J); and all three observances are represented as having been instituted originally in Egypt. We know how the connexion between them is explained in the book of Exodus.

In J it is argued: Israel is Jehovah's first-born; because Pharaoh will not let Israel go, Jehovah slays Pharaoh's first-born (iv. 22 J): the Passover is instituted in order that when Jehovah goes through Egypt to slay the Egyptians, the Israelites may be spared (xii. 23, 27 J: so xii. 13 P); and then (xiii. 15 J, or the compiler of JE), because Jehovah slays the Egyptian first-born,—and (though this is not so said) spares the Israelite first-born,—the Israelite dedicates his first-born to Him (cf. Nu. iii. 13, viii. 17 P): unleavened cakes, lastly, were eaten originally on account of the haste with which the Israelites left Egypt (Ex. xii. 34, 39), and the Feast of *Maẓẓoth* was observed, ever afterwards, in memory of the occasion (Ex. xiii. 8 J; Dt. xvi. 3; Ex. xii. 14 P). An endeavour must, however, be made to describe how the connexion between the three observances is explained by those who cannot accept the book of Exodus as witnessing to more than the beliefs current about these observances some centuries after the time of the Exodus itself, and who see in the passages quoted, not the actual historical explanation of the facts or observances referred to, but the explanations framed long afterwards by religiously-minded Israelites to account for them.

(*a*) *Mazzoth* wears every appearance of having been originally an agricultural festival, marking the beginning of barley-harvest (see on xxiii. 15) : as this was also the time of year at which the Exodus took place, it came to be treated as commemorative of it; and the 'unleavened cakes' eaten at it were interpreted as commemorating the affliction in Egypt, and the deliverance from it (Dt. xvi. 3; Ex. xiii. 8).

(*b*) The *first-born of men* and the *firstlings of animals* were in Israel both sacred to Jehovah. The firstlings of *animals*, it is natural to suppose, were dedicated to Jehovah as a token of thankfulness to Him for fruitful flocks and herds (so Wellh. *Hist.* 88; Bä.; *al.*), perhaps (Di. p. 126) with the collateral idea—such as that implied in the offering of firstfruits—of sanctifying all future births from the same animal, and making it lawful for the owner to enjoy gratefully himself the increase with which Jehovah might thus bless him (cf. Philo, *de sacerd. hon.* p. 233 Mangey, quoted by Kn., who describes the firstlings offered to Jehovah as 'thank-offerings for fruitfulness whether already enjoyed or expected'); or (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 463—5) on account of a special sanctity regarded as attaching to them. A similar custom existed among the heathen Arabs; the first birth (called *fara'*) of a she-camel, goat, or ewe, was sacrificed, frequently while it was so young that 'the flesh was like glue and stuck to the skin' (*ib.* 462; *EB.* iv. 4185).

Why, however, were the first-born of *men* also regarded as sacred? According to Wellh. (*l.c.*), Bä., 'when claim is laid to the human first-born, this is simply a later generalization, which after all resolves itself merely into redemption by an animal, and consequently into an augmentation of the original sacrifice.' But the idea seems to be more primitive than this explanation would permit: more probably it is founded ultimately upon reasons similar to those for which the firstlings of animals were held sacred: as the first gift of God after marriage, or (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 465) because the sacred blood of the kin flows purest and strongest in them (Gen. xlix. 3, Dt. xxi. 17). It is a fact, also, whatever the reason may be—Mr Frazer supposes that it is to ensure the health and prosperity of the family—that in different parts of the world, among uncivilized peoples, it is the custom to sacrifice or eat the first-born (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,[2] ii. 51 f.). That the sacrifice of first-born was no element in the religion of Israel within historical times is indeed certain: no writer asserts this more strongly than Wellh. (*l.c.* 89: so Bä. 89): 'not only are there no traces of so enormous a blood-tax, but, on the contrary, many of a great preference for elder sons'; the instances of child-sacrifice which occur are either altogether abnormal (Jephthah's daughter), or, as in the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh (2 K. xvi. 3; Mic. vi. 7; Is. lvii. 5; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35; Ez. xvi. 20 f., xxiii. 37), due to the importation of Phoenician customs into Judah (cf. on xiii. 12). Still it is difficult to think that the law (Ex. xxii. 29^{b}), 'the first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me,' stands in no relation to this old Semitic practice. The jar-buried infants found recently in Palestine (see the writer's *Schweich Lectures*, p. 68 f.) seem to indicate that the ancient Canaanites were in the habit of sacrificing very young children, if not first-born[1]: and if in *pre*-historic times, before the Hebrews had definitely separated themselves from their Semitic kinsmen, and acquired a distinctive religion of their own, the custom of sacrificing the first-born had prevailed, or if, even without its having been a Hebrew practice, it had prevailed among their Phoenician and Canaanite neighbours, the Israelite law is naturally explained: the first-born are still sacred to the national Deity; they are not however given over to Him as a sacrifice, but *redeemed* at a money-valuation (cf. the note on xiii. 1, 2): the dedication of the first-born to the Deity is thus rendered morally harmless. The actual, historical origin of the dedication of the first-born was, however, forgotten: and so a theological explanation was found in the thought (p. 408) that it was because Jehovah had smitten the first-born of the Egyptians (Ex. xiii. 15).

(*c*) The *Passover*, at least in its primitive form, is in all probability a pre-Mosaic institution. It is not, like the feasts of *Maẓẓoth*, Harvest, and Ingathering, based upon agriculture, but reaches back into the nomadic stage, and is 'the one festival which the Hebrews may have brought with them from their shepherd-life in the wilderness' (Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*^{2} 105). Di. and others have noticed that it is introduced by J in xii. 21 as '*the* Passover,' as though it were an already existing institution. That it was a night-festival, celebrated at the time of the vernal full moon, may point to its having stood primitively in some relation to the moon[2]. Its most central and significant features are however the application of the blood to the houses, and the partaking of the flesh at a common domestic meal; and these features seem to suggest that it was originally a sacrifice of propitiation and purification, offered annually in spring by each household for the purpose of renewing by the common meal the sense of communion with the Deity, and of protecting, by the use made of the sacrificial blood, tents—or, later, houses—with the flocks belonging to them, from pestilence or other calamity during the coming year (so Di. on Ex. xii. 13, after Ew.: cf. *DB.* iii. 689^{a}). Spring festivals were celebrated by other Semitic peoples. 'The first 8 days of the month Rajab, which in the old calendar fell in the spring, was a great sacrificial season among the heathen Arabs. The poets compare the carnage of battle to the multitude of victims lying around the sacred stones. The victim, commonly a sheep, was called *'atīrah* (pl. *'atā'ir*); its blood was poured on the head of the sacred stone, the flesh consumed in a feast. Such sacrifices might be offered at home; but it was probably more common to take them to some more famous holy place' (G. F. Moore, in *EB*. iv. 4186). We have evidence also of other spring sacrifices observed in different parts of Syria (*ib.* : *Rel. Sem.*² 406). For the use of sacrificial blood, as a supposed protection against calamity, there are also analogies among other Semitic peoples. To the present day, in Syria and Arabia, such blood is often sprinkled upon a new house to propitiate the *jinn*, or spirits who are supposed to haunt the locality, and so to ensure the safety of the workmen, or the prosperity of the family who are going to inhabit it cf. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, 1902, pp. 183—91, 225—7; Goodrich-Freer, *In a Syrian Saddle* (1905), p. 250; Sayce, *EHH*. 176 (in Egypt)[1].

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[1] In the absence of inscriptions, attesting the fact distinctly, the inference is, of course, not *certain*; cf. *Schweich Lect.* p. 69 *n.*; Gray, *Expositor*, May 1909, p. 435 f.

[2] According to Eerdmans (*Expositor*, Nov. 1909, pp. 449, 457 f.), to protect the house against the supposed evil influences of the vernal full moon.

It has further been thought by some that in the primitive Passover the animals offered were *firstlings* (Wellh. *Hist.* 87 f.; *Rel. Sem.*² 464 f.). Spring is the time of year at which, in Arabia, cattle yean; in the Pent. itself, laws prescribing the dedication of the firstlings stand in juxtaposition to ordinances relating to the Passover (Ex. xii.—xiii.; Dt. xv. 19—23, xvi. 1—8); and the festival which the Hebrews ask permission to celebrate in the wilderness with their flocks and herds (Ex. v. 3, &c.; x. 9, 25) was, it is supposed, just this spring-festival of firstlings. Hence also the connexion of the Passover with the last plague has been explained: because the Pharaoh prevents the Israelites from offering their firstlings, Jehovah takes from the Egyptians their first-born (Wellh. p. 88). The grounds for this view seem, however, to be insufficient. No doubt, the festival of v. 3, &c. *might* be one at which firstlings were offered, but nothing is said to indicate or suggest this; while, if even the primitive Passover had been essentially a sacrifice of firstlings, it is not apparent why it should have ceased to be this, and why the two should have become so distinct as they clearly are in Heb. law (see also *EB*. iii. 3593 f.; iv. 4187).

Those who follow the preceding considerations regard the Passover accordingly as a *transformed spring-sacrifice of propitiation and communion*, and suppose it to have reached the form in which the OT. presents it somewhat as follows (cf. Benzinger, *EB*. iii. 3596 f.). Among the ancient nomad Hebrews it had been the practice on special occasions, for protection against pestilence and the like, to sprinkle the dwellings with the blood of a sheep. The custom afterwards became fixed: every year in spring such a festival came to be offered by each separate family (similarly Moore, *ibid*. 4188; Kautzsch, *DB*. v. 622ᵃ). A sacred meal was associated with it, symbolizing a renewal of the sense of communion with the Deity. For long after the immigration into Canaan, the Passover continued to be a family festival: it had nothing of the character of a popular pilgrimage, or *ḥag*. In Canaan the immigrating Israelites found among the agricultural Canaanites the custom of consecrating to the *ba'al* of the district every spring at the beginning of harvest, the firstfruits of the corn, and of celebrating a *ḥag* in this connexion. This the Hebrews adopted in the form of *Maẓẓoth*. Both the primitive Passover, and *Maẓẓoth*, were celebrated in the spring; and so, not unnaturally, they were united. The spring was also the time of year at which the Israelites left Egypt; a great plague was in reality the immediate occasion of the Exodus: and thus Passover and *Maẓẓoth* came to be regarded as memorials of the event; and the characteristic features of each were interpreted in a commemorative sense, or, it may be, adapted so as to be the more readily so interpreted. In particular, under the influence of the thought that because Israel was Jehovah's first-born, and Pharaoh would not let him go, therefore Jehovah smote Pharaoh's first-born, but spared those of Israel, the plague which was actually the immediate occasion of the Exodus, and which may really have been particularly fatal to young children, became one which destroyed the Egyptian first-born only; and so the rite of blood-sprinkling which 'in primitive days was intended as a precaution against all plagues becomes in the Exodus narratives a precaution against the particular plague directed against the first-born' (McNeile, p. 67).

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[1] The description given by Nilus, the ascetic of Sinai (p. 186), about 400 A.D., of a tribal sacrifice of the heathen Arabs of his day, reads like a caricature of the Passover ritual; but as it contains some points both of resemblance and of contrast, it may perhaps be briefly noticed here (for the Greek text, see Wellh. *Arab. Heid.*¹ 57, ² 111 f.; or Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lxxix. 613). These Arabs sacrificed a white camel to the morning star: after the chief or priest who presided at the sacrifice had slain the animal, and first tasted the blood, all rushed upon the carcase with knives, hewed it to pieces, and devoured it in wild haste, hide, inwards, bones, and all, that nothing might be left to be seen by the rising sun. Were some of the Paschal regulations directed *against* such savagery as this? Cf. 1 S. xiv. 42.

The significance of an institution does not depend necessarily upon what it was in its origin; it may depend equally upon what it *came to be*, and upon the ideas of which, as years went on, it came gradually to be regarded as the expression. The Passover, whatever its origin, came to be a great national institution of the Israelites: it was a solemn annual memorial of a great national deliverance, and of the birth of national independence: the Paschal lamb was a symbol of *unity*, the unity of the family, of the nation, and of God with His people: while details corresponded to incidents of the Exodus, as told by tradition, the rite, as a whole, reminded men annually of the covenant-relation subsisting between Jehovah and Israel, and kept alive their sense of the continuance of His favour towards them. And so the Paschal lamb becomes a type of Christ, and the Paschal meal of the Christian Eucharist. Christ was the true Paschal Lamb (1 Cor. v. 7), who gathered up into Himself, and realized in a higher, more spiritual sense, the associations of redemption and deliverance—no longer, however, from the bondage of Egypt, but from the thraldom of sin—of which the Passover, for so many centuries, had been the expression. And in the Eucharistic feast, not only is the sense of unity between Christians forcibly expressed (1 Cor. x. 17), but in it the faithful believer partakes of the Body and Blood of the true Paschal Lamb, he enters anew into vital union with God, he appropriates to himself the atoning efficacy of Christ's blood, shed for him and for all mankind, and he nourishes his spiritual life with Divine grace and strength.

APPENDIX II.

The date of the Decalogue.

For those who accept the traditional view of the date and authorship of the Pentateuch, the discussion of this question has no meaning: if Moses wrote the Pentateuch, there can be no question as to either the date of the Decalogue, or the moral and religious teaching of Moses: he was, as Dt. iv. shews, a monotheist, and had a highly spiritual conception of God. But, to those who believe (cf. p. 415 f.) that the Pentateuch, even in J and E, only records what was told by tradition about the Mosaic age in the 9—8 cent. B.C., the question is a real and difficult one, which, if it can be answered definitely at all, can be answered only by taking as a basis the teaching of the earliest written prophecies, and the religious beliefs attested by the earlier historical writings—J, E, Judges and Samuel, when they have been divested of Deuteronomic and other later additions (such as Jud. ii. 11—iii. 6)—for the period at which they were written, and by arguing back from these, and by other indirect methods, to the probable religious beliefs of Moses himself in the 13th cent. B.C.[1]

The Decalogue, *as it stands* (whether in Ex. xx. or Dt. v.), cannot, on account of the strongly Deuteronomic colouring of parts of it, be earlier than the Deuteronomic age: the question is, What may be the age of it in its original form, when all the Commandments were presumably in the same terse form in which the 1st, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th still are, and when the explanatory clauses attached now to the other five had not yet been added to them?

It may be taken for granted that the religion of Moses was—to speak technically—*ethical henotheism*; i.e. (1) it implied the exclusive worship of 'one' God only, though without affirming that this God was necessarily the *only* God (monotheism), and (2) the God thus worshipped had a distinctively *moral* character, and demanded the practice of morality on the part of His worshippers. The recognition of ethical claims is of course constantly met with in heathen religions[2]; but they rarely, if ever, hold in them the paramount place which they held, as we know from the prophets, in the later religion of Israel, and which, it is scarcely possible to doubt, they held in it from the beginning. The principal reason for this belief is one that has been urged with great force, after Kamphausen, by Mr Montefiore. If the religion of Moses had not differed, in some *distinctive* feature, from the ordinary religions of antiquity, it is impossible to understand why, when the Israelites entered Canaan, and intermingled, as in many cases they did intermingle, with the native Canaanites, it was not merged and absorbed in their religion. Mr Montefiore writes:—

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[1] See further on the religion of Israel in the Mosaic Age, Wade, *OT. Hist.* ch. v. (pp. 134—164).

[2] Comp. especially the 'negative confession' in ch. 125 of the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead,' in which the soul, before it can enter the judgement-hall of Osiris, has to declare that it has never committed any one of more than forty sins,—several parallel to those forbidden in the 3rd, and 6th to 10th Commandments. See Gressmann, *Altorient. Texte* (1909), i. 186—9; Budge, *The Book of the Dead*^{2} (1909), I. clxv—viii, II. 365—371.

'That successful resistance to Canaanite polytheism, on which we laid so much stress when ascribing the origin of monolatry [the worship of one God] to the Mosaic age, would surely not have been possible unless the Yahweh whom Moses taught differed from the Canaanite deities, not only in his numerical uniqueness, but in his higher and more consistent ethical character. The violent elements[1] in Yahweh's character he shared with Molech and Baal, and many another divinity of the neighbouring Semitic tribes; but in no case did this corresponding violence produce a corresponding monolatry. We are therefore entitled to doubt whether the exclusive worship of the national God would ever have been ordained, had there not lain in the original conception of Yahweh the "promise and potency" of the monotheism of Amos and Isaiah. To quote the earlier words of Prof. Kuenen[2], "The great merit of Moses lies in the fact of his connexion of the religious idea with the moral life." The exclusive worship of Yahweh on the one hand, God's moral character and the moral duty of man upon the other hand, must have acted reciprocally in the production of the Mosaic teaching as a whole....One of the most sober and trustworthy of Old Testament critics, Prof. Kamphausen, maintains the same argument. "I recognize," he says, "in the fact that the small number of the Israelites was not absorbed by the Canaanites, who were by far their superiors in all matters of external culture, a convincing proof of the ethical power of the Yahwistic religion[3]."'

Naturally, the ethical character of Israel's religion in Moses' time would not be as developed and spiritualized as it became afterwards in the hands of the prophets and Psalmists. But, as Mr Montefiore remarks, 'at the sanctuary of Yahweh, where the God was invisibly present among His people, were the fountain of justice and the judgement-seat[1].' Moses was the supreme judge, who gave *tôrāh*, and administered justice, in Yahweh's name; and the same duties were carried on by the priests, his successors[2]. 'We may thus reasonably infer that Moses taught his contemporaries, not theoretically but practically, as occasion demanded, and as part and parcel of Yahweh's religion, the fundamental elements of social morality. He taught them that Yahweh, if a stern and often a wrathful Deity, was also a God of justice and purity. Linking the moral life to the religious idea, he may have taught them, too, that murder and theft, adultery and false witness, were abhorred and forbidden by their God[3].'

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[1] His wrath (even when not provoked by sin), His association with fire, destruction, war, &c.

[2] *Religion of Israel* (1870), i. 282. Kuenen's opinion on this point afterwards changed.

[3] *Hibbert Lectures* for 1892 (on the origin and growth of Israel's religion), p. 46 f. See also in greater detail the excellent article, with criticisms of other theories, in the *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1891, p. 251 ff. The *ethical* character of the religion of Yahweh in the time of Moses is also recognized by Kautzsch (*DB.* v. 632^a), Marti, in an art. on 'Jahwe und seine Auffassung in der ältesten Zeitalter' in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1908, p. 333 (Yahweh was from the beginning a spiritual deity, who made social and ethical demands of His worshippers), and other critics: comp. Bäntsch, p. LIII; Burney, *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* 1908, p. 327 ff.; J. P. Peters, 'The Religion of Moses,' in the *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 1901, p. 101 ff.

If these conclusions are sound, there will be no substantial difficulty in referring most of the Commandments to the Mosaic age. But difficulties have been felt with regard to some of them. It is indeed doubtful whether the observances implied in the fourth Commandment, and the use of the term 'house,' rather than 'tent,' in the tenth, are necessarily incompatible with a nomad life, and imply that the Israelites had entered upon the settled agricultural life of Canaan[4]: for we do not know how much cessation of work was at this early period prescribed for the sabbath; or whether at this time *bayith* may not have been a general term meaning 'abode,' and have included (as in Arabic) tents as well as houses. A more serious difficulty is presented by the prohibition of images. If these were prohibited by Moses, it is remarkable, it is said, that till the 8th cent. B.C., no reprobation of them is expressed: and that till that date images of Yahweh were used, to all appearance, without offence[5]. The *pesīlīm* of Gilgal (Jud. iii. 19; cf. RVm.) were probably (Moore) 'rude stone images.' Micah makes an image out of silver dedicated to Yahweh by his mother; and the Danites afterwards set it up at Dan, where it was served by a line of priests whose ancestry was traced to Moses (Jud. xviii. 30). The original narrative is not intended to convey any censure of Micah's action, but simply to give an account of the origin of the cult of the Yahweh-image at Dan. Whether, as is often thought, the 'ephod,' mentioned in Judges, Sam. and Hos. iii. 4, was an image, is uncertain (see p. 312 f.); but it reads very much as if an image were meant by it in Jud. viii. 27. David was a devoted worshipper of Yahweh; yet he possessed one of the oracular images called 'teraphim' (1 S. xix. 13, 16: cf. Jud. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20: Kautzsch, *DB*. v. 642^{b}): in Hos. iii. 4 ephod and teraphim appear as, at least in popular estimation, essential elements of the cultus. Jeroboam, also, would certainly not have set up the golden bulls, symbolizing Jehovah, at Bethel and Dan, if they had not been in harmony with practices and beliefs very widely accepted among the people. On the whole, it is no doubt true that, especially in the N. kingdom, images of Yahweh were in very common use. Whether, however, they were in *universal* use, does not seem to be so clear. If this had been the case, would not allusions to them have been more frequent and explicit in the earlier historical books than they are? Would not J and E, for instance, in alluding to rites of worship, have sometimes mentioned them? In fact, however, they never attribute the use of images to the patriarchs[1]: E mentions the Golden calf (Ex. xxxii.) with evident disapproval; and both J and E contain a prohibition of metal images (xx. 23, xxxiv. 17). No image is ever mentioned in connexion with the Ark. The central sanctuaries possessed no image in the times of Eli, David, and Solomon. The non-observance of a religious law is no proof of its non-existence, unless it is fairly clear that the persons not observing it are likely to have observed it, if they had known of it, which, in the instances here in question, is scarcely the case. David's 'teraphim'—probably household-gods—are hardly inconsistent with either his knowledge or his practice of a higher ideal[2]. Images may have been in use at the local sanctuaries, and among the common people; but if they were not in use at the central sanctuaries, this would seem to shew that, though the popular mind saw nothing in their use inconsistent with its conception of Yahweh, the more spiritually-minded Israelites did not countenance them. And if this be true, the prohibition may have been Mosaic, though it was not acted upon by the bulk of the people. The immediate occasion prompting the prohibition may have been contact with Egyptian idolatry[3].

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 48 f. See the notes on Ex. xviii. 15, 16, xxii. 8.

[2] Cf. above, p. 161 f.

[3] *Hibbert Lectures,* p. 50.

[4] Montefiore, *op. cit.* p. 554, citing Addis, *Documents of the Hex.* i. 139 f.; cf. Smend, *A T. Rel.-gesch.* 139 f. (^{2} 160 f.).

[5] Comp. *DB*. v. 634^{b}, 641—3, McNeile, pp. lix—lxi.

To explain this prevalence of images of Yahweh, especially in the N. kingdom, consistently with the Mosaic origin of the 2nd Commandment, the following theory has been offered by Dr Burney[4]. It has been increasingly felt by recent scholars[5], partly on account of the mention by Seti I (B.C. 1326—1300)[6] of *Asaru*, i.e. apparently Asher, in the N. of Canaan, and the terms in which Merenptah speaks (p. xl) of Israel as already settled in Canaan, partly on other considerations, that, in spite of the Biblical representation, *all* the Israelite tribes were not in Egypt at the time of the Exodus, but that some had entered Canaan, and made it their home, considerably earlier. Dr Burney accordingly distinguishes (1) the Northern tribes, which entered Canaan directly from the East, as part of an old Aramaean immigration, and made it their home without a break of any importance; (2) Judah and

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[1] *Laban* owned teraphim, which were stolen by Rachel (Gen. xxxi. 19, 30 E); but Jacob (xxxv. 2, 4 E) bids his people put away the 'foreign gods' in their midst.

[2] Teraphim are mentioned with disapproval in 1 S. xv. 23; but the date of the chapter is uncertain.

[3] There are parallels, more or less close, to all the commandments, except the 5th, in Amos and Hosea; but the fact is not of a nature to afford proof that the Decalogue is the *source* from which the parallels are derived, or the authority by which the language of the prophets was suggested. Comp. (1) Hos. xiii. 4; (2) iv. 17, viii. 4—6, xiii. 2; (3) iv. 2, x. 4; (4) cf. ii. 11, Am. viii. 5^a; (6, 7, 8) Hos. iv. 2; (9) cf. Am. v. 12^b; (10) cf. Am. v. 11, viii. 5^b, 6, Mic. ii. 2.

[4] *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Apr. 1908, pp. 333—340, 345.

[5] Comp. Kittel, *Scientific Study of the O T.* (1910), p. 167 f.

[6] W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa nach Altäg. Denkmälern*, 236 f.

Simeon, which at the close of their stay at Kadesh, broke off from the other Israelites with whom they had journeyed from Egypt, amalgamated with the Kenites and other North Arabian tribes, and then moved northwards from Kadesh, conquering and settling in the territory known afterwards as ‘Judah’; and (3) Ephraim, half of Manasseh, and Benjamin, which also left Egypt with Moses, but which entered Canaan from the East under Joshua, and settled in the central parts of Palestine. All these tribes alike were worshippers of ‘Yahweh’: but the Northern tribes, not having come under Moses’ influence, would not attribute to Him the same ethical and spiritual character, and would use images—probably, as a rule, images of a young bull (cf. p. 348)—to represent Him. When the other tribes, upon entering Canaan, found their kinsmen there, it would not be more than natural if at least their less spiritual members assimilated their own worship to theirs, and adopted images likewise. Canaanite Yahwism, which did not repudiate images, would thus largely overshadow and supersede the more spiritual Mosaic Yahwism.

The Nash Papyrus.—This is a papyrus acquired in Egypt in 1902 by Mr W. L. Nash. It is in four pieces, perfect at the top, but mutilated at the foot and on both edges. It contains 24 lines of Hebrew, written in the square characters, and dating probably from the 2nd cent. A.D. It is thus by far the oldest Heb. MS. at present known. The papyrus begins with the Decalogue; and this is followed by the *Sh^{e}ma‘* (Dt. vi. 4 f.), preceded by the introductory words expressed in the LXX., but not found in the Mass. text. The Decalogue and the *Sh^{e}ma‘* were presumably transcribed together on the papyrus for some special purpose. The text agrees in the main with that of Ex. xx., but it sometimes follows that of Dt. v. In *v.* 10 it has ביום for יום (cf. xvi. 26 *al.*), with a few Heb. MSS. and LXX. (Ex. Dt.): it adds ‘in it’ (p. 107), and also (with Dt., and LXX. in Ex.) ‘nor thine ox, nor thine ass,’ and ‘any of’; in *v.* 11^b it has ‘seventh day’ for ‘sabbath day,’ as LXX. (cf. Gen. ii. 3); in *v.* 12 it adds, with Dt., and LXX. (Ex.), ‘that it may go well with thee, and,’ but places the clause, with LXX. (Ex. Dt.), *before* ‘that thy days may be long’; *vv.* 13, 14 are transposed (p. 200); in *v.* 16 it has ‘vain’ for ‘false,’ as Dt.; in *v.* 17 ‘wife’ precedes ‘house,’ as in Dt., and LXX. in Ex., and ‘his field’ is added after ‘house,’ as in Dt., and LXX. Sam. in Ex. לוא is always written *plene*; so also are the verbs תעבוד and תחמוד. The forms [שמ]ה for שמו in *v.* 7, and בה for בו in *v.* 10 (G.-K. § 91^e), and ויקדשיו for ויקדשהו (Cook, p. 41), are also noticeable. The text is thus in the main that of Ex. (it has Ex. xx. 11, and not Dt. v. 12^b, 14 *end*, 15), but it agrees with LXX. (Ex.) in *v.* 13 f., and in including some of the variants of Dt. See fully S. A. Cook, ‘A pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus’ in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1903, p. 34 ff.

APPENDIX III.

The Code of Ḥammurabi.

Ḥammurabi,—probably the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1,—was the sixth king of the first known dynasty of Babylon; and he reigned for 43 years—as nearly as can at present be determined, 2130—2088 B.C. An almost contemporary chronicle, and numerous letters of Ḥammurabi himself, give us abundant particulars of his reign. Ḥammurabi was a great and successful ruler: he freed Babylonia from the dominion of its foes, especially the Elamites; and by organizing and consolidating the administration of his country, he laid the foundation of its future greatness. His Code of Laws was discovered in Dec. 1901 and Jan. 1902 by M. de Morgan at Susa, inscribed on three fragments of a block of black diorite, which when fitted together formed a stelè 7 ft. 4 in. high and from 6 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 5 in. round. At the upper end of the front side is a sculptured bas-relief, representing Ḥammurabi standing in front of the seated sun-god Shamash, and receiving his laws from him. The inscription on the rest of the stelè consists of 44 columns of writing, besides five which have been erased. The number of separate laws preserved is 248.

The code is prefaced by a grandiloquent prologue, in which Ḥammurabi first declares how Anu, Bel, and Marduk, the supreme gods of Babylon, had called him 'to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, and to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak'; and then, after enumerating a long list of titles describing what he had done for his country, he proceeds to explain how he had given effect to this command—'I established law and justice in the land, and promoted the welfare of the people.'

In order to enable the reader to understand properly the relation in which the Code stands to Hebrew law, it will be necessary to give an outline of the subjects treated in it[1].

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[1] The most detailed account of the Code in English, including many notices of parallels with the Heb. and other laws, is that of S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Ḥammurabi* (1903). Translations of the entire Code will be found in Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (1903), or (the transl. revised, esp. in §§ 1—4, and with a full and excellent description of the leading characteristics of the Code, and comparison with Heb. law) in p. 599 ff. of his art. in *BD.* v. (1904), 584—612, or in Winckler, *Die Gesetze Ḥammurabis in Umschrift und Übersetzung* (1904), with an appendix containing the ancient Sumerian family-laws. For other bibliographical references, see Johns' art., and Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, 1907 (vol. III. of the 'Student's Old Test.'), p. 280. See also Dr Lock's paper on 'Moses and Ḥammurabi' in *The Bible and Christian Life*, p. 1 ff. There is also a translation of the Code by Ungnad in Gressmann's *Altorient. Texte* (1909), i. 140 ff.

§§ 1—5. Penalties for false accusation, false witness, and wrong judgement.

6—25. Laws relating to *property*.

6—14. Theft of property.

15—20. Harbouring a fugitive slave.

21—25. Housebreaking, highway robbery, robbery at a fire.

26—41. Duties and privileges of royal servants, governors, and judges.

42—65. Laws relating to the tenure, rent, and cultivation of *land*. Rights and liabilities of tenants and landlords, in respect of fields (42—52), canals (53—56), trespass by sheep (57—58), orchards (59), and gardens (60—65).

66—99. Erased.

100—126. Laws relating to *trade* and *commerce*.

100—107. Relations between a merchant and his agent.

108—111. Wine merchants (price of wine: no disorder to take place in a tavern).

112. Liabilities for loss in the transport of goods.

113—119. Debt and distraint.

120—126. Deposits (things entrusted to the charge of another).

127—193. *Family* law. Betrothal; price of wife, and marriage-portion. Rights of wife and children, of concubines and their children. Wife not to be seized for husband's debt, nor husband for wife's. Divorce. Incest and adultery. Inheritance: rights of sons of both wife and concubines. Cases of marriage between slave and free woman. Rights of votaries to a share in their fathers' property (178—182). Adoption (185—191); punishment of ungrateful adopted son (192 f.).

194—233. *Criminal* law. Penalties for different cases of assault (195—214); fees for different operations by a surgeon, or veterinary surgeon, and penalties for unskilful treatment (215—225); penalties for branding a slave without proper authority (226 f.); fee of builder, and penalties for defective work in building (228—233).

234—240. *Navigation*. Wages to be paid to boatmen; and fines for grounding boat through carelessness.

241—277. *Hire* and *wages*. Rate of payment for hire of ox, sheep, harvester, herdsman, and various agricultural instruments; compensation for loss or damage; liabilities of shepherd for sheep under his charge; rate of payment for brickmaker, tailor, mason, carpenter, &c. (274), and for hire of boats (275—277).

278—282. *Slavery*. Claims and complaints made after purchase.

The code is followed by the words, 'The judgements of righteousness, which Ḥammurabi, the mighty king, confirmed, and caused the land to take a sure guidance and a gracious rule'; and by an Epilogue, in which Ḥammurabi repeats the intention which he had in framing the code, 'that the strong should not oppress the weak, and to give justice to the orphan and the widow, for the pronouncing of judgements in the land, and for the righting of wrong.' And he ends by promising blessings from Shamash on all future kings who maintain his laws, and uttering terrible curses against any who alters or rescinds them.

It will be seen at once that the code contains no ceremonial laws, but is confined entirely to *civil* and *criminal* law; and also that it deals with a very much wider range of subjects than the 'Book of the Covenant.' Babylonian civilization in Ḥammurabi's age was already highly developed—much more so than that of Israel when the 'Book of the Covenant' was promulgated: there was great commercial activity: property—slaves, lands, houses—was constantly changing hands; cases of marriage, divorce, adoption, and inheritance had to be provided for; the necessity thus arose for regulating all such transactions by law; and the abundant contract-tablets, which we possess, dating even from a period anterior to Ḥammurabi, testify to the scrupulous precision with which such transactions were always carried through[1]. The code of Ḥammurabi however regulates not only all these things, but also prescribes the fees or wages to be paid for different services rendered. It must not however be supposed that Ḥammurabi *originated* the entire code himself. Some of the provisions may indeed have been formulated by him for the first time,—in particular, perhaps, those fixing the prices for labour and hire; but as a whole what Ḥammurabi did was to formulate, arrange, and authoritatively sanction laws which had been already fixed by the decisions of judges before him, and were doubtless in many cases already operative in Babylonia. The code in this respect resembles the Indian *Laws of Manu*[2], the Greek *Gortynian* code[3], and the Roman XII Tables.

The following are the principal parallels with the Book of the Covenant (the citations are not, as a rule, made *verbatim*):—

CODE OF ḤAMMURABI.	EXODUS.
3, 4. False witness to be punished, in stated cases, by the *lex talionis* (cf. Dt. xix. 19).	xxiii. 1. Malicious witness prohibited.
8. Any one stealing ox, sheep, ass, pig, or ship from a *temple* or *palace*, to pay 30-fold; if he be a poor man[4], 10-fold; if he have nothing, to be put to death.	xxii. 1, 3^b, 4. For theft of ox, if it be killed or sold, to pay 5-fold, of sheep, 4-fold: if found in thief's hand, to pay 2-fold; if thief have nothing, he is to be sold.
9—10. If something lost is found in another man's possession, witnesses to be called on both sides, to declare solemnly 'before God' what they know; whichever is proved not to be the owner, to be put to death.	xxii. 9. If something lost is found in another man's possession, the cause of both to come before God, and whichever is condemned, to pay 2-fold to the other.

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[1] See descriptions of Babylonian life and civilization (written before the discovery of Ḥammurabi's code) in Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* pp. 703—784; or Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians. Life and Customs*, 1900.

[2] In the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv.

[3] See Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities* (1898), pp. 439 f., 560—74.

[4] Or a 'commoner,' one of the *plebs*, perhaps of the conquered race, or a manumitted slave. So throughout. See Johns, *DB*. v. 589^a; Winckler, p. 11 *n.*; Cook, pp. 120 *n.*, 276 f.).

11. If claimant cannot bring witnesses, seeing he has slandered and stirred up strife, to be put to death.	
14. 'If a man has stolen the son of a freeman, he shall be put to death.'	xxi. 16. Any one stealing a man to be put to death.
21. A housebreaker to be killed (judicially) before the breach, and buried in it[1].	xxii. 2—3^a. A housebreaker may be killed in the night with impunity.
57. If a shepherd lets his sheep feed on a field without the owner's consent, the owner to have the crops, and the shepherd to pay him besides 20 *gur* of corn per *gan* of land.	xxii. 5. If a man lets his beast feed (but see the note *ad loc.*) in another man's field or vineyard, the damage to be made good out of the best of his own.
117. If a man gives his wife, son, or daughter as a slave to work off a debt, they may do this for three years, but shall be free in the fourth.	xxi. 2. If a man buys a *male* slave, he is to be free after six years' service. (A *female* slave under similar circumstances does not go free in Ex. xxi. 7 [where she is represented as bought to be a concubine]; but she does so in Dt. xv. 17.)
118 f. An ordinary male or female slave given in the same way may, however, be sold by his or her new owner, unless the female slave has been a concubine who has borne her master children, in which case she must be ransomed by him.	
125. If a man puts anything on deposit, and it be lost through burglary or pillage, the owner of the house must find the thief, and make the loss good to the owner.	xxii. 7 f. If money or property be deposited with a man, and it be stolen: if the thief be found, the owner of the house must pay 2-fold; if he be not found, he must swear before God that he has not appropriated it himself.
126. If a man falsely alleges that he has lost something (deposited with another? or more generally, found in possession of another?), he is to estimate his loss before God, and to pay double what he falsely claims.	xxii. 9. If any dispute arises about an ox, ass, &c., or anything alleged to be lost (after having been deposited with another? or found under any circumstances in another's possession?), the matter is to be brought before God, and the party found guilty is to pay 2-fold.
171. A slave concubine, if her master dies without having for-	xxi. 11. A slave concubine to become free, if her master do not

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[1] Cf. Cook, p. 213.

mally recognized her children, to have no share in his property, but to receive her freedom with her children.	give her her food, raiment, and conjugal rights.
195. ‘If a man has struck his father, his hands one shall cut off.’	xxi. 15. Anyone smiting father or mother to be put to death (in xxi. 17 the same penalty for *cursing* a parent).
196. ‘If a man has caused the loss of a freeman’s eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost.’ Similarly (197, 200) for a limb or tooth. But for the eye or limb of a poor man, the penalty is only a mna of silver (198), and (201) for the tooth of a poor man ⅓ mna (20 shekels).	xxi. 23—25. In case of injury, life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c., to be exacted.
199. If a man puts out the eye, or shatters the limb, of a freeman’s slave, he is to pay half the price of the slave.	xxi. 26 f. If a man knocks out the eye or the tooth of *his own* slave, he is to give him his freedom.
206. If a man wounds another accidentally in a quarrel, he is to swear to this, and pay the doctor.	xxi. 18 f. If a man injures another accidentally in a quarrel with a stone or his fist, and obliges him to take to his bed, he is to pay for the loss of his time, and for his doctor.
207 f. If he causes the other man’s death, he is to pay, if the slain man be a freeman, ½ mna of silver, and if a poor man, ⅓ mna of silver.	[If he causes his death, he would presumably enjoy the right of asylum xxi. 12—14.]
209—214. If a man strikes a freeman’s daughter (it is implied, intentionally), and causes a miscarriage, he is to pay 10 shekels of silver: (210) if she dies, his *own* daughter is to be put to death. If the woman is the daughter of a poor man the penalty is 5 shekels, or, if she dies, ½ mna; if she is a freeman’s slave, 2 shekels, or, if she dies, ⅓ mna.	xxi. 22. If when two men are quarrelling one of them (accidentally) strikes a woman, and causes a miscarriage, he is to be fined as the husband may fix. If *vv.* 23—25 are in place here (see the note), it is implied that if she dies, he is to die also.
241. An ox not to be seized as a pledge, under penalty of ⅓ mna of silver. Cf. Job xxiv. 2.	xxii. 26. A garment taken in pledge to be returned before nightfall.
245—6. If a man *hires* an ox, and by neglect or blows kills or injures it, he must make it good to its owner; (247—8) if, however, he only puts out its eye, or causes some smaller injury, he need pay only ½ or ¼ of its value. (249)	xxii. 14 f. If a man *borrows* an animal from his neighbour, and it is hurt or die, the owner not being with it, it is to be made good. But if the owner is with it at the time, the borrower is not liable.

If 'God has struck' the animal, 'and it dies' (i.e. if the injury be accidental), the hirer 'shall swear before God and be free.'	
250. If a savage bull gores a man, and kills him, no claim can be made.	xxi. 28. If an ox gore a man or woman that they die, the ox to be stoned, and its flesh not eaten, but the owner not to be liable.
251. If an ox has pushed a man, and so shewn its vice, and its owner has not blunted its horns or shut it up, then, if it gores a freeman to death, he is to pay ½ mna of silver.	xxi. 29—31. If an ox be known to butt, and its owner have not kept it in, and it kills a man or a woman, the ox to be stoned, and its owner put to death (though a ransom for his life may be accepted).
252. If it kills a freeman's slave, its owner to pay ⅓ mna of silver (= 20 shekels).	xxi. 32. If it gores a male or female slave, the ox to be stoned, and 30 shekels of silver to be paid to their master.
266. If in a sheepfold a stroke of God has taken place, or a lion has killed, the shepherd is to clear himself before God, and the owner must bear the loss. Cf. 244. If a man *hires* an ox or an ass, and a lion kills it, the owner to bear the loss.	xxii. 10 f. If an ox, ass, or sheep be given to a man (but not specifically a shepherd) to keep (as a deposit), and it die or be hurt or driven away, no one seeing it, the man to swear before God that he is guiltless, and not to be liable for the loss. And (*v.* 13) if it be killed by a wild beast, he is not liable, if he can produce the torn carcase.
267. But if a sheep has been lost through the shepherd's carelessness, he must make the loss good.	xxii. 12. But if the animal be stolen, it must be made good.

There are also some parallels with the laws in Deuteronomy, and a few with parts of the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.); but none with any of the laws of P[1].

In view of Ḥammurabi's pronounced polytheism, as attested by the Prologue, the frequent mention in the Code of an oath, or solemn declaration, to be made 'before God' is noticeable (§§ 9, 23, 106, 107, 120, 126, 240, 249, 266, 281 : cf. Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 11); also (§§ 20, 103, 131, 249) to 'swear by God'; and (249) 'if God have struck it (an hired ox), and it die,' and (266) a 'stroke of God' (in a sheepfold),—both of which we should call an accident (cf. Ex. xxi. 13).

In comparing the two Codes, it is difficult, where the cases are not the same, to say always which implies the severer punishment. Ḥammurabi imposes however the severer penalty in §§ 8, 9—10, 21, and Ex. in

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[1] Only § 132 agrees in principle (decision by ordeal), but not in detail, or in the case to which the principle is applied, with Nu. v. 16—28.

§§ 125, 195, 206 (slightly), 245 f., 250—252: the penalties are the same in §§ 14, 126, 196, 2[illegible][1] Hammurabi several times imposes a lower penalty, when the injured person is a 'poor' man, and a lower one still when he is a slave: Ex. recognizes a distinction between freeman and slave, but none between a rich and poor freeman. On the whole however Hammurabi's punishments are more severe than those in Ex., or indeed in Heb. law generally (see *DB.* v. 595 f.). Ethical and religious teaching or motives are absent from Hammurabi's Code. This however must not be regarded as a defect in the Code, or as shewing that Hammurabi had no regard for such considerations: the Code is a body of laws intended (like the Laws of England) for actual use in legal matters, and in such a Code ethical or religious exhortations have no place. In the Prologue and Epilogue Hammurabi gives sufficient evidence of his religious feeling, and of the desire which he had to enforce justice, and to defend the 'widow and the orphan,' and others who were oppressed. And it is evident that the object of the Code throughout is to adjust conflicting interests, to repress crime, and promote well-doing.

Are, now, any of the laws of the Book of the Covenant *derived* from Hammurabi's Code? In considering this question there are two or three preliminary cautions to be remembered. In the first place all nations, when they arrive at a certain stage of civilization, devise laws to regulate society, and to protect individuals from violence or injury: to do this is an instinct of human nature. And the cases that have to be legislated for are likely to be the same in societies living under similar conditions: the same crimes, murder, assault, theft, false witness, &c., are likely to occur; and similar penalties, death, mutilation, stripes, fines, slavery, and especially the punishment of an injury by a similar one (the *lex talionis*), are likely to be inflicted. Resemblances have thus been pointed out between the Book of the Covenant, and the laws of Manu, of Solon, and of the Twelve Tables, &c. And when the two nations whose laws are compared are both Semitic, there are likely to be greater resemblances between them than when one is Aryan, for instance.

Nevertheless, even after making allowance for these considerations, the resemblances between the two Codes seem to be too numerous to have arisen quite independently. How then are we to account for them?

We certainly cannot think that *direct* borrowing is probable: the author of the Hebrew laws certainly never framed them with a copy of Hammurabi's Code before him. The *differences* between the two Codes are far too great to admit of this supposition. There is a great deal in Hammurabi's Code to which there is no parallel in the Book of the Covenant at all. And where there are parallels, though the cases are often the same, and they are dealt with similarly, there are constantly such differences in *details* that the one is not likely to have been taken directly from the other. The entire absence from the Hebrew Code of technical Babylonian terminology or distinctively Babylonian expressions is another fact pointing to the same conclusion.

Putting aside, then, the hypothesis of *direct* borrowing, the resemblances between the two Codes may still be accounted for in more ways than one. One theory is that the parallels and similarities are due to the common old-Semitic foundation upon which the civilization of both Babylonia and Israel was ultimately based: 'where the same case is treated similarly in the two Codes, the common source is the old customary Semitic law reaching back to long before the time of Ḥammurabi, which, current in both nations, was codified independently in Babylon and Israel.' There are no sufficient reasons for supposing that Babylonia alone developed Semitic civilization, and that the Arabs, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Canaanites, and Hebrews all merely borrowed from it: the civilization of all these peoples was developed from a common origin; only that of Babylonia, mainly through the intense commercial activity of the Babylonians, was developed much more highly than that of other Semitic peoples, and was also much in advance of other Semitic peoples in the rate of its development (so Cook, p. 284, Grimme, *ibid.* p. 287, Kohler and Peiser).

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[1] See more detailed comparisons in Cook, p. 268 ff. Limits of space forbid more being said here.

But dependence on Ḥammurabi's Code, of an *indirect* kind, is also conceivable. The ancestors of the Israelites, whether they came from Ur (P), or, as the more constant and older tradition (J) told, from Ḥaran, on 'the other side of the river' (the Euphrates), will have lived under Ḥammurabi's Code; and they may have carried some knowledge of its provisions with them when they migrated from Babylonia, which may have been afterwards utilized when the Book of the Covenant was drawn up,—whether by Moses, or at a later time. Or since, as we now know from the Tel el-Amarna correspondence (1400 B.C.), Babylonian influence had been strong in Canaan for long before the Israelite conquest, some of Ḥammurabi's laws may have been in operation there; and as the Hebrews, after they settled in Canaan, seem certainly to have adopted some of their civilization from the Canaanites, they may have borrowed from them some of the laws of Ḥammurabi. The Book of the Covenant exhibits the customary law of the early monarchy; but this description of it does not settle the date at which its provisions were first laid down in Israel. Some may have been laid down by Moses; others may have been added later. Whoever laid them down, may have adopted some of his provisions directly from the old customary Semitic law, as it was current among the Hebrews at the time; in other cases he may have been guided in framing his provisions by his knowledge of the great system of Babylonian law.

It must be remembered that much in the Book of the Covenant stands in no relation to Ḥammurabi's Code: this therefore must be of native origin,—unless indeed, as is hardly probable, it is adopted from some other, unknown source. It is quite conceivable that, while the bulk of Israel's laws was of native growth, a few might be founded upon outside models. Till we have further positive facts to go upon,—the discovery, for instance, in Palestine of a table of Hebrew or Canaanite laws,—we are not in a position to explain more definitely the origin of the resemblances between the two Codes: different possibilities are open, and we can hardly decide between them except by conjecture. Nor is it clear that all are to be explained in the same way.

APPENDIX IV.

The Historical character of the Tent of Meeting, as described by P.

This, which was formerly taken for granted, has, as a consequence of more exact and comprehensive study, become difficult to maintain. When the condition and numbers of the Israelites immediately after their departure from Egypt, the divergent representations contained in the Pentateuch itself, and the adverse testimony of the subsequent history, are all carefully considered, they are found viz. to form a cumulative argument, pointing with great cogency to the conclusion that the Tabernacle, *as described by P*, represents, not a historical structure, which once actually existed, but an *ideal*,—an ideal, based indeed upon a historical reality, but far transcending it, and designed as the embodiment of certain spiritual ideas, which, it was considered, could be adequately expressed only in a *concrete material* form. The following are the principal grounds upon which this conclusion rests.

1. The descriptions, when examined carefully, are found to be marked by omissions and obscurities, indicating that they are not the work of an eye-witness, or the working directions upon which a fabric, such as is described, could be actually constructed. Thus nothing is said of the shape of the cherubim, the nature and position of the ledge on the bronze altar, the position of the 'border' round the Table of Presence-bread, the thickness of the solid gold 'mercy-seat,' and, especially, of the thickness of the 'boards' or 'frames,' or of the manner in which the hollow wooden case, plated with bronze, which formed the altar of burnt-offering, was to be used. It is remarkable also that for the transport of the Tabernacle and the court, consisting of 48 'boards' or 'frames,' each 15 ft. high, 2¾ ft. broad (their thickness is not stated), with 13 'bars' (ch. xxvi. 26—28), and 100 bases of solid silver—according to xxxviii. 27 weighing 96 lbs. each, and altogether therefore more than 4 tons,—the 9 pillars of acacia wood, each 15 ft. high, for the veil and screen, the 300 pillars for the court, each 7½ ft. high (their other dimensions are not given), with their 300 bronze bases, and the cords and bronze pegs for keeping both the Tent and court in position (xxxviii. 31), the Merarites have only *four* wagons assigned to them (Nu. vii. 8, cf. iii. 36 f.),—evidently an altogether insufficient number.

2. It is perfectly true that the Egyptians, like the Babylonians, had long before the time of the Exodus acquired high proficiency in many of the useful and fine arts: but it can hardly be supposed that this proficiency was shared by a subject nation such as the Hebrews, who did not live in great cities, who had no palaces or temples to keep up,

and no domestic state or luxury to cultivate, but whose principal occupations were the pasturing of cattle, and the forced labour of the *corvée* Can it be deemed likely that a people such as this possessed the skill in joinery, weaving, embroidery, the casting and hammering of metals, and the forming them into often difficult and complicated forms, necessary to carry out the specifications contained in Ex. xxv.—xxxi.? Years afterwards, when the Hebrews had been long settled in Palestine, and had no doubt added something to their knowledge of art from contact with the Canaanites, Solomon hired Phoenician workmen to make all the metal furniture and vessels of his temple (1 K. vii. 13 f., 40 ff.). 'Further, it is difficult to suppose that a desert tribe, even after spoiling the Egyptians, possessed the requisite materials. Apart from the precious stones and the fine linen thread, the amount of metals alone, as given in xxxviii. 24—29, works out' (on the most probable computation of the shekel, at 224 grs.) as follows: gold, 40,940 oz. [=*c.* 1¼ ton]; silver, 140,828 oz. [=*c.* 4¼ tons]; bronze, 108,749 oz. av. [=*c.* 3 tons]. 'Moreover, it would be very difficult to procure in the desert the olive oil for the lamps, and the dyes—violet and purple from Tyrian shell-fish, and crimson from an insect found on a particular kind of oak tree [see on xxv. 4]' (McNeile, p. lxxxi). It is also (cf. on xii. 37; and see more fully on Nu. i.) quite certain that the numbers of the Israelites at the Exodus could have been in reality nothing even approaching 2,000,000; Petrie, a most circumspect historical critic, who is himself well acquainted with the products and capacities of the Sinaitic Peninsula, places the utmost number that the country could support at 5000: but even though we doubled this figure, it would not be credible that 10,000 nomad serfs could have possessed precious metals in these quantities, or even metals in general and the other materials mentioned, in quantities sufficient to construct the Tabernacle according to the specifications of Ex. xxv.—xxxi.

3. It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the Pent. contains (cf. p. 257 f.) two different representations of the 'Tent of Meeting.' In xxxiii. 7—11 (E) the 'Tent of Meeting' is a simple nomad tent, which Moses 'used to take and pitch without the camp'; Moses goes out to it to receive revelations from God, and other Israelites also resort to it when they have occasion to 'seek' Him (see further the notes on xxxiii. 7—11). This tent, for reasons explained on xxxiii. 7, cannot be either Moses' tent or a provisional tent: it is the same 'Tent of Meeting,' in which God is said by P also to have spoken with Moses: but the representation given of it is in many respects very different. It is evidently far more simple in structure and appointments: it is guarded by a single attendant, the Ephraimite Joshua, instead of by the hosts of Levites appointed in P (Nu. i. 49—53, iii.—iv.) to guard and tend it, to the exclusion of all others (see Nu. i. 51, iii. 10 'and the stranger [i.e. the non-Levite] that cometh nigh shall be put to death'); and it is *outside* the camp, at some distance from it, not in its centre, as in P (Nu. ii. 17). That this tent is not a provisional tent appears with particular clearness from the fact that the same representation of the Tent of Meeting, *outside* the camp,—seemingly also with Joshua as its

ardian,—is found in the Pent. even *after* the erection (Ex. xl.) of the splendid tabernacle described by P: see Nu. xi. 16, 24—30, xii. 4—5 (note especially 'Come out' in *v.* 4)[1], and cf. Dt. xxxi. 14 f. It is a parallel difference between the two narratives that, when the Israelites are on the march, in JE (Nu. x. 33) the ark moves on ahead to search out a resting-place for them, whereas in P it is borne by Levites in the midst of the long procession of tribes (Nu. x. 21 [the tenses in *vv.* 17—27 are all frequentative, describing the *practice*]; cf. ii. 17, iv. 15). The Tent of Meeting of P is thus the same Tent of Meeting as that of JE; but it is represented as a far more splendid and elaborately appointed structure, and the arrangements for its position &c. are altogether different. The two representations cannot have co-existed historically at the same time; and it cannot be doubted that the simpler representation of J and E is much earlier than the highly elaborate one of P; and has far higher claims to be regarded as historical. Indeed, there are no grounds whatever for calling in question the genuine historical character of the primitive Tent of Meeting of J and E.

It must be obvious also that xx. 24—26 (E) presupposes ideas about altars materially different from those which underlie xxvii. 1—8, xxviii. 42 f., and belonging to a much less developed stage of society.

4. Another remarkable fact about the Tabernacle of P is its singular absence from the history upon occasions on which, if it had existed, it must almost inevitably have been mentioned. The Levites in attendance upon it, according to P, were something like 8000 (in Nu. iv. 48, 8580): its different parts, and the vessels belonging to it, were expressly assigned for transport to the three Lev. families of Gershonites, Merarites, and Kohathites (Nu. iv.); but at the passage of the Jordan, though the ark is a prominent feature, the narrative is silent as to the Tent of Meeting. The last passages in which P mentions it are Josh. xviii. 1, xix. 51, where it is said to have been set up at Shiloh (20 miles N. of Jerusalem). In the Book of Judges the ark is mentioned as being at Bethel (Jud. xx. 27—probably a gloss); but there is no notice of the Tent of Meeting. In 1 S. i.—iii. the ark is at Shiloh (iii. 3); but the sanctuary at which Eli is here mentioned as being the priest cannot be the Tent of Meeting, whether of JE or of P: it is a 'house' (i. 7, 24, iii. 15: so Jud. xviii. 31), or *hêkāl*, 'temple' (i. 9, iii. 3), and has, not a mere 'opening,' like the Tent of Meeting, or other tent (see on xxvi. 36, xxxiii. 8), but doors (iii. 15), and door-posts (i. 9); in other respects, Samuel, in the duties discharged by him, reminds us strongly of Joshua in E (Ex. xxxiii. 11); the Levites and priests of P are conspicuous by their absence. 1 S. ii. 22^b implies indeed that the Shiloh sanctuary was the Tent of Meeting of P (cf. Ex. xxxviii. 8; 'door,' also, is here lit. *opening*): but this half-verse (from *and how*) is not in the LXX.; and its contradiction to i. 9, iii. 3, 15, in describing as a 'tent' what these verses describe as a 'temple' or 'house,' leaves no reasonable doubt that it is a gloss, not yet found in the MSS. used by

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[1] In Nu. xiv. 44 (J), the *ark* is within the camp,—perhaps (Holz.) on account of the presence of the foe (otherwise Gray, and NcNeile, *ad loc.*).

the LXX. translators. In 1 S. iv. the ark, as if nothing were known of the stringent regulations of Nu. iv. 5 f., 15, 17—20, is fetched from Shiloh, and taken into battle with the Israelites (cf. Nu. xiv. 44 in J). After the ark was restored by the Philistines, instead of being taken to what, if it existed, must have been its only proper place, the Tent of Meeting of P, it was brought to the house of Abinadab near Kiriath-jearim (1 S. vii. 1), who, though to all appearance an ordinary layman, consecrated one of his sons to keep it (where, it may pertinently be asked, were the priests of Aaron's line, who alone, according to Nu. *ll.cc.*, might touch the ark?). It was now, probably, that the destruction of the sanctuary of Shiloh referred to by Jeremiah (vii. 12, 14, xxvi. 6, 9; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 60), took place. After this disaster the priests of Eli's line must have migrated to Nob, where they formed a settlement, more than 80 in number, and where there was a sanctuary of some kind, in which the Presence-bread was laid out, and an 'ephod' kept (1 S. xxi. 1, 4—6, 9, xxii. 18, 19); but whether it was a 'tent,' and, if so, of what kind, we are not told. The ark, however, seems to have remained with Abinadab till David removed it to the house of Obed-edom, a *Philistine* of Gath (2 S. vi. 2—11)[1]. Three months afterwards David brought it up in triumph to his recently conquered capital, the 'city of David' (Zion): but still the elaborate Tabernacle of P does not appear: David himself erects a tent for the ark (2 S. vi. 17; cf. 1 K. i. 39, ii. 28, where the altar belonging to the tent is mentioned): the priests and Levites, even on this solemn occasion, are, as before, conspicuous by their absence[2]. All these movements of the ark seem quite incompatible with the existence of the Tabernacle of P, or with the regulations of P respecting it: but they present no serious deviations from the much freer usage with regard to the ark implied by J and E (cf. Nu. x. 33, xiv. 44). When however Solomon transferred the ark to his newly-built Temple, the Tent of Meeting and the sacred vessels are said to have been taken into it (1 K. viii. 4^b). It is not stated where they had previously been. The notice, if authentic, cannot refer to P's Tent of Meeting,—for if this ancient and venerable structure had been in existence, David would hardly have erected a new and special tent himself for the ark (2 S. vi. 17),—but to the tent pitched by David (so Di.): as however this is not called the Tent of Meeting, and is apparently intended only as a temporary shelter for the ark, it is probable that the reference is intended to be to the Tent of Meeting, but, as the notice in this case, for the reason just stated, can scarcely be correct, that it is the work of a writer who may have preserved a true tradition with regard to the tent erected by David, but have referred it erroneously to the Tent of Meeting of P (cf. the notes of Kittel, Barnes, Skinner on 1 K. viii. 4^b; and Wellh. *Hist.* 43 f.)[1].

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[1] Obed-edom was evidently one of David's Philistine dependents: cf. 1 S. xxvii., 2 S. viii. 18 (his Philistine bodyguard). The Chronicler, in accordance with his view of the older history, includes him among the Levites (1 Ch. xv. 18, 24, &c.).

[2] The student who will be at the pains of *underlining*, in his text of 1 Ch. xv.—xvi., *every word not excerpted from* 2 Sam. vi. 12^b—20^a, will have ocular evidence of the manner in which the Chronicler, writing 700 years after the event, supplied the omission. Comp. Chapman, *General Introd. to the Pent.* (1911), pp. 268—70.

For these reasons—the presumable absence of the skill and means for constructing it, the divergent representations of it found in the Pent. itself, and the impossibility of finding a place for it in the picture of the early religion of Israel given in Judges and Sam.—it does not seem possible to regard the Tent of Meeting, *as described by P*, as historical.

How then is the 'Tabernacle' of P to be understood? As will be shewn in the notes on *Numbers* (esp. i.—x. 28) in this series, P's whole conception of the Israel of the Exodus—the 'congregation,' the system of priests and Levites, the symmetrical arrangement of the camp, the order of the tribes on the march, &c.—is an *ideal construction*, a picture constructed upon a basis supplied indeed by tradition, but so developed and elaborated as to present in a sensible form certain important religious truths, of which the Mosaic theocracy was conceived to be the visible expression. The Tabernacle and its appointments, in the representation of P, form part of the same ideal conception. The historical Tent of Meeting is that of JE (Ex. xxxiii. 7—11, &c.); the Tent of Meeting of P is the tent of JE transfigured in the light of the higher and larger conceptions of the Divine nature, which had been reached in the age in which P wrote. As is expressly stated in Ex. xxv. 9 (RVm.), 8 (cf. xxix. 45), the primary object of the Tabernacle is that it may be a 'Dwelling,' in which Jehovah may 'dwell in the midst of' His people. Since Solomon had built his magnificent Temple, the idea that Jehovah had an earthly habitation, in which He had 'set His name' or 'made His name to dwell,' had become familiar to Israel (1 K. viii. 12 f.; and in Deut. writers, *ib.* ix. 3, Dt. xii. 11, &c.). Ezekiel had emphasized the idea further; and developed it moreover, with great detail, in a concrete material form. In his description of the ideal future in ch. xxxvii., the promise had been given (*v.* 26 f.), 'And I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. And my *dwelling* shall be by them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.' And in his great ideal picture of the restored theocracy, contained in chs. xl.—xlviii., the prophet had described a temple, with a highly organized worship and priesthood, standing in the midst of the land, with seven tribes on the N., and five tribes on the S., in the centre of a strip of territory (25,000 × 10,000 cubits) assigned wholly to the priests, with the domain of the Levites (25,000 × 10,000 cubits) immediately on the N., and the city with its land (25,000 × 5000 cubits) on the S. (Ez. xlv. 1—5, xlviii.; see the plan in the *Camb.*

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[1] The Chronicler, in *additions* to his excerpts from Kings (2 Ch. i. 3—6^a, 1 Ch. xvi. 39, xxi. 29), states that the Tent of Meeting was at the high place at Gibeon. But this was clearly not the view of the much earlier writers of Kings (except possibly the writer of 1 K. viii. 4^b); for in 1 K. iii. 2 the people are excused for sacrificing at the high places on the ground that no temple was yet built for Jehovah. But, if the divinely appointed Tent of Meeting was at Gibeon, there would surely have been no need to excuse the people for sacrificing at least at this high place; nor would the reason why Solomon sacrificed there have been stated to be because it was 'the great high place' (1 K. iii. 4).

Bible, p. 355), and guarded further against profanation by means of an outer court (500 cubits sq.), with a free space of 50 cubits all round, and an inner court (100 cubits sq.) confined to the priests, 'to make a separation between that which was holy and that which was common' (xlii. 20). The 'Most holy place' of Ezekiel's temple is a cube of 20 cubits (twice the dimensions of that of the Tabernacle, but the same as those of the shrine of Solomon's Temple); into this, in his vision, the prophet sees the divine glory enter, and hears a voice promise that there henceforth Jehovah will '*dwell* with the children of Israel for ever' (Ez. xliii. 7, 9).

The age was one in which, at least in priestly circles, there was a strong longing for a visible symbol of the objective presence of God among men. Solomon's Temple had caused the idea to take deep root in the religious consciousness of the nation; and the destruction of Solomon's Temple produced naturally a deeply-felt void in the minds of devout Israelites. Since the Bab. exile had begun, also, Israel had 'ceased to be a civil community, and was bound together solely by a unity of religion. Political and national ambitions gave place to religious ideals; and these ideals were shaped by this longing for something concrete, round which Israel, as a body of co-religionists, might rally' (McNeile, p. lxxxiii). How the longing took concrete shape in Ezekiel's imagination is shewn in chs. xl.—xlviii. of his book. But it might also take shape in a different direction. Partly, perhaps, during the exile, partly after the return, 'devotional spirits, in contemplation of Israel's past, delighted to imagine that the concrete visible sign of Yahweh's presence had been the centre of their worship from the first. If the nation was ideal, their beginnings must have been ideal. And as the picture shaped itself in their imaginations, it was based upon one factor and another in the actual histories which they possessed' (*ibid.* p. lxxxiv). A 'tent' in which Moses received revelations from Jehovah was an old element in the tradition; not only the ark, but also a lamp, the Presence-bread, and an altar are all attested for the period before Solomon (1 S. iii. 3, xxi. 6, 1 K. ii. 28): more particulars about the pre-Solomonic tent, or tents, and the Temple of Shiloh, may have been preserved than we know of: other details may have been suggested by Solomon's temple—the length and breadth of P's Tabernacle were exactly half those of Solomon's sanctuary—the vision of Ezekiel, and possibly even the temple of Zerubbabel. Although, as has been shewn above, there are great difficulties in accepting all the *details* as historical, the general plan and outline of P's Tabernacle may rest upon historical tradition to a greater extent than we are aware. There are abundant indications shewing that the ritual system of P is a development from old, and in some cases, archaic ceremonial usage; and the same, *mutatis mutandis*, may have been the case with his picture of the Tabernacle.

The supreme idea of P is the realization of the *presence of God* in the midst of His people (Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 42), in accordance with the promise of Ez. xxxvii. 27, cited above. Other ideas, closely associated with this, are the *unity* of God, which, as Dt. had taught, required the unity and centralization of His worship; and the *holiness* of God, which required as its correlative the holiness of His people (Ex. xix. 6, Dt. xiv. 2, Lev. xix. 2, and elsewhere). In the Tabernacle of P, and the ceremonial system of which it is the centre, these ideas find a concrete, symbolical expression. The Tabernacle is a carefully planned and splendid structure, designed to honour worthily the God who is to make it His abode. By its position in the very centre of the camp, it is a significant visible symbol of the presence of Jehovah in the midst of His people. Its holiness is at the same time guarded by its being encircled by a cordon formed by the camps of the Levitical families and the priests[1], the other tribes being encamped outside these, three on each side. By the details of its structure, and by the significant gradations in the costliness and splendour of the materials of which it is made (pp. 260, 264), it at once gives expression to, and guards, the supreme holiness of Jehovah. The imageless inmost shrine is an acknowledgement of His spirituality, as its splendour does homage to His sovereignty; while the limitations on even the high priest's access to it are an indication of the conditions on which God is accessible to man. The unity of God is marked by the fact that the sanctuary is one, and the worship one. The ceremonial of purification and sacrifice which centres in the Tabernacle is the means by which the ideal relation of holiness and good-will subsisting between Jehovah and His people is maintained. For other ideas of which the Tabernacle may be regarded as the expression, see p. 260 f.; comp. also further, on the whole subject, Kennedy, *DB.* iv. 666 f., McNeile, p. lxxxiii ff. It may be added that the presence of a large ideal element in P's description of the Tabernacle (as of the Mosaic age generally) is fully recognized by Dillmann: see *Ex.* p. 272 (ed. 2, p. 302 f.), *NDJ.* p. 648 f., and an article by the present writer in the *Expos. Times*, March, 1906, p. 282 f. Comp. also Ottley, in his *Bampton Lectures* for 1897 on 'Aspects of the Old Testament,' p. 226, where, after speaking of the difficulties attaching to the contrary view, he continues, 'A Christian apologist can afford to admit that the elaborate description of the tabernacle [in P] is to be regarded as a product of religious idealism, working upon an historical basis, and that the sketch as a whole is largely coloured by reminiscences or traditions of the splendid temple of Solomon.'

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[1] How few these were, in the Mosaic age, according to his own representation, the writer does not seem to have realized, after Lev. x. 2 all that are mentioned being Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar, and Phinehas. Even allowing for a few unnamed grandsons, the fewness of the priests, as compared with the immense numbers of the people, and the duties which would in consequence fall upon them, is one of the many serious historical difficulties attaching to P's picture of the Mosaic age.

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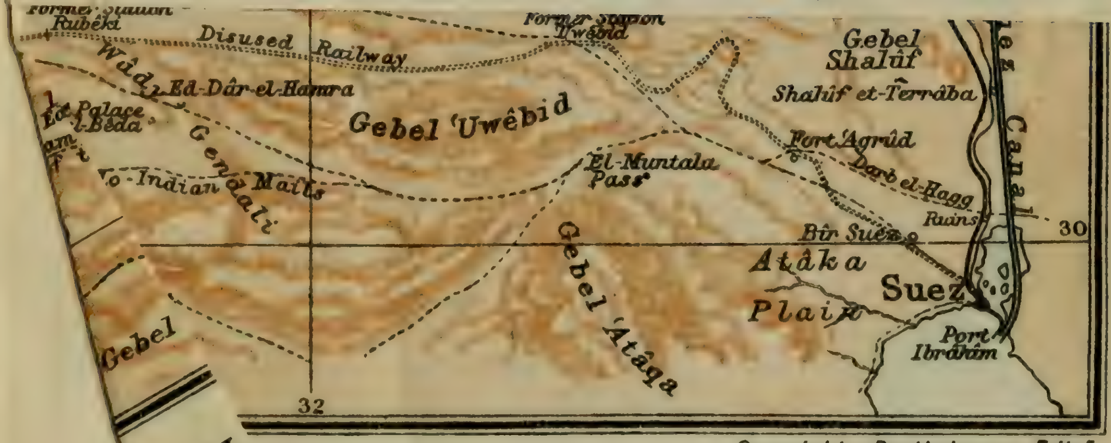

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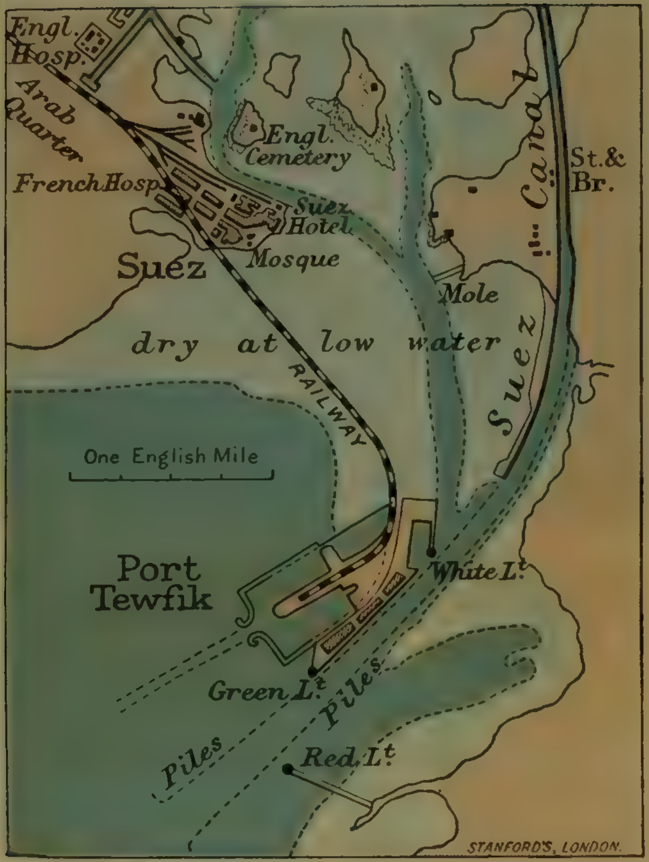
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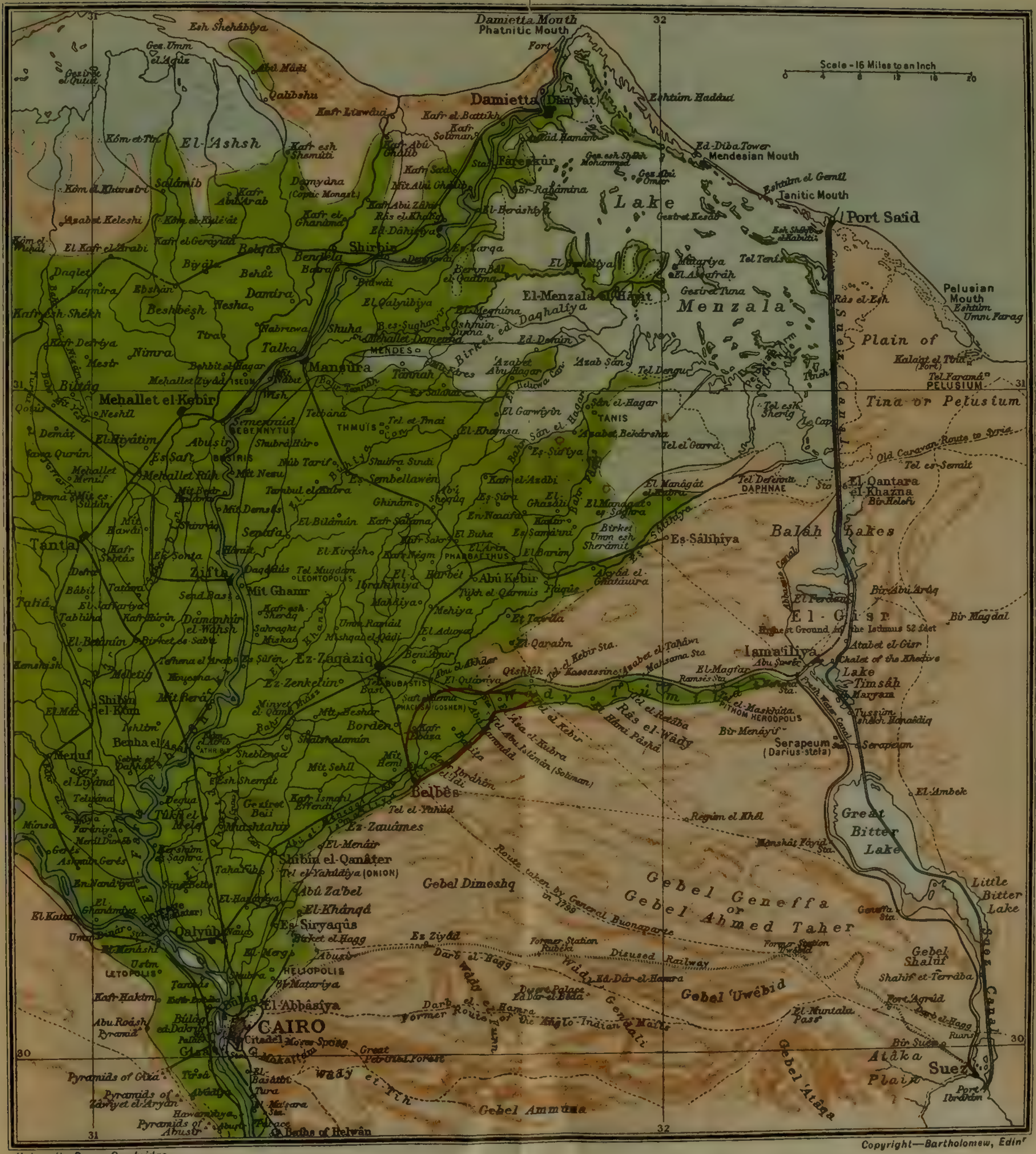
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Qalibshu
El-Ashsh
Damietta (Dumyât)
Fâreskûr
Ed-Diba Tower
Mendesian Mouth
Eshtûm Haddâd
Eshtûm el Gemîl
Tanitic Mouth
Port Saʿîd
Lake
Menzala
El-Menzala
Shirbîn
Mansûra
Talka
MENDES
Mehallet el Kebîr
Semennûd
SEBENNYTUS
Abusîr
BUSIRIS
Tanta
Zifta
Mit Ghamr
Tel Muqdâm
LEONTOPOLIS
THMUIS
Tel el-Timai
Sân el-Hagar
TANIS
Tel Defenneh
DAPHNAE
Pelusian Mouth
Plain of
Tel Faramâ
PELUSIUM
Tina or Pelusium
Old Caravan Route to Syria
El-Qantara el-Khazna
Balâh Lakes
Es-Sâlihîya
Abû Kebîr
PHARBAETHUS
El Ferdân
El-Gisr
Highest Ground in the Isthmus 52 feet
Ismaʿilîya
Lake Timsâh
Tel el-Kebîr Sta.
Qassâsîn
Abû Hammâd
Ez-Zagâzîq
BUBASTIS
Saft el-Henna
PHACUSA (GOSHEN)
Wady Tumilât
Tel el-Maskhûta
PITHOM HEROOPOLIS
Serapeum (Darius stela)
Bilbês
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ATHRIBIS
Menûf
Shibîn el-Qanâter
Tel el-Yahûdîya (ONION)
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El-Khânqâ
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Citadel
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Pyramids of Gîza
Pyramids of Zâwiyet el-ʿAryân
Pyramids of Abusîr
Baths of Helwân
Route taken by General Buonaparte in 1799
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Gebel Geneffa or Gebel Ahmed Taher
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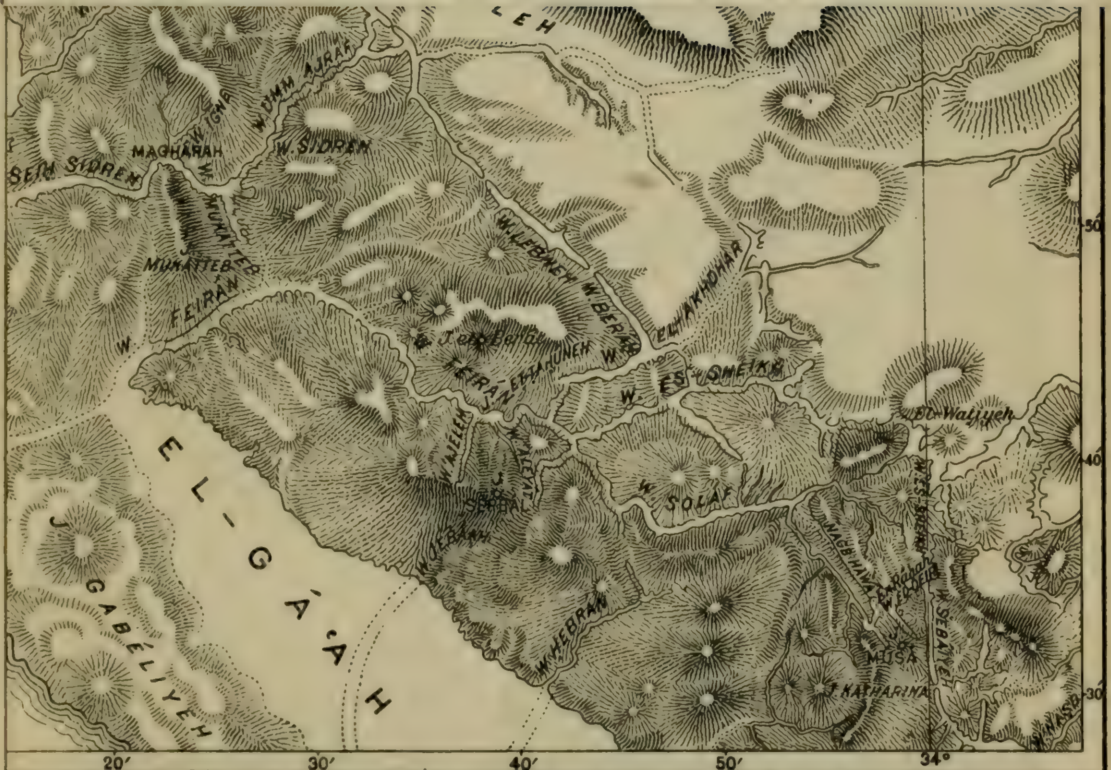
THE EASTERN PART OF THE DELTA, WITH THE ISTHMUS OF SUEZ.

The land of Goshen, according to Naville (see the note on Ex. viii. 22), extended (as marked in red) from Tel el-Kebir (towards the W. end of Wady Ṭumilāt) to Ṣafṭ el-Ḥenna (the ancient PHACUSA*), and Belbês.*


LEH
W. UMM AJRAF
W. IGNA
MAGHARAH
W. SIDREH
W.
SEIH SIDREH
W. MUKATTEB
J. MUKATTEB
W. FEIRÂN
W. LEBWEH
W. BERAH
W. EL AKHDHAR
J. FEIRÂN
W. ES SHEIKH
El-Waṭiyeh
W. AJELEH
W. ALEYAT
J. SERBAL
W. SOLAF
W. REBAH
W. HEBRAN
EL-GÂ'AH
J. GABELIYEH
NAGB HAWA
Er Rahah
W. ED DEIR
W. ES SHEIKH
W. SEBAIYEH
J. MUSA
J. KATHARINA
W. NASB
20′
30′
40′
50′
34°
50
40
30

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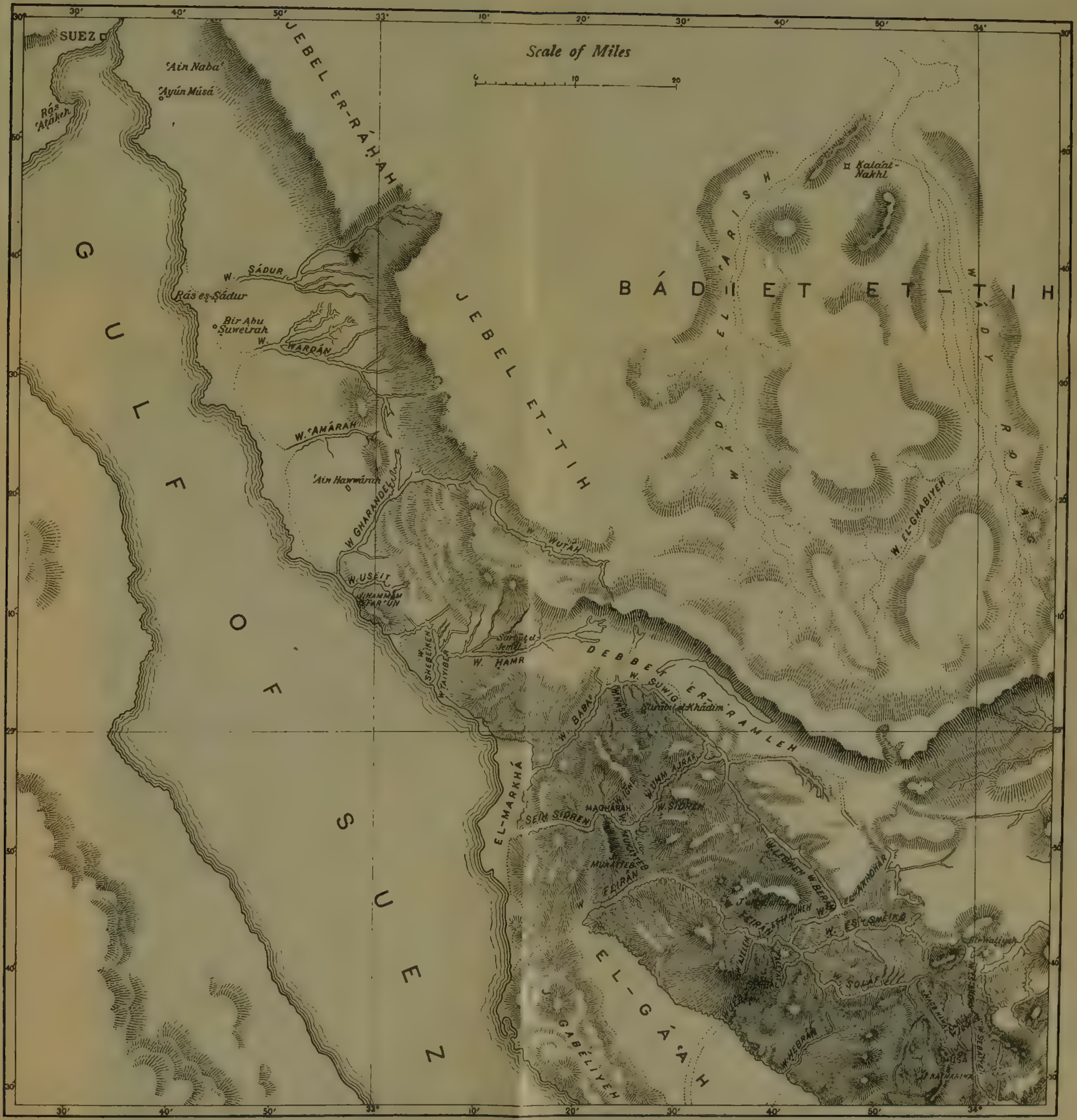
OF THE PENINSULA OF SINAI.


Scale of Miles
0
10
20
SUEZ
'Ain Naba'
'Ayún Músá
Rás 'Atákah
JEBEL ER-RÁHAH
GULF OF SUEZ
W. SÁDUR
Rás es-Sádur
Bir Abu Suweirah
W. WARDÁN
W. 'AMÁRAH
'Ain Hawwárah
W. GHARANDEL
JEBEL ET-TIH
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W. 'AJELEH
W. SOLÁF
W. HEBRÁN
NAGB HAWÁ
MÚSÁ
ST KATHARINA
W. SEBAIYEH
W. ES-SHEIKH
El-Watiyeh
EL-GÁ'AH
GABELIYEH
BÁDIET ET-TIH
WÁDY EL-'ARISH
Kalaat-Nakhl
WÁDY ROWÁK
W. EL-GHABIYEH
30'
40'
50'
33°
10'
20'
30'
40'
50'
34°
30'
50
40
30
20
10
29°
30
40
30

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THE NORTH-WEST PART OF THE PENINSULA OF SINAI.

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